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THE CROWN

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

BEING

OUR COUNTRY'S HISTORY FROM THE EARLIEST RECORDS OF THE KINGDOM, TO OUR OWN TIMES.

ABRIDGED FROM

CHARLES KNIGHT'S

POPULAR HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF ITS AUTHOR.

"The Flood
Of British Freedom, which to the open sea
Of the world's praise from dark antiquity
Hath flowed."

WORDSWORTH.

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PREFACE.

THIS Volume is an abridgement of my "Popular History of England" in eight octavo volumes, and is executed by a member of my family, under my general superintendence. In the Introduction to the "Popular History," speaking of Goldsmith's admission that "the very name of abridgement implies imperfection," I said—"It is not the mere want of space that constitutes the inherent defect of an abridgement; it is that the scale of its composition is not uniform." This defect, I believe, will not be discovered in the present book. It has been the continuous labour of nearly three years, not accomplished by making entire extracts of the most striking passages of a larger history, and holding them together by short connecting threads of narrative; but by recasting the whole upon a scale of composition which, aiming at uniformity, enables the several parts to retain their just proportions. Thus, I may venture to state that there is no important fact of our political and social progress therein omitted. Space is gained, without leaving awkward gaps in a story which has no long intervals in which the historian can say "all is barren."

The "Popular History" was entitled a "History of Society and Government." The "Crown History" embraces, in the same way, the State History and the Domestic. In a few cases, there are separate chapters on the National Industry, on Literature, on the Arts; but in every period will be found

some notice of these important characteristics of the advance of a people, politically and intellectually. The growth of our Constitution, through nineteen hundred years, in which the Roman, the Saxon, and the Norman institutions became blended in our system of representative government and municipal administration, was always accompanied, through many a struggle for personal liberty and security of property, by the general progress of the people in knowledge and industry.

Instruction in History has ceased to mean the learning by rote the dates of prominent events, which fade from the memory in the absence of all interesting associations with the regnal periods to which they belong. For the boy or the girl, the young man or the young woman, whose training has been such as to make the history of their country something more than a dry catalogue of names, this Volume may suffice for the period of their pupilage. It perhaps may be sufficient as a preparatory book for the class-examination of young candidates for employment. But, whether for public or domestic instruction, it will open the way to the study of more elaborate works, on the subject upon which, of all others, it most behoves the youth of a free country to be well informed.

CHARLES KNIGHT.

August, 1870.

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THE CROWN

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

In that portion of Brittany which is now known as the department of Morbihan, dwelt a maritime tribe, whom Cæsar describes as the Veneti. The Morbihan, or Little Sea, is a gulf, navigable, amidst shoals and sand-banks, to Vannes—a name derived from the Roman name of the inhabitants. The hardy race living on this dangerous coast had a navy of no contemptible character. Their vessels were of small draught, so as to navigate the land-locked shallows; and yet so strongly built as to dare the tempests of the great ocean. The Veneti traded with Britain. In all probability they had a common language with the natives of our southern coasts; unquestionably they had a common religion. Cæsar had overrun the greater part of Gaul, but the Veneti defied him, and seized his envoys who were commissioned to procure corn. The vigorous Roman built a fleet on the Loire, and prepared to march into the revolted country. The Veneti sent for succour to Britain, and the Britons answered the call. They sailed to the aid of the Veneti; and by this fearless generosity brought down upon themselves the vengeance of Cæsar, after he had made a conquest of their allies.

The Britons, as known to the Romans, were a people of high courage, disciplined, and obedient to authority, and yet impatient of subjection; not unacquainted with some important arts of life; a naval, a warlike, and a religious people. Cæsar says, "The system of Druidism is thought to have been formed in Britain, and from thence carried over into Gaul; and now those who wish to be more accurately versed in it go to Britain, in order to become acquainted with it." The Druids were the ministers of sacred things; they were the teachers and the lawgivers. Their influence was unbounded. Diodorus Siculus, a contemporary of Cæsar, says of the Gauls, "not only in the concerns of peace, but even of war, not friends alone but even enemies also, chiefly defer to them [the Druids], and to the composers of verses." One chief Druid presided over the body. They were exempt from military service and from the payment of taxes. Another order, with power and privilege, was the Equestrian. The knights had armed followers, as the Druids had studious disciples. The great mass of

the people were dependent upon these two privileged orders. There probably existed a species of clanship, in which there was servitude on one hand and protection on the other.

Upon the shores, then, of this our Britain, in the latter part of the summer of the year 55 before the birth of the Redeemer, appeared a mighty fleet crossing the narrow sea from a port between Calais and Boulogne. The alarm went inland through many a tribe. The four princes of the Cantii, or men of Kent, rapidly gathered their followers. Nearer and nearer came the galleys. The armed natives crowded to the heights, shouting defiance from their natural defences. Between Walmer and Sandwich the flat beach offered a safer place to plant the foot of a conqueror. Cæsar turned his prows northward. The ten thousand soldiers on board the ships saw the beach crowded with horses and chariots, and skin-clothed and painted infantry, with great pointless swords and small shields, howling in contempt, or encouraging each other with songs of battle. The Romans hesitated; but the standard-bearer of the tenth legion leaped from one of the galleys into the water, with the cry of "Follow me." Then met the British and the Roman arm in mortal conflict;—but discipline made good a landing against obstinate courage.

The Britons retreating before the legions, Cæsar advanced into the interior, and encamped, according to some writers, on Barham Downs. The great consul had no desire to remain in the country, and he contemplated wintering in Gaul. He was ready, therefore, to conclude a treaty with the invaded tribes. But a storm arose and scattered the ships which were bringing the Roman cavalry to these shores; and a heavy spring tide—an unfamiliar phenomenon to the people of the Mediterranean—dashed the transports on the beach, and swamped the lighter galleys. The Britons, encouraged by these misfortunes of their enemy, broke the peace. Cæsar says the Britons were signally defeated. He hastily repaired his ships and sailed to the opposite shore, even without hostages. But early in the next year he returned, with a greater armament, to a sterner conflict. Again he landed on the flat shores of Kent, now undefended; and he marched forward to meet those whom he describes as the inland people, who, "for the most part, do not sow corn, but live on milk and flesh, and have their clothing of skins." The people of Cantium either left his passage free, or made no effectual resistance on the sea-marshes: but when he arrived at a river, most probably the Stour, he saw the rising ground behind occupied by the natives. His cavalry drove them into the woods.

Again a tempest arose; and Cæsar returned to the coast. Meanwhile a leader had sprung up, who had marched some eighty miles from the country divided by the Thames from the maritime states; and he, Cassivelaunus, or Caswallon, gathered his once hostile neighbours round his war-chariot, and showed a bold front to the Roman masses. Pressed by the invader, he fought his way back to his own territories; and, having crossed the Thames, he endeavoured to stop Cæsar's advance by fixing sharp stakes in the bed of the river at the only fordable point. A part of the river near Oatlands is called Coway-stakes even now. Having crossed the Thames, Cæsar would march, with no obstacle from the nature of the country, upon the capital of Cassivelaunus—St. Alban's, in the territory of the Cassi,

from whom we probably derive the name of Cassio-hundred. According to his own account, the people whom he encountered in his progress were the Cantii of Kent; the Trinobantes of Essex; the Cenimagni of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridge; the Segontiaci, the Ancalites, and the Bibroci of Hants, Berks, and Wilts; and the Cassi. Cæsar represents his second landing as a conquest, and that the tribes one by one submitted. But the invaders quitted the country the same year, and went back to Gaul. Hostages he carried with him. Captives he might have taken to adorn his triumph. But he is recorded to have exhibited no trophies beyond a coralet of British pearls. Cæsar did not conquer Britain, says Tacitus, but only showed it to the Romans. It was ninety-seven years before another invasion was attempted. In the course of that period there was peaceful communication with Rome; and the whole island, according to Strabo, became "intimate and familiar to the Romans." But the people were as free as if Cæsar had never landed.

It is not easy to believe that the country which became thus familiar to the Romans was, before their dominion, a country without roads, though the learned Camden is of that opinion. The marshy nature of the coast lands rendered roads absolutely necessary for communication. A road, acknowledged to be British, still crosses Salisbury Plain into Berkshire. A vast earthen rampart, called Wansdyke, extends for miles—a supposed defence of one tribe against another. In Wiltshire there are deep covered ways or lines of communication from one British town to another, with broad dykes and banks of equal height on each side. Caractacus, when a captive at Rome, spoke of the British houses as "humble cottages;" but there were perhaps even then more durable habitations in Britain than wattled huts. Chun Castle, in Cornwall, with granite walls of prodigious thickness, is held to have been such a British work. Diodorus Siculus says, "They [the Britons] gathered in the harvest by cutting off the ears of corn, and storing them in subterraneous repositories." Such pits are to be seen near Crayford, in Kent. Other evidence of British civilisation is found in monuments of a rough but grand art, such as Kit's Coty House, near Aylesford; as the great temple of Abury; as Silbury Hill and Stonehenge, on the Wiltshire plains. In the sepulchral mounds scattered over these plains, we still find the relics of old British art. Here are dug up flint and bronze arrow-heads and spear-heads, bodkins, necklaces and beads, urns and drinking-cups.

In the early intercourse of Rome with Britain, the southern and eastern coasts were probably known to the strangers most completely, if not exclusively: but in subsequent periods the midland and northern districts became familiar to them, in a series of tremendous struggles with the hardy people. Cunobelin, one of the few famous of British names, was the most powerful of the kings before the invasion of Claudius. Nearly a century had elapsed between the invasion of Cæsar and that period, and the government of the country had manifestly sustained great changes. The separate dominion of many petty chieftains had been merged in that of kings, each ruling over large parts of the island. Cunobelin was king of the Trinobantes, whose territory embraced a large portion of South Britain. His capital, Camalodunum, is now considered, by most antiqua-

rian authorities, to have been Colchester, or the immediate neighbourhood. That Cunobelin was surrounded by some attributes of a later civilisation may be gathered from the various coins of his reign which still exist.

In the fortieth year of the Christian era, and ninety-five years after the invasion of Cæsar, Adminius, a son of Cunobelin, who had been banished by his father, placing himself under the authority of Caligula, instigated an invasion of his native country. During the previous reign of Tiberius there had been courteous intercourse between Britain and Rome; for the soldiers of Germanicus, who were shipwrecked on the British shore, were rescued and sent home by the islanders. Caligula hastily resolved—abandoning the war which he was carrying on in Germany—upon a causeless invasion of Britain. He marched his legions to Boulogne; he embarked in a stately galley; and, having looked upon the white cliffs as he sailed a little way from the shore, he returned to the port, and, ascending a throne, commanded his troops to gather all the shells of the beach, and bear them in triumph to Rome, as "the spoils of the ocean."

The mock triumph of Caligula had soon to be succeeded by a real struggle. Claudius became emperor; and he was stirred up to the hazard of an invasion of Britain by discontented fugitives from the power of the native rulers. He resolved to make Britain a province of the empire; and selected Aulus Plautius to cross the sea with an army from Gaul. At first he had to encounter a mutinous soldiery. A century had nearly elapsed since the Roman arm had come into conflict with the British. The popular opinion was that the Britons were a fierce people, beyond the bounds of the habitable world, whom Cæsar had vainly attempted to subdue, and who refused tribute to Augustus. The troops of Plautius at last consented to embark. They were divided into three bodies, so as to land at several points. This they did without opposition; "for the Britons," says Dion Cassius, "from what they had learned, not expecting that they would come, had not assembled together; nor even when they arrived did they attack them, but fled to the marshes and woods, hoping to wear them out by delay; and that, as had happened under Julius Cæsar, they would go back without effecting their purpose."

During the reign of Caligula, Cunobelin had died; and his two sons, Caractacus and Togodumnus, succeeded to his power. It was against these princes that Plautius directed his attacks. There was the same course of strategy on the part of the invaded as in the time of Cæsar. They fancied themselves secure when they could place a river, of which they knew the fords, between themselves and their enemy. But the Romans had expert swimmers in their ranks, who, again and again, surprised the too confident natives, and drove them onward to their marshes. In the treacherous swamps and the pathless woods, large bodies of the Romans themselves perished; and Plautius, in the midst of victories, became irresolute, and sent for succour to his emperor. Togodumnus had fallen; Caractacus remained to brave the imperial power. Claudius came. Caractacus had retreated to the west. Claudius having, after his landing, joined his forces to those of Plautius, marched with an overwhelming power upon Camalodunum. His expedition to Britain was more a parade than a conquest.

He was only sixteen days in the island. The army saluted him with the title of Imperator; and he returned to Rome to assume the name of Britannicus, and to be worshipped as a god. Colchester Castle is supposed by some, whose theory is very ingeniously supported, to be the actual Temple of Claudius erected in honour of the deified imperator by the Roman colonists of Camalodunum. The coinage of Claudius preserves the memory of his Britannic triumph.

Vespasian, the lieutenant of Plautius, afterwards emperor, conquered the Isle of Wight, and subjected twenty towns; but this success was not accomplished without a perpetual struggle. Although the southern and south-eastern parts of the island were comparatively tranquil, and the Romans could pour in reinforcements along the whole line of the coast, and by the estuaries of the Thames and the Colne, numerous tribes were in arms in the north and the west; and those of the south and east, who had been imperfectly subdued, were ready for new efforts to throw off the yoke. Till Agricola came, there was a perpetual series of revolts against the invader, more or less national.

Tacitus has described the fortified place where the British chieftain, Caractacus, met the legions of Ostorius Scapula, after that general had subdued the revolted Iceni, who inhabited Norfolk and Suffolk. The position of Caractacus was on a mountain-ridge, with a wall of stone for a rampart. At the foot of the mountain flowed a river dangerous to be forded, and hosts of men guarded the intrenchments. From the time of that great battle, according to Camden, the place was called Caer-Caradoc. The confederated Britons were unable to resist the Roman assault. The Britons fought with arrows, which did terrible execution as the assailants scaled the mountain-sides; but in the hand-to-hand fight which followed, the close order of the disciplined veterans prevailed against the tumultuous onslaughts of the hardy mountaineers. "Signal was this victory," says Tacitus; "the wife and daughters of Caractacus were taken prisoners, and his brothers surrendered to mercy." Caractacus put himself under the protection of Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes (the people of Yorkshire and Lancashire), by whom he was betrayed, and delivered up to the Romans. Tacitus says that he had held out against the Romans nine years. The invasion of Claudius took place A.D. 43; the defeat of Caractacus was in the year 50 or 51.

According to Tacitus, Caractacus entered Rome with his servants and followers bearing his war-trappings, and golden collars and spoils that he had won in his native wars. His wife and daughters and brothers followed. In the oration before Claudius and Agrippina, which the Roman historian puts into the mouth of the noble captive, he says that he was a prince born of illustrious ancestors, and governing many nations—master of men, and arms, and horses, and riches. The noble bearing of Caractacus saved his life. To Ostorius was decreed a triumph.

The tribes whom Caractacus had led, though scattered, were unsubdued. The Silures, a people of South Wales, continued to make the most obstinate resistance, insomuch that Claudius declared that their very name must be blotted out. Amidst this harassing warfare Ostorius died, worn out with anxiety.

A few years rolled on, and Nero wore the imperial purple. Since Ostorius there had been two commanders in Britain, Aulus Didius and Veranius. In the year 58, Suetonius Paulinus succeeded to the command. He ruled in tranquillity for two years, when he resolved to attack Mona (the Isle of Anglesey), the great seat of Druidism. Over the Menai Strait he transported his infantry in shallow vessels, whilst his cavalry swam across the passage. Tacitus has described the scene which ensued, with his characteristic power. On the shore were armed men in dense array; women with loose hair, running amongst them like furies, clothed in dark robes and bearing lighted torches. Surrounding these multitudes were bands of Druids, lifting up their hands to heaven with the most frantic gestures. The Roman soldiers were awe-struck, and with difficulty could be led on to attack such unwonted enemies. The priests, and the women, and the armed hosts, at length fled from the real terrors of an unsparing soldiery; and multitudes perished by sword and fire.

In the attack upon Mona, Suetonius was probably impelled by the desire to root out the religious system of the Britons, which was one of the chief causes of their enduring hostility to Rome. The Druidical worship was a deep-rooted belief, long established, and universally adopted. In the revolt of Boadicea, which took place while Suetonius was making his attack upon Mona, the extraordinary impulse which collected a hundred and twenty thousand of the natives in arms was as much given by the insults to their national worship and their sacred places, as by the rapacious extortions and the gross licentiousness of the Roman officials. Boadicea, "bleeding from the Roman rods," stirred the Iceni to vengeance not more than "the temple built and dedicated to the deified Claudius." Dion Cassius makes the orations of Boadicea exhibit a deep hatred of the Roman character. This writer, born a century after the revolt of the outraged queen, paints her as "of the largest size, most terrible of aspect, most savage of countenance, harsh of voice; having a profusion of yellow hair which fell down to her hips." Tacitus, a contemporary, says nothing of her ferocious aspect. He relates her injuries, and the terrible retribution inflicted upon the Romans and their allies by the multitudes whom she led. Their chief objects of attack were the towns of Camalodunum, Londinium, and Verulam. In the newly founded colony of Camalodunum, the veterans and common soldiers had thrust the natives out of their dwellings, and exterminated them from their lands. Londinium, first noticed by Tacitus, is described as a place of importance, "not indeed dignified by the name of a colony, but yet of the highest distinction for abundance of regular merchants, and of traffic with other places." Verulam was a municipal city. In the indiscriminate slaughter which took place in all these three towns, we may assume that few of the natives were included, and that the chief inhabitants were Roman settlers. Suetonius marched rapidly from Mona to Londinium, where he at first resolved to make a stand, but he subsequently abandoned the city. The wretched inhabitants of the great emporium of the Thames implored him to defend them. He drafted some of them into his ranks, but all who remained behind fell, without exception, in one terrible destruction. In those three places, seventy thousand souls perished, "all Romans, or

confederates of Rome." Tacitus says, that after the great battle in which Suetonius routed the revolters, famine, above all other calamities, destroyed the insurgent people, who had utterly neglected to cultivate the land, being wholly bent upon war, and hoping to appropriate the Roman stores to their use. The Romans, in eighteen years, had created their Londinium, and Verulam, and Camalodunum, upon spots where the natives had planted their stockades and their hill-forts, or carried on a small commerce by the vessels that sailed up the great estuaries of the Thames and the Colne. Upon these cities, surrounded by water and woods, the infuriate forces of Boadicea made their devastating attacks.

After the devastation of Camalodunum, the British had spread westward, and left the eastern citadel open for the re-occupation of the Romans. To that neighbourhood, it is held that Suetonius marched with his ten thousand legionaries; the native hordes pressing on his rear. The description of Tacitus clearly shows the immense superiority of the Roman strategy. Suetonius prepared for encountering the enemy in open battle. He was posted in a place which stretched out into a hollow and narrow valley, with steep sides, and girt behind with a wood. He knew that the Britons were to be expected upon the plain in front. The legionary soldiers were drawn up in thick and condensed ranks. The Britons came, encumbered with multitudes of women and weak followers, in crowded wains, with which they surrounded their camp. Boadicea was borne about on a chariot, wherein sat her two daughters. The Britons advanced upon the Roman army, who remained secure in their vantage-ground; but when they came within arrow-shot, the Romans rushed out with the force and keenness of a wedge. The rout was terrible. Eighty thousand, says the historian, were slain in that bloody field. Some escaped; but could never rally. Boadicea ended her life by poison. The remnant of the dispersed armies was pursued with unrelenting hostility; and every tribe that appeared inimical to Rome was devastated by fire and sword. Everything in Camalodunum, dignified as a colony, was razed or burnt. Verulam was seized by the spoiler. Londinium, there is reason for believing, was laid in ashes. The power of the confederated natives of Southern Britain was utterly broken.

The Roman government, it would seem, had no desire to hold a devastated country which would yield nothing to the conquerors. Nero, therefore, sought to reconcile the revolted tribes; but one legate succeeded another without any material advance in the tranquil and secure possession of the country. At length the administration of the province was confided by Vespasian to Agricola, who had learnt the rudiments of war in Britain, under Suetonius Paulinus. Eight years after the revolt of Boadicea, he commanded the twentieth legion in Britain (A.D. 69). He was subsequently invested with the government of the province of Aquitaine. Public opinion indicated his fitness for the more difficult task of the command in Britain. He entered upon his office in the year 78, having been previously raised to the dignity of consul.

The summer was nearly over when Agricola landed. The Ordovices, the indomitable tribe who defied the Roman power from the fastnesses of Denbighshire and Caernarvonshire, had recently slaughtered a band of

horse stationed on their confines. Agricola immediately took the field. He gathered the scattered troops, who were retiring to their winter quarters, and, suddenly marching upon the tribes, routed them in their mountain-holds. He continued his victorious course to the strait of Anglesey; and, disregarding the want of transports, landed with his swimming legions, and completely subdued the island of the Druids.

On the approach of the second summer he collected his army. The hostile people were dispersed about the country. He acquired accurate knowledge of every locality. He made sudden incursions wherever a tribe was collected in arms. He held out the hand of friendship to those who came to him with submission. He planted garrisons and fortresses throughout the land. He conciliated the chiefs by gathering them in the towns, and teaching them to build and adorn in accordance with the Roman tastes. He was in great degree the founder of the municipal institutions that rapidly sprang up in South Britain. We may collect from the narrative of Tacitus that the country was peacefully settled from the Thames to the Severn, and from the Humber to the Dee, after a few years of his administration.

In the third and fourth summers of his command, Agricola was engaged with no mean enemies in the northern parts of the country. He discovered new people, says the historian, and continued his conquests quite to the mouth of the Tay. He built forts on the very borders of the Grampian Hills, and there wintered at the end of the third summer. Between the estuaries of the Forth and the Clyde there was only a narrow neck of land, and this was secured by a line of garrisons. The enemy, says Tacitus, was driven, as it were, into another island. The Romans would probably have been content with the possession of the fertile lowlands, could they have been secure against the excursions of the hardy tribes of the highlands. The conqueror passed the boundary in his fifth campaign, and planted forces on the western coast. He had the subjugation of Ireland in prospect, and courted the friendship of one of its chieftains. But Caledonia was yet unsubdued.

In the sixth summer Agricola explored the coast to the north of the Forth. Wherever he proceeded in his conquests he had a fleet; and the same camp, says his historian, often contained horse and foot, and sailors. The hardy Caledonians did not wait for the attacks of their invaders. They assaulted the camp of the ninth legion, and were with difficulty repulsed by Agricola, who came upon their rear. The doubtful victory was to be followed by a fiercer conflict.

In his seventh summer the Roman army, to which their commander had added some of the Southern Britons, marched onward to the Grampians. There were thirty thousand mountaineers in arms, under the command of Galgacus, who surpassed all in valour and descent. Tacitus, in the oration which he ascribes to the Caledonian leader, shows the condition of the conquered people, exhausted by tribute; stripped of the grain which they had sown; compelled to make pathways through the woods, to drain the marshes, to dig mines for their oppressors. The great battle of the Grampians had the usual termination of the contests between a disciplined army and an armed multitude. Ten thousand Caledonians were slaughtered in

the plain and on the mountain-sides. Night put an end to the carnage. The next day showed the conquerors an unusual scene. There was profound silence all around; the smoke of burning dwellings rose in the hills, but not a living soul remained amidst the desolation. The victors attempted no pursuit, but marched slowly back to their winter garrisons, awing the natives as they passed along with their terrible array. The sagacity of Agricola had put an end to a controversy which had long agitated the speculative philosophers of Rome. Some held that Britain was part of an unexplored continent; some that it was an island. Chance in some degree determined the question. A cohort of Germans who had been brought into the country, having slain the Roman soldiers who were training them, put to sea in three pinnaces; a few, who survived the hardships to which they were exposed, were carried round Britain, and, falling into the hands of some continental natives, made the knowledge of its coast more familiar to the Romans. After the close of the Caledonian war, Tacitus says that Agricola sent the admiral of the fleet to encompass the island—"circumvehi Britanniam." Agricola was recalled by the jealous Domitian (A.D. 84).

In the year 120, Hadrian was in Britain. Spartian, a Roman historian who flourished at the end of the third century, says, "He [Hadrian] visited Britain, where he corrected many things, and first built a wall eighty miles in length, which divided the Romans from the Barbarians." This wall was afterwards perfected by Severus. The line of forts which Agricola raised against the warlike tribes of the Caledonian highlands, and which extended from the Clyde to the Forth, was strengthened, sixty years after, by a turf-rampart, thirty-six miles in length, known as the wall of Antoninus. The mighty wall of Hadrian, from the Solway to the Tyne, was the great artificial boundary of Roman England, and served not only as a defence against devastating hostilities, but as a barrier to dangerous amities. The Brigantes, dwelling in Lancashire and Yorkshire, and Cumberland and Durham, and the Mæatæ, a nation of the south of Scotland, were constantly associated in revolt. At length the stern spirit of Severus was roused by the persevering resistance to the imperial domination. The narrative of Dion Cassius of this period of our national history is graphic and interesting.

The Mæatæ, he says, dwell close to the wall which divides the island into two parts;—the Caledonians beyond them. By this wall, he means the rampart of Antoninus. They each lived, amidst mountains and marshes, by pasture and the chase, cultivating no land and inhabiting no towns, but dwelling in tents. Against these people Severus advanced. He underwent indescribable labours in cutting down woods, levelling hills, making marshes passable, and constructing bridges. He saw no army, and fought no battle; but he was perpetually harassed by ambuscades, and of his men fifty thousand perished. Suffering by infirmity and sickness, the iron will of the emperor would not yield; and he was borne through the hostile district, in a covered litter, to the extremity of the island, where he concluded a treaty with the chieftains. The vengeance which next year Severus destined for the tribes who still continued to resist was cut short by his death, which took place at York, in the year

211. Caracalla, his son, had other purposes of ambition than the chastisement of a barbarous tribe. He returned to Rome, leaving North Britain to its own fortunes by retiring from the hostile country.

From the death of Severus to the usurpation of the sovereign power by Carausius, in 286, history is nearly silent on the affairs of Britain. Richard of Cirencestar has only this one entry:—"During these times the Roman armies confined themselves within the wall, and all the island enjoyed a profound peace."

Carausius was by birth a Menapian, or native of Belgic Gaul. Appointed to the command of a powerful armament, to repress the ravages of Saxon pirates on the shores of Gaul and Britain, he abused his authority in a way which roused the indignation of the Emperors Maximian and Diocletian. Fleeing from their vengeance into Britain, he assumed the imperial purple, with the title of Augustus, and, trusting to the power of his island empire, defied the whole majesty of Rome. After six years of dominion, in which he raised the naval supremacy of Britain to a height which it only subsequently attained in the days of Alfred, he was betrayed and murdered by his minister Allectus; and in three more years independent Britain was again subjected to the rule of the Cæsars, by the defeat of this second usurper, and quietly remained under the imperial government of Constantius Chlorus, and of his successor Constantine.

At this time the island was divided into five provinces. "Britannia Prima" was the name of all the district from the North Foreland to the Land's End, including the Isle of Wight, and comprehending all the inland parts south of the Thames and the Bristol Channel. North and South Wales constituted "Britannia Secunda." The third province, "Flavia Cæsariensis,"—so called from the cruel and jealous lord, Titus Flavius Domitianus, of the wise Agricola, who subdued and settled this important district—extended from the Humber to the Mersey. "Maxima Cæsariensis," the fourth province, included all the northern district to the wall of Hadrian and Severus. Beyond that wall, the fifth province, "Valentia," extended to the rampart of Antonine between the firths. To the extreme north was the unconquered Caledonia.

Of the amount of the population of Roman Britain it is difficult to arrive at any satisfactory estimate. Tacitus gives us distinct evidence that the Roman troops in Britain were supported by the tribute of grain—the produce of a country in which there were roads. Agricola augmented the tribute. In the middle of the fourth century the Emperor Julian had built warehouses in his continental dominions for the reception of corn from Britain. We learn that in one season six hundred large barks made several voyages under his direction to the coasts of Britain, and supplied the starving Rhine provinces, desolated by war, from the stores of the fertile island. The abundance of agricultural produce for export assumes the existence of a large rural population. Nor is the fact less clear that there had been, from very early times, a mining population.

It is probable that the population of England at the end of the third century was a very mixed one. Tacitus speaks of Gauls and Germans in

the army of Agricola. Cæsar distinctly notices the presence of continental tribes in Britain. The permanent Roman forces in the island amounted to only about twenty-one thousand men. The fortified stations were so judiciously distributed as to require no very large force to garrison. Richborough in Kent, and Burgh in Suffolk, are the remains of two of the most important of the maritime fortresses. The natives were not entrusted with any share in the charge of the defences.

There were nine Roman colonies in Britain in which the institutions of Rome were adopted, without any change in the forms or principles of local government; these were, London, Colchester, Richborough, Bath, Cærleon (in Monmouthshire), Chester, Gloucester, Lincoln, and Chesterford (near Cambridge). There were also two municipal cities, York and Verulam. Richard of Cirencester, a monk of the fourteenth century, says, "Among the Britons were formerly ninety-two cities, of which thirty-three were more celebrated and conspicuous." Ptolemy, the geographer, gives the names of fifty-six towns, forty years after Agricola's occupation of Britain. The government of Rome was essentially municipal. The British cities were ranked, some as municipal, some as colonial, some as under the Latian law, and some as stipendiary. They were all governed by municipal regulations and municipal officers. The population of a city comprised the senators, the "curiales," who were under the supervision of the great "procurator," or revenue-officer of the province; the plebeians; and the slaves, who were, perhaps, the most numerous body in the Romanised cities of Britain. At the end of the third century it may reasonably be assumed that the class of free artisans was established. Over all rode the great centralising power of Rome itself. The visible head of this mighty domination was the consul. In him was the supreme military and civil power vested up to the time of Constantine. But over him was the jealous control of the Cæsar of the hour.

Of the state of the arts in Britain we have no very distinct means of judging. It is recorded by Eumenius, that when the Emperor Constantius rebuilt the city of Autun, in Gaul, he brought the artificers chiefly from Britain. Nothing, however, has been discovered of architectural remains which show a very high style of art. Of decorative painting we are not without specimens—such as the Roman villa of Bignor, in Sussex.

In no country under the dominion of Rome was the admixture of races so extensive as in Britain. The result in the large communities was a blended progeny and a blended language. That the Britons were not as fully Romanised as were the people of Spain and Gaul, was a natural consequence of their insular position, and of that indomitable character which Tacitus so honestly records.

Tertullian, at the beginning of the third century, says that Britain had received the faith of Christ. The extent of its reception is very doubtful at that early date; but there is ample evidence that a Christian church of some importance was established in Britain at the beginning of the fourth century. At the first Council of Arles, in 314, three British bishops are recorded to have been present, and to have asserted opinions in some degree differing from those of the Romish Church. Constantine was

then emperor. He, the son of Constantius, by an English mother, Helena,—born in Britain—raised to the imperial power by the affection of the army in Britain, in 306,—would necessarily afford every encouragement to the propagation of the faith which he had himself adopted. But, a few years before, the spread of Christianity had been fearfully interrupted by the persecutions under Diocletian and Maximian. To this period of fiery trial belongs the history of the British proto-martyr, Alban. The legend of Saint Alban, as told by Bede, has much of what Milton calls "fabling zeal;" but, nevertheless, his beautiful and simple narrative is not uninstructive. Alban was a Pagan, says Bede, at the time when the persecution began; and receiving into his house a certain priest, who was flying from the oppressors, was converted by his piety, and became a Christian in all sincerity of heart. When the hiding-place of the fugitive was discovered, Alban disguised himself in the clerical gown which his guest had worn, and was led bound before the Roman magistrate. The sacrifice to friendship was perfected by the stripes and death of the "self-offered victim," who boldly declared himself: "My name is Alban, and I worship the only true and living God, who created all things." He was delivered to the lictor; but the man was so moved by the fortitude of the Christian, and by the miraculous circumstances attending his progress, that he refused to perform his bloody office. Another executioner was found, and the two perished together.

The civil government of Britain was remodelled by Constantine. The province was placed under the jurisdiction of the prefect of the Gauls; and his deputy, who bore the title of Vicar of Britain, resided at York. Under him were presidents of each of the four great divisions of the island. The military administration of the country was separated from the civil, and was confided to three officers, whose titles of count and duke have descended to modern ages. Constantine died in the year 337; but the internal tranquillity of the island was little disturbed for half a century after the persecution of the Christians had ceased.

In the year 360, the tribes whom we call Picts and Scots entered the provinces within the wall of Hadrian in considerable numbers. These tribes, grown powerful in the fourth century, had gradually made inroads upon the southern provinces; and, in the year 368, had carried their devastations as far as London. The Roman bands had given way before them, and their leaders had been slain. At length the great general, Theodosius, came over from Gaul with a considerable force, and drove back the marauders beyond the wall of Antoninus. The garrisons were re-established; the civil administration was reformed; and Britain once more appeared likely to return to the safety and peace of the preceding half-century.

In the army of Theodosius was a leader named Maximus, of a distinguished British family. He had acquired high honour by his skill and bravery in the expulsion of the Scots and Picts, and was ultimately proclaimed by the army, emperor of Britain. He was probably supported by the British races, who prevailed, without much admixture, in Wales and Cornwall. In an evil hour he quitted the security of his island empire, [illegible] to found a new continental branch of the Roman dominion.

He was ultimately defeated and put to death in 388. During his five years of struggling power, large numbers of the British had followed his fortunes in Gaul; and, after his fall, they refused to return to their native country. The old chroniclers, Gildas, Bede, Nennius, and Henry of Huntingdon, distinctly connect the settlement of a Roman-British colony in Gaul with the period of the usurpation of Maximus. The story of Conan, the British chief, who led his followers to the walls of Paris, and there fought with Maximus against Gratian, is circumstantially told in the histories of Brittany by D'Argentré and Daru. Maximus and Conan separated. The British chief carried his legions to Armorica, where he founded that colony which for so many centuries had an intimate connection with Cornwall and Wales; and where the same language as that of its Britannic founders was long spoken. The emigration to the western shores of Gaul may not have been so numerous as some believe, who put the number of armed warriors at a hundred thousand; but that there was a decided weakening of the military strength of the country, towards the end of the fourth century, is very manifest. The hordes of Alaric were overrunning Italy. When the remote British province was harassed by its fierce enemies from the Grampian mountains, and from the more dangerous neighbourhood of Galloway and Dumfries-shire, sometimes the Roman soldiers could be spared for their succour, and the invaders were driven back. When the Roman legions were recalled, the untiring enemies again came. The island was harassed within as well as from without. Pretenders to a sovereign power in the Roman province were set up, and as quickly deposed. Marcus and Gratian were rulers for a few months. Constantine, a soldier raised from the ranks, had a somewhat longer tenure of power; but leaving Britain, to carry on a more extended resistance to the Emperor Honorius, the Britons threw off their allegiance to the Roman authority, and by one vigorous effort repelled their fierce assailants by their own strength. Zosimus, the historian, records those events, as well as the concurrent establishment of an independent government by the Armoricans. "The neglect of Constantine," he says, "compelled both the inhabitants of the Britannic island, as well as some of the Celtic nations, to revolt from the empire of the Romans, and to live independent of them, no longer obeying their laws. The people, therefore, of Britain, taking up arms and defying every danger, freed their cities from the invading barbarians. And the whole Armoric and other provinces of Gaul, imitating the Britons, liberated themselves in like manner, expelling the Roman prefects, and setting up a civil policy according to their own inclination."

Here, then, in the year 409, was our England an independent state. In the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,"—the curious but meagre record of early events, which is supposed to have existed in the time of Alfred, and even to have been partly compiled by that great king,—there is the following entry, which singularly agrees with the chronology of Greek and Latin historians:—"A. 409. This year the Goths took the city of Rome by storm, and after this the Romans never ruled in Britain, and this was about eleven hundred and ten years after it was built. Altogether they ruled in Britain four hundred and seventy years since Caius Julius first

sought the land." Bede has the same account of the duration of the Roman rule. Procopius, who flourished in the sixth century, relating the defeat of Constantine and his son by Honorius, says, "The Romans no longer had it in their power to recover Britain; so that from this time it remained subject to usurpers."

CHAPTER I.

WHEN the Roman power was withdrawn, the municipal institutions which the imperial rule had established resolved themselves into separate governments without any principle of cohesion. Nor was the power of the Christian Church in Britain of a more united character than that of the civil rulers. At this time arose the Pelagian heresy, and was adopted, according to Bede, by those "conspicuous for riches." Pelagius was a Briton, whose plain unlatinised name was Morgan. The people were the judges of this great controversy; and gave their voices for the orthodox belief.

Macaulay says of this period, "an age of fable completely separates two ages of truth." This accomplished historian questions the very existence of Hengist and Horsa, Vortigern and Rowena, Arthur and Mordred. We derive Hengist and Horsa from old Anglo-Saxon authorities; and modern history generally adopts them. Arthur and Mordred have a Celtic origin, and they are as generally rejected as "mythical persons." It appears to us that it is as precipitate wholly to renounce the one as the other, because they are both surrounded with an atmosphere of the fabulous. According to Anglo-Saxon historians, Hengist and Horsa landed in the year 449, on the shore which is called Ypwines-fleet. "They were the sons of Wihtgils; Wihtgils son of Witta, Witta son of Wecta, Wecta of Woden. From this Woden sprung all our royal families." These descendants, in the third generation, from the great Saxon divinity, came over in three boats. They came by invitation of Wyrtgeone—Vortigern—king of the Britons. The king gave them land in the south-east of the country, on condition that they should fight against the Picts; and they did fight, and had the victory wheresoever they came. They sent for the Angles, and told them of the worthlessness of the people and the excellences of the land. Then came the great battles for possession of the country. At Aylesford and Crayford the Kentish Britons were overthrown. Before the Angles, the Welsh fled like fire. Hengist and Æsc slew four troops of Britons with the edge of the sword. Hengist then vanishes, and Ælla comes with his three sons. In 491 they besieged Andres-ceater, "and slew all that dwelt therein, so that not a single Briton was there left." Then come Cerdic and Cynric his son; then Port and his two sons, and land at Portsmouth; and so we reach the sixth century. Cerdic and Cynric now stand foremost amongst the slaughterers and they establish the kingdom of the West Saxons, and conquer the Isle of Wight. In the middle of the century, Ida begins to

reign, from whom arose the royal race of North-humbria. In 565, Ethelbert succeeded to the kingdom of the Kentish-men, and held it fifty-three years. The war goes on in the south-midland counties, where Cuthwulf is fighting; and it reaches the districts of the Severn, where Cuthwine and Ceawlin slay great kings, and take Gloucester, and Cirencester, and Bath. One of these fierce brethren is killed at last, and Ceawlin, "having taken many spoils and towns innumerable, wrathful returned to his own." These details we gather from the Anglo-Saxon records. In the British history of Geoffrey of Monmouth we have Rowena with her golden wine-cup; the two dragons who hindered the foundation of Vortigern's tower; Usher Pendragon bringing over "The Giant's Dance" from Ireland, and setting it up in Salisbury Plain; his son Arthur, with his magician Merlin, and his Knights of the Round Table; the traitor Mordred, and many other mythical personages and events.

Amidst the bewildering mass of the obscure and the fabulous which our history presents of the first century and a half of the Saxon colonisation, there are some well-established facts which are borne out by subsequent investigations. Such is Bede's account of the country of the invaders, and the parts in which they settled. This account, compared with other authorities, gives us the following results:—They consisted of "the three most powerful nations of Germany,—Saxons, Angles, and Jutes." The Saxons came from the parts which, in Bede's time, were called the country of the Old Saxons. That country is now known as the Duchy of Holstein. These, under Ella, founded the kingdom of the South Saxons, our present Sussex. Later in the fifth century, the same people, under Cerdic, established themselves in the district extending from Sussex to Devonshire and Cornwall, which was the kingdom of the West Saxons. Other Saxons settled in Essex and Middlesex. The Angles, says Bede, came from "the country called Angelland, and it is said from that time to remain desert to this day." There is part of the Duchy of Sleswig, to the north of Holstein, which still bears the name of Angel or Angeln. These people gave their name to the whole country, Engla-land, or Angla-land, from the greater extent of territory which they permanently occupied. As the Saxons possessed themselves of the southern coasts, the Angles established themselves on the north-eastern. Their kingdom of East Anglia comprised Norfolk and Suffolk, as well as part of Cambridgeshire; and they extended themselves to the north of the Humber, forming the powerful state of Northumbria, and carrying their dominion even to the Forth and the Clyde. The Jutes came from the country north of the Angles, which is in the upper part of the present Sleswig; and they occupied Kent and the Isle of Wight, with that part of Hampshire which is opposite the island. Sir Francis Palgrave is of opinion that "the tribes by whom Britain was invaded appear principally to have proceeded from the country now called Friesland; for, of all the continental dialects, the ancient Frisick is the one which approaches most nearly to the Anglo-Saxon of our ancestors."

Connected with the early name of the country is the well-known story of Gregory the Great. In the market-place of Rome were exposed to sale some youthful slaves—fair-skinned and comely, with the long hair which was regarded as a mark of good descent. They are Angles—Angli,—said

the dealers in slaves. "They have an angelic mien," said the monk Gregory, "and it becomes such to be coheirs with the angels in heaven." They came from the province of Deira, said the merchants (Northumbria was divided into Deira and Bernicia). "It is well," said the priest; "*de ira dei*, snatched from wrath, and called to the mercy of Christ." Lastly, he was told that the king of the province was Ella. "*Alleluiah*," said the good father; "the praise of God the Creator must be sung in those parts." From that time Gregory devoted himself to the conversion of that Britain which had relapsed into heathendom.

"This year" (A.D. 597), says the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, "Augustin and his companions came to the land of the Angles." The earnest wish of Gregory had at length been carried out. At the first command of his spiritual superior, Augustin and his companions set forward. They landed in the Isle of Thanet, in number about forty. "At that time," says Bede, "he [Ethelbert] was the powerful king of Kent, who had extended his dominion as far as the great river Humber, by which the Southern Saxons are [illegible] from the Northern." In the Kentish kingdom were now included [illegible] as a subordinate acknowledging the supremacy [illegible]. The kingdom of the West Saxons was another powerful one [illegible] already became the acknowledged seat of the supremacy [illegible]. Ethelbert had his formal residence in the extreme [illegible]. Mercia seemed much as the remainder of England must [illegible] Saxon and Jute in the Southern, but at the time of Ethelbert, [illegible] and warlike had at length its many sovereignties to the [illegible] Mercian king. Northumbria, uniting the two kingdoms [illegible] and Bernicia, stretched [illegible] Humber to the Forth and [illegible] the north, were the Picts and Scots. In the former were [illegible] and throughout Wales were [illegible] in the mountains [illegible].

[illegible]

Augustin does not appear to have carried out the liberal and truly Christian views of his spiritual superior, Gregory. His want of humility so offended the ministers of the ancient British church, who had maintained the Christian doctrine amidst the changes and terrors of three centuries, that they refused to acknowledge him as their archbishop. There was no union between the Anglo-Saxon and the British church; and Augustin threatened that, if they would not accept peace with their brothers, they should have war with their enemies. The vengeance with which they were threatened finally came upon them in the massacre of Bangor. On that terrible day, when Ethelfrith, the Bernician, advanced against the Britons, the monks of Bangor, who had fled to the army headed by the chief of Powis, knelt upon the battle-field, and prayed for the safety of their countrymen. The Pagan Saxon ordered the unarmed band to be massacred; "for if they are crying to God for my enemies, then they fight against me, though without arms."

Before the death of Ethelbert, in 616, he promulgated a code of laws, according to the counsel of wise men. These laws were a collection of the ordinances in practical application amongst the Saxon people for the administration of justice; and they continued in force, with variation that very slightly affected their principle, for several centuries. They were the Common Law of the Germanic tribes, reduced in Ethelbert's kingdom to a statutory form, at the beginning of the seventh century. They were founded upon the principle of pecuniary compensation for every offence against person and property. The law of the state fixed a value upon every man's life, according to his degree; which price, in the event of his being slain, was to be paid to his relatives. In the same way it fixed a tariff upon the outrages upon a man's domestic honour, and upon all personal injuries that did not destroy life. The evil consequences of the infliction, and not the motive of the offender, regulated the amount of the amends. These "dooms," as they were called, applied only to freemen. The greater number of the community were unfree. There were poor freemen, no doubt, who held land upon the consideration of a labour rent, but the greater number of all labourers were serfs. The law gave compensation to the owner of a slave for his murder or mutilation by another, but the owner was himself privileged to murder or mutilate him without accountability to any earthly tribunal. Pecuniary compensation for any offence the serf might commit was out of the question. He had no property, and he paid by yielding his body to the lash.

Bede tells the story of the conversion of King Edwin by Paulinus with his usual charming simplicity. Edwin was king of Northumbria. His youth had been one of exile and suffering. He had regained his kingdom, and had married the Christian daughter of Ethelbert of Kent. Paulinus, an ordained bishop, had come with the young Princess Ethelburga to Edwin's country, and had sought in vain to convert the king. An assassin, sent by the king of the West Saxons, attempted the life of Edwin; but the king was saved by the fidelity of one of his nobles, who interposed his own body to avert the death-stroke from his lord. At the same hour Ethelburga bore a daughter. The young king vowed, that if he could obtain a victory over him who had sent the assassin, he would renounce his idols.

The victory was gained. The king, proceeding with caution, summoned his council, after he had long pondered the instructions of Paulinus. Then Paulinus discoursed of God and the true worship with Edwin and Coifi (the chief priest of heathendom), and the king and the priest were converted. The idols were to be smitten and the sacred places profaned; but who, said the king, will accomplish that work? Coifi answered, "I. For who is fitter to destroy, through the wisdom given unto me from God, those things that I have worshipped in my ignorance?" Then Coifi mounted a horse, and took a lance, in defiance of the ordinance that forbade a sacrificing priest to ride, except upon a mare, or to bear arms; and he hurled his lance against the idol, and the temple was set on fire.

The century which saw the establishment of Christianity amongst the Anglo-Saxons, and the succeeding century, formed a period of incessant wars. The Pagan princes were sometimes in the ascendant; sometimes the converted. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, under the year 800, has this record: "Ecgbryht succeeded to the kingdom of the West Saxons." Egbert, the son of Alckmund, king of Kent, had claimed the crown of the West Saxons in 786; but Beortric had been preferred, and for fourteen years Egbert had been an exile at the court of Charlemagne. On the death of Beortric by poison, prepared by his wife, Edburga, for his friend, Egbert was at once chosen as his successor. The Chronicle continues: "And the same day, Æthelmund, ealdorman, rode out from the Huiccii at Cynemæresford (Kempsford). Then Weottan the ealdorman, with the men of Wiltshire, met him. There was a great fight, and both the ealdormen were slain, and the men of Wiltshire got the victory." The Huiccii, or Wiccii, were men of Worcestershire and Warwickshire.

After a few years of repose the people of Cornwall and Wales were in commotion; as their brethren of Armorica were also revolting against Charlemagne. There was always this sympathy between the Britons on either side of the Channel. They were put down; and Cornwall was nominally united with Wessex, but remained free from Anglo-Saxon occupation for centuries, during which the people preserved their own language. In Mercia there was usurpation and anarchy. Egbert seized the opportunity, and asserted that supremacy which Wessex never lost. The battle of Ellundune (Wilton)—the great struggle between Egbert and Beornwulf—was fought in 823. In 827, Northumbria had submitted to the king who had conquered the whole country south of the Humber.

Egbert died in 837, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Ethelwulf, who deputed the governments of Kent, Essex, Surrey, and Sussex to his son Æthelstan. This divided sovereignty was probably a fatal obstacle to unity of action in the defence of the country against the terrible Northmen, who, in the time of Egbert, had begun to ravage the country. The Northmen were designated as Danes by the Anglo-Saxons, but they were not exclusively natives of Denmark. Their home was the sea. The ancient Scandinavia could never have been very fully peopled; and a thousand years ago the coasts only were populous. "The eldest son of an aristocratic house inherited the family property. The younger ones were not indeed quartered on their own country, but were sent forth in ships for the purpose of plundering the happier lands of the south. From these expedi-

tions the idea first sprang of making permanent conquests, which ended in the establishment of Scandinavian dynasties in England."* The son of a king or chief, who had a maritime command, was termed a Viking; and thus we term generally those fierce captains, whose ravages afflicted our country, so exposed to their incursions. They came in numerous small vessels, in which they penetrated narrow rivers, and poured down upon defenceless villages and unprotected houses of religion. They distracted and terrified the peaceful inhabitants by their combined attacks upon different points. In the middle of the ninth century they ranged over the English Channel,—now landing in Devonshire to be defeated; now worsted in a sea-fight at Sandwich; now wintering in the Isle of Thanet, or, according to some chroniclers, in Sheppey. Then they arrived with a mighty fleet at the mouth of the Thames—plundered Canterbury; sailed up to London; and, penetrating into Surrey, were defeated and driven back by Ethelwulf and his son Ethelbald. The warriors fell on both sides, like corn in harvest.† In 845, after a winter of terrible severity, the marauders entered Paris on a chilling Easter-eve, having everywhere left the traces of their ravages along the banks of the Seine. The inhabitants fled from Paris, resigning the city to the plunderers. Charles the Bald, by an enormous subsidy, bought off their retreat.

King Ethelwulf had four sons and a daughter. His wife was Osburga, the daughter of Oslac, his cupbearer. She was of the race of Cerdic, from whom Ethelwulf himself derived his lineage. The Saxon kings of this period claimed no absolute lordship. They held their own by inheritance or purchase. They disposed of their acquired property by will, although certain estates always went with the crown. That property was scattered about the country. In the royal houses there was no great pomp, and very little of what we call comfort.

Asser records the public events of the kingdom up to the year 866, when Ethelwulf's fourth son, Alfred, was in his eighteenth year, and then proceeds thus:—"I think right in this place briefly to relate as much as has come to my knowledge about the character of my revered lord Alfred, king of the Anglo-Saxons, during the years that he was an infant and a boy. He was loved by his father and mother, and even by all the people, above all his brothers, and was educated altogether at the court of the king. . . . . His noble nature implanted in him from his cradle a love of wisdom above all things; but, with shame be it spoken, by the unworthy neglect of his parents and nurses, he remained illiterate even till he was twelve years old, or more."‡ He listened, it is added, to the Saxon poems which he often heard recited, and easily retained them in his memory. He was a zealous practiser of hunting in all its varieties. Asser's charming story of the mode in which Alfred was encouraged by his mother to learn to read, evidently belongs to a much earlier period of Alfred's life than that of his twelfth year. In his fourth or fifth year he

* *Thorpe, note in* Lappenberg, vol. ii., p. 17.

† *Henry of Huntingdon.*

‡ *The words of Asser* are, "illiteratus permansit." This certainly does not warrant *Hume's interpretation*, "totally ignorant of the lowest elements of literature," *even if we accept Asser's* "twelve years old" as correct.

was sent by his father to Rome. In 853, says the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, "King Ethelwulf sent his son Alfred to Rome." In 855, we find in the same record, "King Ethelwulf went to Rome in great state, and dwelt there twelve months, and then returned homewards." His marriage to Judith, daughter of the French king, Charles the Bald, and his death, about two years afterwards, are subsequently recorded; but the chroniclers make no mention of the death or of the divorce of Alfred's mother, Osburga. Judith subsequently became the wife of Ethelbald; but this marriage with her stepson was against the canons of the church, and Judith was sent back to her father. We find in one of the MSS. of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle the following entry: "Alfred his third [fourth] son, he had sent to Rome; and *when Pope Leo heard say that Ethelwulf was dead*, he consecrated Alfred king, and held him as his spiritual son at confirmation, even as his father Ethelwulf had requested on sending him thither." The second journey to Rome of Alfred, with his father, is distinctly recorded by Asser, although the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle only mentions the first. But in neither authority is it recorded that Alfred returned with his father. When Ethelwulf died, Alfred was nine years old.

Ethelbald, the eldest brother of Alfred, had met Ethelwulf with unfilial hostility when he returned from France with his young wife; and before Ethelwulf's death this son had, by a compulsory partition, attained the dominion of Wessex. The father bequeathed Kent and his other dominions to his second son Ethelbert. After the death of Ethelbald, if he were childless, the succession of Wessex was left to Ethelred, the third son, and to Alfred. In little more than two years after the decease of his father, King Ethelbald died. Alfred was now twelve years old. The two younger brothers asserted no claim to the separate sovereignty, and Ethelbert of Kent was king also of the other dominions.

The Danes were again in fierce activity. They landed at Southampton, and plundered Winchester. They landed in Thanet, and kept Kent in terror by their predatory excursions. Regner Lodbrok, the chief who sailed up the Seine in 845, and carried desolation into Paris, was, some years after, wrecked on the coast of Northumbria. Advancing into the country, he was surrounded and overpowered, and was cast into a dungeon amidst venomous snakes. To revenge his death his sons came in great power to England. At this time of peril Ethelbert died. During the eight years which had elapsed since the death of Ethelwulf, two of Alfred's brothers had reigned. Upon the two younger sons now rested the destinies of England. Ethelred succeeded to the crown of the united kingdoms of Wessex and Kent. Alfred appears to have had a responsible position. He is called "Secundarius." Some conjecture that he ruled over a small district; others that he had a joint authority with his brother. The year 868 was a year of famine, and with the infliction came starvation's sister, pestilence. Alfred was now married. His wife was Elswitha, the daughter of a famous ealdorman of Lincolnshire; and through her mother, who afterwards lived in Alfred's home, she was descended from the royal house of Mercia. Alfred's sister had been married, fifteen years before, to Burrhed, king of Mercia.

In 868 the Danes, who had established themselves at York, crossed the Humber, for the invasion of Mercia. They possessed themselves of Nottingham, where they wintered. The Mercian king immediately sent for succour to his brothers-in-law of Wessex; and Ethelred and Alfred marched to his assistance. They besieged "the house of caves," as Nottingham was called, and compelled the enemy to quit its occupation, and return to Northumbria. But there was no safety for Southern England while the invader was secure in the north. There was rest for a year; and then the devastating power of the Dane rolled onward like a vast engulphing sea that no barrier could shut out. In 870 the Danes again crossed the Humber. "The army," says the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, "rode across Mercia into East Anglia, and took up their winter quarters at Thetford." Ingulphus, the abbot of Croyland, details, from the traditionary relations of an eye-witness, the course of this devastating march through Lincolnshire to Norfolk. The Danes crossed the Witham, and entered the district of Kesteven. Out of the district called Holland came forth the marshmen, under the leading of earl Algar. The moist soil shook beneath the tramplings of gathering bands, pouring out from Deeping, Langtoft, and Boston. The lord of Brunne came with his followers. Tolius, the monk of Croyland, threw off the cowl, and, at the head of a body of fugitives, who had rallied round him, joined the united forces. They attacked the Northmen in their advance, and drove them back to their earthworks. The alarm went forth; and the ravagers from other parts hastened to the rescue. Many of the Mercians fled from the terror of their increasing enemies. But Algar, the earl of Holland, and Morcard, the lord of Brunne, and Osgot, the sheriff of Lincolnshire, and Tolius, the soldier monk, and Harding of Rehale, stood firm, through an autumn day of attack and repulse. In the evening the Northmen made a feint of withdrawing from the field. The English rushed forward to the pursuit. The Danes rallied; and a noon of sagacious resistance was ended in a night of carnage, in which all the patriotic chieftains perished. A few of their followers escaped to Croyland. The abbot and his monks were performing matins, when the terror-stricken fugitives told of the approaching destruction. Some of the timid prayer-men took boat and left their fertile gardens and their sunny orchards, where the vines and apple-trees luxuriated amidst a waste of waters, to hide themselves in the marshes. The bold and the aged who remained at their altars fell in one general slaughter. A little boy only was spared to be led away by Sidroc, one of the Danish chiefs, when they marched forward and left Croyland in flames. Onward they marched, by the ancient roads which cross this land of fens, to Peterborough. The abbot of this great monastery resisted the assailants. His courage was unavailing. All perished; and a pile of smouldering ruins alone remained, where the piety of many generations had heaped up precious relics and costly shrines. The boy of Croyland escaped from his captivity, and from him the narrative attributed to Ingulphus was stated to be derived. Onward went the Northmen. The abbey of Ely was ravaged, as Peterborough and Croyland had been, and all its inmates were murdered.

The Danes were now in East Anglia. Edmund, the king, obtained

crown of that separate province in 855. He had held his rule in peace till this fatal invasion, which was destined to end the dominion of the Anglo-Saxon race in that part of the island. In a battle with Ingvar, the most cruel of the Danish chiefs, Edmund was taken prisoner and slain. The great danger of England was drawing closer and closer round the rulers and the people of Wessex. Northumbria was in the power of the invaders. Guthrum, the Dane, ruled over East Anglia: Mercia was weak and irresolute. "This year," 871, says the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, "the army came to Reading, in Wessex: and three days after this, two of their earls rode forth. Then Ethelwulf, the ealdorman, met them at Englefield, and there fought against them, and got the victory: and there one of them, whose name was Sidroc, was slain. About three days after this, King Ethelred and Alfred his brother led a large force to Reading, and fought against the army, and there was great slaughter made on either hand." The Northmen, with superior strategy, had thrown up an entrenchment between the Thames and the Kennet, and their superiority of position compelled the Saxons to retreat. "Ethelwulf, the ealdorman, was slain, and the Danish men had possession of the place of carnage." But the retreat was not a flight. "And about four days after this, King Ethelred and Alfred his brother fought against the whole army at Ascesdun." Asser says, "The field of battle was not equally advantageous to both parties. The Pagans occupied the higher ground, and the Christians came up from below." The Danish army was divided into two bodies: the one commanded by two kings, whose names are recorded as Bagsec and Halfdene, the other by many earls. The Pagans came on rapidly to fight. Asser says, "Alfred, as we have been told by those who were present, and would not tell an untruth, marched up promptly with his men to give them battle: for King Ethelred remained a long time in his tent in prayer, hearing the mass, and said he would not leave it till the priest had done, or abandon the divine protection for that of man." The younger brother rushed on alone,—he resisted, like a boar of the woods upraised many a; and the banner of the White Horse floated triumphantly over the Danish men. But though equally interested in the greatest battle that the Northmen had fought on the English soil, they would shrink from no contest as long as the fertile lands of the west and the south were to be won. They came, with great reinforcements, from their native seas. They fought with Ethelred and Alfred at Basing, and were not driven back. In two months after, they fought at Merton; and the Saxon brothers were victorious during a great part of the day, and there was much slaughter on either hand: but, adds the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, "the Danes had possession of the place of carnage." At Easter, after this battle, King Ethelred died, "worn down with numberless labours," as Malmesbury records. Others say that he received a fatal wound in the battle of Merton. When Alfred was summoned as [illegible] he had four brothers. They had each won the esteem of Wessex in the succession. Ethelred left two infant sons: but this was not a time when the ordinary laws of royal succession could be respected. If the Saxon principle of election had ceased to be in force. Asser [illegible] the same year 871, the atheling Alfred, with [illegible]

during the life of his brother, had held a secondary place, immediately upon Ethelred's death, by the grace of God, assumed the government of the whole realm, with the greatest good-will of all the inhabitants of the kingdom."

Before Alfred came to the throne, he had made himself well acquainted with the condition of the population over which he was to rule. He himself says, "These are the materials of a king's work, and his tools to govern with; that he have his land fully peopled; that he should have prayer-men, and army-men, and workmen." The peopling of the land was derived from a systematic occupation, and not a chance establishment of migratory bands. The hide of land was the estate of one family. The prayer-men formed a very large body, and their services were as essential to the welfare and preservation of the state as those of the army-men. The Church kept the island in a connection with the European community under the Roman ecclesiastical authority: and thus prevented it halting while other countries were progressing. In their own localities the clergy were necessarily advancing the great arts of life. They kept alive the emulation of the cultivators. They had the trimmest gardens and the most productive orchards. Their ponds were stored with the choicest fish. They practised the healing arts before medicines and surgery were professions. They were the transcribers of books. Their breviaries and chronicles were adorned with pictorial representations, more powerful often than words. They were musicians. They were architects. The army-men, who were to be provided with weapons, were the *posse comitatus*—the national levies, headed by the king, his ealdormen, and his inferior nobles. The freemen constituted the armed force of the shire, and the ealdorman of the shire was their chief. The division of the country into shires, hundreds, and tithings, made the calling out of these levies a matter of well-ordered arrangement. The third class of tools that a king must govern with, was the workmen. The greater number of them were serfs; the king knew full well that they must have due provision for their physical wants—meat, and ale, and clothes, and what else is needful. There was a fund for the poor which was a part of the tithe of the church; there were altar oblations. The Saxon law for the poor was strictly a law of settlement; and, as the serf was compelled to remain in one place and one service, his lord was also obliged to provide for him.

From his brother's grave at Wimborne, in Dorsetshire, Alfred marched to attack the Danes at Wilton. He was defeated. In one year nine battles had been fought, and the Saxons were reduced to a small band. The invaders agreed to quit Wessex, upon the payment of a tribute. The next year Mercia submitted to the same humiliating conditions. No submission could save Mercia and its unhappy king. The Danes again ravaged the country, and the brother-in-law of Alfred fled from the shores of England to die a pilgrim in Rome. Alfred's sister survived, and probably found an asylum with her brother. The throne of Mercia was then filled by Ceolwulf, "an unwise king," as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle calls him, who was a traitor to his country. He was soon dethroned by those to whom he had become a tributary. In Northumbria, the Danes became established settlers, "and that year (876) Healfdene apportioned the lands

Northumbria, and they thenceforward continued ploughing and tilling them." But the ambition of the Northmen was still unsated: they aimed at the subjection of all England. As Rollo overran Normandy, and wholly subdued it, at this very time, Healfdene and Guthrum sought to conquer Wessex, the only barrier to their overwhelming power. Alfred, for seven years, had been carrying on a desultory contest, with no marked result. He made truce after truce; he exacted oaths; he received hostages. With the exception of his first naval battle, in 875, the king appears to have been constantly aiming at a false security by vain negotiation. A reasonable explanation of the apparent inconsistencies of Alfred's conduct at this time is that he was surrounded by a timid Witan, or council of wise men. The king had no power of himself to conclude peace or make war, without the authority of the Witan. The catastrophe justifies this interpretation. "This year (878) during midwinter, after Twelfth-night, the army stole away to Chippenham, and overran the land of the West-Saxons, and sat down there; and many of the people they drove beyond sea, and of the remainder the greater part they subdued and forced to obey them, *except King Alfred* . . . . He, with a small band, with difficulty retreated to the woods, and to the fastnesses of the moors."*

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle notices a triumph over the Danes in Devonshire; and then takes up the story of Alfred again. The king retreated to the woods and moors, after Twelfth-night, in 878. "At Easter," says the Chronicle, "King Alfred, with a small band, constructed a fortress at Athelney; and from this fortress, with that part of the men of Somerset which was nearest to it, from time to time they fought against the army." Utterly destitute of the necessaries of life, they sallied forth from their coverts, to compel the pagans, or those who were under the dominion of the pagans, to give them food. Who does not know the stories which belong to this period—the story of Alfred and the cakes; of Alfred and St. Cuthbert; of Alfred disguised as a minstrel visiting the Danish camp? Such narratives may not be very authentic, but they are very interesting.

At the beginning of the year 878, the Danes were at Chippenham, a royal town of the West Saxons. The king had fled no one knew whither. The invaders sat down as if their possession were never to be disturbed. In that year Easter fell on the 23rd of March. Alfred was in Athelney. On this small space of rising ground, defended in the spring time by the waters of the Thone and the Parret, and by the impassable marshes, was the king's camp of refuge. Seven weeks after that Easter—that is, in the middle of May,—Alfred and his few followers had marched to Egbertstone.† He showed himself to the assembled people; and soon there gathered round him a formidable band. Alfred encamped for one night. At the earliest dawn he was again on his march [illegible] encamped at nightfall. On the third day came the [illegible] The Danes had come out from their [illegible] suddenly sprung up. [illegible] Saxons met them in [illegible] to their fortress.

[illegible] near Westbury [illegible] shire.

To the edge of their camp the king pursued, carrying terror with him in unsparing slaughter. Shutting themselves up in their fastnesses, they ventured no other fight in the open field. But the whole country was roused. On every side the Dane was beleaguered. No supplies could reach his starving soldiers; and after fourteen days of terrible privation, Guthrum, the conqueror of East Anglia, offered to give hostages, and quit the kingdom of Wessex. Alfred had conquered peace. But he had higher objects than the humiliation of his enemy. The Danes had too secure possession of East Anglia to be easily driven out. There they had become settlers and cultivators. They had entered into the nationality of England. They desired to enter into the community of Christian states, and to renounce the heathendom which they had brought from the great seats of northern superstition. Guthrum, the king, seven weeks after his submission, was baptized with thirty of his officers: Alfred being his sponsor, and he receiving the name of Athelstan. "Alfred's and Guthrum's Peace" was an advance towards a complete nationality which was to be perfected in the fulness of time by common religion and common laws.

Guthrum, after making several ineffectual attempts to shake off his allegiance, died in 890. During the few years of rest which England had won by Alfred's exertions, the Danes, under the great leader Hasting, had overrun the countries of the Rhine, the Scheldt, and the Meuse, whilst France had purchased exemption by paying tribute. In 882, they blockaded the Loire. Having concluded a truce with France, they suddenly turned to England. Alfred had learned the true defence of the island, and defeated his enemies at sea. In 884, they landed in Kent, and beseiged Rochester. Alfred was there with his army, and drove them back to their ships. In 894, having previously established a landing in the mouth of the Thames, they effected another landing in Kent. Alfred was not unprepared. He did not call out the whole adult population to meet the invaders, but had made a wise provision for the due cultivation of the land, by summoning half the population for military service, leaving the other half in their homes. Each half, in its turn, exercised the duties of war and of industry. During the interval of peace, he had also created a navy. There were two Danish armies to encounter. The one was posted on the Swale, near Milton; the other was on the coast. On the Essex coast were the doubtful East Anglians, who would follow the fortunes of Hasting if they led to victory. Alfred threw himself between the two armies. The Dane saw his danger and resorted to negotiation. He agreed to leave the country, and sent to the king two of his sons as hostages. But he meditated treachery. The hostages had been returned by the confiding Saxon. Then the army which had been landed in Kent suddenly marched across the country. Before a junction could be effected, Alfred pursued that to Farnham and defeated the Northmen in a general engagement. ny fled through Essex, and finally took refuge in the Isle of at the mouth of the Colne. The king blockaded the fugitive eanwhile, some of the colonists of East Anglia t, and, sailing along the southern coast, attacked sting round the northern parts of the island, l. Hasting, who had remained in the Swale,

now sailed up the Thames, and devastated Mercia. But wherever the enemy was, there was Alfred. He drove him out of Exeter. He cleared Mercia of its ravagers, and they again fled to the Isle of Mersey. They had established an alliance in East Anglia, and, with powerful reinforcements, the next year marched across the country, and took possession of Chester. Again was Alfred after them; and again he drove them to the east. They towed their ships up the Thames into the Lea, where they fortified themselves. The Londoners attacked them, but were repulsed. It was the approaching harvest time of 896, and Alfred brought up his army to prevent the invaders from gathering the corn. The Danes rested securely in their strong position, while the king appeared to be inactive. The Danish ships were in the Lea; the army was close at hand in its entrenchments. Alfred turned the course of the river below his enemy's position. The channel by which the Danes could bring out their vessels became dry. The labourers upon the new cuts were protected by Alfred's fortified encampment. The invading army then marched through the midland counties to the Severn, and the Londoners seized the deserted vessels. Hasting entrenched himself at Bridgnorth during the ensuing winter; but the spirit of the invaders was broken, and they left the country. The coast was still harassed by frequent descents of the piratical enemy. The great general now became, as Southey terms him, "the first English admiral." He was not a routine administrator, adhering to old models. The Saxon ships, as ordinarily built, were inferior to the æscs of the Northmen, as their vessels were termed. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle describes Alfred's preparation for naval warfare: "Then King Alfred commanded long ships to be built to oppose the æscs; they were full-nigh twice as long as the others; some had sixty oars, and some had more; they were both swifter and steadier, and also lighter than the others. They were shapen neither like the Frisian nor the Danish; but so as it seemed to him that they would be most efficient." With these ships Alfred went forth to his sea-fights. He swept the coasts wherever the marauders appeared, and with a terrible severity he executed the men he captured as pirates. They were pirates upon the largest scale that had been ever seen; and their system had become intolerable throughout Europe. The great enemy was at length completely overcome. The Danish raven was no more seen on the English shores. Alfred secured his kingdom's peace in 897. Within four years, in 901, he was called, "where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest."

This great Saxon ruled over a small state, but his exertions had a world-wide influence. Alfred saved England from foreign domination. He raised her in the scale of nations, and maintained her in the fellowship of Christian communities. He was the first who clearly saw that there was a people to be instructed and civilised. During the fourteen years that followed the peace with Guthrum, his great works were the establishment of order, the consolidation of his kingdom, and the improvement of his people. He gathered around him learned men from various districts. They read to him; they interpreted to him. In 884, he induced Asser, a Welsh monk, to reside with him during a part of the year. In one sojourn of eight months, Asser says, "I translated and read to him what-

ever books he wished, which were within our reach; for it was his peculiar and perpetual custom, day and night, amidst all his afflictions of mind and body, either to read books himself, or to have them read to him by others." The intellectual labour of this king was incessant. He founded new religious societies. He established schools in the various towns. He built fortresses. He repaired roads. He reconstructed cities, especially London, out of the ashes of a desolating warfare. He corresponded with Rome, by ambassadors and by letters. He maintained a communication with the patriarch of Jerusalem; and, what strikes us as most remarkable, he sent a bishop with bounteous gifts to the Syrian Christians in India. The overland journey to the coasts of Malabar was not an easy undertaking in those days. But amidst all this work he had time for his books. He translated "Boëtius," * interspersing the original with constant additions from his own rich thoughts. He also translated Gregory's "Pastorals," a copy of which he sent to each bishop's see, with the injunction that it should remain in the minster, unless the bishop took it with him, "or it be lent somewhere till somebody wrote another copy." Bede's English History was rendered by him from Latin into Saxon; and so was the ancient History of Orosius, to the geographical portions of which he made interesting additions. Other translations are ascribed to him. When we regard this man's manifold exertions, we naturally ask how these tasks were accomplished? The answer is given by the familiar story of his lantern clock. He strictly apportioned his time to the performance of his several duties. To note the progress of the day and night, he caused wax-candles to be made of equal weight and size, so that six candles would burn for twenty-four hours. Minuter divisions of time were marked on each candle. But the wind blowing through the churches in which he worshipped, and the halls and tents in which he studied, made the exposed tapers irregular monitors. He remedied the difficulty by inventing the horn-lantern.

It is as a vigilant administrator, rather than as an original legislator, that the civil merits of Alfred are to be estimated. The peculiar character of his code of laws is the incorporation of the commandments delivered to Moses, and the precepts of Christ, with the enactments that belonged to the social condition of the Anglo-Saxon people. In the religious sanctions and obligations of these laws we trace the distinct incorporation of the Church with the State. In the increased sanctity attached to the person of the king, we see how a dominant monarchical power had grown out of the mere chieftainship of the earlier rulers. On the authority of some of the chroniclers it is generally believed that Alfred divided England into counties, hundreds, and tithings. Malmesbury says:—"He [Alfred] appointed centuries, which they call 'hundreds' and 'decennaries,' that is to say, tithings; so that every Englishman, living according to law, must be a member of both. If any one was accused of a crime, he was obliged immediately to produce persons from the hundred and tithing to become his surety." But Mr. Kemble maintains that the system existed long

* This Latin book, "De Consolatione Philosophiæ," was written early in the sixth century, and was very popular in the middle ages.

before Alfred was born, not only in other German lands, but amongst ourselves.* There were unquestionably many large divisions of the various Saxon kingdoms before the time of Alfred.

The system of surety described by Malmesbury is known to us by the common name of frank-pledge. Its real meaning is, the pledge of peace. Through an early mistake of one Saxon word for another—Fꝛeoborh for Fꝛiðborh—it has become frank-pledge or free-pledge. The hundred was a collection of ten tithings; and had its monthly meetings also as a court of justice, but one of limited powers. The great court was the shire-court. Alfred is said to have appointed judges distinct from the general authorities of the shires or hundreds. But the duties of those judges, whether especially selected or otherwise, was simply presidential. There was no evidence to balance, circumstantial or direct. An accused person might choose to rest upon testimony of character. He made oath as to his own innocence, and called upon a certain number of neighbours to give the like testimony. If a sufficient number made oath to the same effect, the accused was free. But if the compurgation, as it was called, failed, he had then to appeal to the "judgment of God," in going through ordeals. The whole system of ordeal was necessarily open to the grossest frauds. The variety of customary laws in the different districts and kingdoms also caused a difficulty in the administration even of this rude justice, which demanded some sagacity, and was especially embarrassing to judges so ignorant as Asser has described those of Alfred's time to have been. The king's unremitting efforts seemed to have been directed to correct the ignorance of those in authority. The principle of administration which was enforced as the duty of the reeves is thus set forth in the laws of King Edward, the son and successor of Alfred:—"King Edward commands all the reeves; that ye judge such doom as ye know to be most righteous, and as it in the doomsbook stands. Fear not on any account to pronounce folk-right; and that every suit have a term when it shall be brought forward, that ye then may pronounce." The tenure of land seems to have been secured upon safe and uniform principles. Private land was book-land—land recorded in a written book, or charter. A turf cut from the sward, and handed over to the purchaser by the vendor, was the good old Saxon conveyance of land. The delivering the key of a door gave possession of a dwelling.

CHAPTER III.

ALFRED'S eldest son, Edward, was probably about thirty when he was called to the throne by the choice of the Witan. But, chosen as he was by the general voice, Edward's title to the throne was contested by Ethelwold, son of Alfred's elder brother Ethelred; who seized upon some royal

* Saxons in England.

houses, and finally fled to Northumbria, where the Danes chose him as supreme king. A civil war now ensued, which lasted, with various fortunes, for four years. But Ethelwold at length fell in a great fight in East Anglia, which he had invaded and laid waste. His death put an end to this unnatural contention; and Edward, the next year, concluded a treaty with the Danes.

King Edward possessed the indomitable vigour of his father, however he might be wanting in those qualities which raised Alfred so high above the mere warrior. His sister, Ethelfleda, had the same energy of character, and cherished the same resolve to consolidate the realm of England under one dominant authority. She was the wife of Ethelred, the friend of Alfred, who held under him the rule of Mercia. He died in 912. His widow was not superseded by an ealdorman, or sub-king. She was "the Lady of Mercia;" and wisely and bravely did she govern. There was perfect accord between the king and the sovereign lady. Ethelfleda erected fortresses to protect her territory, at Bridgenorth, Stamford, Tamworth, Warwick; while Edward fortified Hertford and Witham. But active as well as defensive warfare was still necessary. In 911, Rollo, the great sea-king, obtained the cession of that duchy of France to which the Northmen gave their name. This conquest offered encouragement to new attacks upon Saxon England. Though the Danish settlers were, for the most part, Christian, their pagan countrymen continued to penetrate into the interior from the coasts of East Anglia and Northumbria; and the old contest, in which the settler and the pirate were united against Wessex and Mercia, was still going on. The Welsh, too, appeared again in revolt. Edward and Ethelfleda were unwearied in their resistance to the powers which assailed them in so many directions; and they were ultimately successful. They became assailants, too, of the territories which had been subdued by the Northmen. The Danes of East Anglia swore allegiance to Edward, who had possessed himself of Colchester, and had repaired the Roman walls; and Ethelfleda compelled the Danish garrisons of Derby and Leicester to surrender, and the Danes of York to submit to her authority. Finally, all the island acknowledged the son of Alfred as lord and protector. The heroic lady of Mercia died at Tamworth about the year 920; and Edward annexed Mercia to Wessex, disregarding the claims of Ethelfleda's daughter.

Edward died in 924. He named his eldest son, Athelstan, as his successor. Malmesbury records that Alfred was affectionately attached to this son of Edward, and dedicated him, as it were, to war and dominion, by bestowing on the beautiful boy a scarlet cloak, a diamond-studded belt, and a Saxon sword in a golden scabbard. The next son, Ethelward, died soon after his father. The other sons were under age. Athelstan was crowned at Kingston, in 924. It appears that his succession, though sanctioned by the Witan, met with opposition; and a conspiracy was formed to depose and put out his eyes. The leader of this sedition is called by Malmesbury one Elfred.

The reign of Athelstan was spread over the short term of fifteen years, but it was the culminating point of the glory and power of Saxon England. "The terror of his name," according to Malmesbury, left him the

undisputed dominion of the island, with the exception of Northumbria. The Danish chieftain of that district, Sihtric, acknowledged Athelstan's supremacy, and received his sister in marriage. The alliance was soon dissolved. The history which bears the name of Matthew of Westminster records that the Dane, who had embraced Christianity, renounced his wife and his faith at the same time (A.D. 926). Athelstan was preparing to revenge the injury, when Sihtric died, or was murdered. His sons Guthfric and Anlaf fled, when Athelstan led an army into Northumbria. The vigorous Saxon annexed the Northumbrian kingdom to his dominions. The power which Athelstan had thus won by the sword, he appears to have retained in peace for about ten years. During this period he was the protector and defender of deposed and exiled princes. Alan, son of the duke of Brittany; Haco, son of the king of Norway; and Louis IV. of France, all found refuge in England, and were eventually assisted by Athelstan in regaining their dominions. With regard to Louis, who was his nephew, Athelstan had a difficult policy to pursue. Hugh, who married Athelstan's sister, Edgiva (then dead), was one of the great vassals who were opposed to Louis IV.; and the German king Otho, who had married Elgifa, another sister, had invaded the French dominions. But Athelstan held firmly to the interests of his nephew.

In 934, a league against Athelstan was formed by the under-kings of Scotland and Cumberland. Athelstan was prompt in his measures. He marched into Scotland with a great army, and his fleet ravaged the coast as far as Caithness. The Danes, the Scots, and the Welsh appeared in arms. Anlaf, who had obtained dominion in Ireland and the Western Isles, with upwards of six hundred ships, entered the Humber. All the North was in insurrection. All the South and East went forth to uphold the integrity of the kingdom. The army of Athelstan was encamped on the Scottish borders of Northumberland, according to Camden. The king commanded, with Edmund his brother; and the chancellor Turketul led the Londoners. Then was fought the battle of Brunan-burh, "the bloodiest fight, say authors, that ever this island saw." *

This decisive conflict, by which the confederacy against the Saxon power was completely overthrown, left Athelstan in peace for his few remaining years. He promulgated a code of laws, as his father and grandfather had done. They are conceived in a spirit of justice, according to the opinions and manners of the age. Athelstan died in the year 940, and was buried in the abbey of Malmesbury, where what is called his tomb is still shown. The memory of the great Saxon king still lingers there, and in many other towns in the west of England.

According to the chroniclers, Edmund the Etheling was only eighteen when he came to the crown. The removal of the vigorous Athelstan was the signal of fresh troubles. Anlaf was called from Ireland, and set up by the Northumbrians as their king. He concluded a successful treaty with Edmund, but soon after died. His son could not uphold the power; and the district was again reduced under the dominion of the king of Wessex. Edmund had also subdued the Britons of Cumbria; and had

* Milton's "History of England," book v.

granted their lands to Malcolm of Scotland, under the condition of military service. The young warrior-king did not long enjoy his peace, or enforce his fealty. In the year 946, whilst celebrating the festival of St. Augustin, he was assassinated by an outlaw whom he had banished.

Edred, the brother of Edmund, succeeded to the throne. He was of feeble constitution and of a confiding temper. His first adviser was the Chancellor Turketul, who had fought at the battle of Brunan-burh. In a few years the statesman devoted himself to religion, and became abbot of Croyland. Dunstan, the abbot of Glastonbury, now became the chief director of the public affairs of the country. This king and ruler of the king, "Rex et Regis Imperator," as he is styled by one of his biographers, had been educated in the Monastery of Glastonbury, and had passed his youth at the court of Athelstan. Driven from the favour of this king by his pretensions to supernatural communications, and those superior talents and acquirements which caused him to be regarded as a sorcerer, he was persuaded by his uncle, Athelm, archbishop of Canterbury, to exchange the seductions of the court for the severities of the cloister. In Edmund's reign Dunstan became abbot of Glastonbury. He is stated to have refused the see of Winchester, which was offered to him by Edred. He was planning a real revolution—the establishment of the monastic rule in England, and the concurrent supremacy of the papal power. The first ecclesiastical establishments were of the monastic character. Certain brethren, with a head or bishop, were planted in populous places, and lands were assigned to them for their support. From these houses were teachers sent forth to collect the people, for prayer and for exhortation, around holy crosses, or in convenient buildings. As the increase and spread of the population became a consequence of the progressive cultivation of the land, the going forth from the monastery of ministers of religion into surrounding districts became inconvenient; and churches were planted, where a daily service was performed by a resident priest. These, too, had lands assigned for their support. The celibacy of the clergy was the leading principle to be contended for, in making the Church Romish instead of national. Although the strict canons of the Anglo-Church did not recognise a married priesthood, the law of celibacy had never been rigidly enforced, especially amongst the parochial clergy. The conventual churches were, in many cases, served by what we call seculars. This state of things Dunstan came to break down. In the place of the married priests in their rural parishes, and of the seculars in the conventual churches, he sought to establish an order set apart from the world, in the seclusion of the monastery.

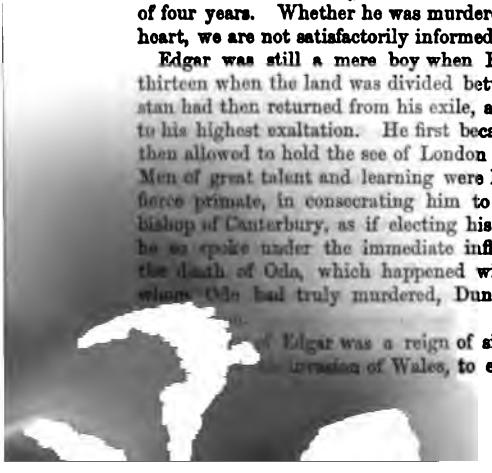
During Edred's reign, Northumbria, which had revolted, was finally subdued; and Edred, having devastated the land, changed its form of government, and reduced it from a kingdom to an earldom. The sickly king styled himself the sovereign of the "fourfold empire of the Anglo-Saxons, and Northumbrians, Pagans, and Britons." From this title we learn that some of the dominions were held under Danish chieftains, who were still unconverted, and were denominated Pagans. Edred died in 956.

Edmund, who, during his short reign of six years, had been twice

married, had left two very young sons. Edwy, called the Fair, succeeded to the throne of his uncle, by the voice of the Witan, at the age of sixteen, or, at the most, eighteen. The counsellors that he found in possession of power, were Dunstan and his friends, the leaders of a great party. Edwy demanded of Dunstan an account of the trust reposed in him as the treasurer of Edred. Dunstan, in return, seized upon a slight violation of propriety on the part of Edwy, to insult and degrade him.

The coronation of the young king followed quickly after his accession. His Witan had taken the oath of allegiance to him, and before the altar he had himself taken the oath to his subjects. The coronation feast succeeded. The king retired early. The assembly murmured at his absence. Dunstan and another went forth; and, bursting into Edwy's private chamber, found him in the company of Elgiva, and her mother Ethelgiva. The abbot seized the youth, and forcibly dragged him back to the hall. Dunstan was banished; and the king threw himself into the hands of the party who were opposed to the great abbot's authority. Edwy's new counsellors advised strong measures against their opponents; and their opponents revenged themselves by loading the king and his female friends with obloquy. Edwy met the scandal as alone it could be met. Elgiva became his wife. A plot was now got up to separate the young queen from her husband, under the plea that the marriage was within the forbidden degrees. They were "to gesybbe,"—too nearly related. There was no solemn act of separation. Upon the banishment of Dunstan, there was soon a revolt against the authority of Edwy. Odo, the archbishop of Canterbury, was a Dane. His influence in Northumbria was very great, and he instigated a general rising in that old settlement of the Danes. In a very short time, Edwy had to divide his dominion with his brother Edgar, who was set up, not as a sub-ruler, but as a sole king. The rebellious subject came to Edwy and his queen with the terrible powers of the Church. He dragged Elgiva from her husband, and we hear no more of her. A lady, after fearful ill treatment, was murdered at Gloucester, but it is uncertain whether this was Elgiva, or, as some pretend, her mother Ethelgiva. At Gloucester also died Edwy, after a reign of four years. Whether he was murdered, or whether he died of a broken heart, we are not satisfactorily informed.

Edgar was still a mere boy when Edwy was removed. He was only thirteen when the land was divided between him and his brother. Dunstan had then returned from his exile, and there was no formidable barrier to his highest exaltation. He first became bishop of Worcester. He was then allowed to hold the see of London at the same time with Worcester. Men of great talent and learning were his devoted supporters. Odo, the fierce primate, in consecrating him to Worcester, named him as archbishop of Canterbury, as if electing his own successor; and averred that he so spoke under the immediate influence of the Holy Ghost. Upon the death of Oda, which happened within two years of that of Edwy, whom Odo had truly murdered, Dunstan accomplished the audacious



of Edgar was a reign of sixteen years of peace. With the invasion of Wales, to enforce the payment of tribute, he

carried on no war in this island. The country, too, was unmolested by the rovers of the Baltic. Edgar had been educated under the care of a Dane; and he had been raised to the throne by the Danish population. Amongst these he naturally found partisans instead of rebels. During the reign of Edgar we find many proofs of a vigorous administration. Dunstan was his constant director. Under him we recognise in the laws of Edgar a much stronger monarchical tone than Alfred or Athelstan ever ventured to assume. In Edgar's charters the king's titles are set forth in the most inflated style. Dunstan wielded a despotic power; and he preserved a show of tranquillity. The most horrible punishments were inflicted upon offenders. The dues to the Church were exacted with a severity almost beyond belief. The king was the ready instrument of the ecclesiastical tyranny of his reign. Whenever we can distinctly see Edgar himself through the extravagant praises bestowed upon him by the monastic writers, we find a selfish, arrogant, and cruel prince. The story of his marriage with Elfrida, even as recorded by his panegyrists, is sufficient evidence of this. Edgar heard of Elfrida's beauty, and sent his favourite, Athelwold, to report to him if the universal praise was true. Athelwold, becoming violently in love with the lady, spoke disparagingly to the king of her attractions; and subsequently married her. The truth came to Edgar's knowledge; and he announced to his thane that he would visit him and his bride. The terrified Athelwold exhorted his wife to exhibit herself as a slattern, and to conceal her fascinations under a coarse deportment. The ambitious woman had another policy. She put on her gayest adornings and her most encouraging smiles. Edgar and Elfrida came to a perfect understanding. Athelwold was run through by the king with a javelin, when hunting with him. Elfrida became Edgar's queen.

Edgar had been king fourteen years before he was consecrated, a circumstance of which no adequate explanation has been offered by any historian. The ceremony was at last performed at Bath with great pomp. Within two years Edgar died. He left two sons. Edward, the child of his first wife, Ethelfleda, was thirteen years old at his father's death. Ethelred, the son of Elfrida, was only seven. The question of succession to the vacant throne was immediately raised. A strong party of the nobles demanded that the choice between Edward and Ethelred should be determined by election. Dunstan, by one of his vigorous movements, quelled the dispute; and presenting Edward to the assembled thanes and ecclesiastics at Winchester, consecrated him on the spot. The reaction of violence now commenced. The Benedictines had expelled the secular clergy from the conventual churches; the married priests had been ejected from their parishes. Now one ealdorman expelled the monks from the monasteries, whilst another upheld them in their possessions. Many of the secular clergy had fled to Scotland during the reign of Edgar. They returned. At their head was a bishop named Beornhelm, a Scottish [illegible] bishop. The great parties were headed by the most powerful [illegible]lesiastics. In 978, Dunstan being the adviser and controller [illegible]he had been of his father, the young king was sacrificed as [illegible]y those opposed to the monastic domination. His aban-

doned step-mother, who hated him for standing in the way of her son's elevation, was included in the plot. At Corfe, a royal manor, resided Elfrida and Ethelred. Edward had been hunting at Wareham, and became separated from his companions. A dwarf appeared out of the forest-coverts, and proposed to guide him to a place of rest and refreshment. He reached the house of the widowed queen, who met him at the door with a betraying kiss. She brought out wine to the wearied boy; and as he lifted the goblet to his lips, sitting on his horse, he was stabbed in the back. Ethelred was only ten years old when this murder took place. Dunstan hated him, and he appears to have continued his hostility up to nearly the time of his death, which took place in the tenth year of Ethelred's reign. He had, however, retained his archbishopric.

There had been no attack of the Danes since the reign of Athelstan. In 980, Sweyn, the banished son of the king of Denmark, was devastating the British shores. Southampton was "ravaged by a ship force, and the most part of the townsmen slain and led captive. And that same year was Tanet-land ravaged." In 981, "was much havoc done everywhere by the sea-coast, as well amongst the men of Devon as among the Welsh." In 982, "landed among the men of Dorset, three ships of pirates; and they ravaged in Portland. That same year London was burnt." These are the simple notices of the Saxon Chronicle. In a few years the attacks of the Danes became more systematic. In 991, they landed in East Anglia; and here, alone, they found a sturdy resistance, amongst those of their own lineage. Brithnorth, the ealdorman, met them with a courage which has been celebrated in Saxon verse; but at Maldon he fell by the "hassagay"—a weapon of which the fierce Saracens had shown the use to the fiercer pirates. The Danes ravaged Ipswich. "And in that year it was decreed, that tribute, for the first time, should be given to the Danish men, on account of the great terror which they caused by the sea-coast. That was at first ten thousand pounds: this counsel advised first Archbishop Sidric." * Again and again came the Danes; for they had found a more certain treasure in the Dane-geld—the tribute which the cowardice of the government levied upon the people—than in any casual plunder of towns and villages. Treachery and rivalry were in the court and the camp. The army was undisciplined. Their "commanders, if ever they met to confer, immediately chose different sides, and rarely or never united in one good plan; for they gave more attention to private quarrels than to public exigencies." † "At last there was no head-man who would assemble forces, but each fled as he best might; nor, at the last, would even one shire assist another." ‡

Amidst the misery and disgrace of this time, there is one event more terrible and full of shame than the weakness which yielded tribute, or the cowardice which fled from battle. There were many of the old Danish settlers in England who had become a part of the nation, with homes to protect as much as their Saxon [illegible] intermarried with the [illegible] Emma, the sister of [illegible] page, on the feast

of St. Brice, the king issued orders for a massacre of the Danes within the district over which he had authority. On that terrible 13th of November, "as common fame telleth, this murder began at a little town in Hertfordshire, within twenty-four miles of London, called Welwynne." * This place is not far from the ancient boundary of the Saxon and Danish territory; and it is not unlikely that the people were much intermixed. Men, women, children, were indiscriminately butchered. The sister of Sweyn, the Northman, who was married in England, and had adopted the Christian faith, was amongst the victims. In the agony of her last hours the heroic Gunhilda warned her murderers that a terrible retribution would come upon England for this national crime. In less than a year Sweyn was in the land with fire and desolation.

From the year 1003 to 1007, the retribution which Gunhilda had foreseen was going on. Devastation came after devastation, and tribute was exacted after tribute. The people in a brief time would pay no longer; and a bolder and wiser policy was adopted. A man in harness was to be furnished from every eight hides of land, and a vessel from every three hundred and ten hides. But vessels of war and men in harness are worthless without brave and faithful leaders, and at this period there was treachery on every side. Alfric, the earl of Mercia, again and again betrayed his country. The king's favourite, Edric, after a series of intrigues against his weak master, finally joined the Danes with a large body of men.

There came, at last, a fleet from Denmark—not for plunder or tribute, but for conquest. The chief devastator had been Thurkill, who for three years had been carrying on a predatory war on his own account. But in 1012, having received a vast sum from Ethelred, he became a mercenary under the English. The king of Denmark came with his great fleet, decorated with all the tawdry devices of barbaric pomp, to carry on a war of extermination. His commands were to ravage the fields, to burn the houses, to put every male to the edge of the sword. Lighting his war-beacons wherever he went on his march from the Humber, he was at length under the walls of London. Ethelred and his Danish officer, Thurkill, successfully defended the city. Sweyn retreated to Bath, and there proclaimed himself king of England, and received homage from all the western nobles, and from those of the north. Ethelred now fled to the Isle of Wight, and London surrendered. The country was subdued; the coast was watched. The king went to Richard of Normandy. He had been a faithless husband, but he was received with kindness. In 1014, Sweyn died. His army proclaimed his son Canute as king; but Ethelred was recalled by "all the Witan who were in England, clergy and laity;" and it was declared that "every Danish king should be an outlaw from England for ever." But there was a Danish king in England who made little of empty words. The recall of Ethelred was, most probably, the [illegible] of a part of the nation. Canute held possession of a large portion [illegible] Edric, the ancient traitor, kept his old power with his old [illegible] the son of Ethelred, was well qualified by his bodily

* [illegible]an's Chronicle, cap. 98

strength, which gave him the name of "Ironside," and by his energetic valour, to be that leader which the Saxon race had so long needed. Edric was circumventing Edmund at every step. In the meantime Canute was establishing his full claim to sovereignty. In the April of 1016, Ethelred died. The citizens of London proclaimed Edmund king. A council sitting at Southampton, which had previously decreed that every Danish king should be an outlaw, took the oaths to Canute. There was instant preparation for war on either side. Canute had a great fleet in the Thames. Edmund would have cleared the land of his enemies, but for that false confidence which had ruined his father. He trusted once more to Edric; and in the moment of victory, the betrayer, who had a command in the Saxon army, suddenly cried out, "Flee, English, flee; dead is Edmund." The English fled. Edmund and Canute agreed to divide the sovereignty. In a very short time Edmund died, and his death is attributed, reasonably enough, to Edric. The traitor was subsequently slain by Eric of Northumbria.

Canute the Dane was in 1017 sole king of England. He called upon the Witan to annul the division of the kingdom, by declaring that Edmund had reserved no right of succession, and that Canute was to be the guardian of his children. This guardianship consisted in outlawing them. The infant boys were sent to the king of Sweden, with such intimation of the usurper's wishes as an unscrupulous prince would have readily acted upon. But the king of Sweden removed them to a safe asylum in Hungary. The children grew to manhood; and the younger, Edward, became the father of Edgar Atheling, and of Margaret, the queen of Malcolm of Scotland. Edwy, the brother of the heroic King Edmund, was slain by command of Canute. There were two other claimants to the English throne, Edward and Alfred, the sons of Ethelred by his wife, Emma of Normandy. Their rights were asserted by their uncle Richard; but Canute settled the dispute by marrying their mother. The forfeited property of the English nobles was now bestowed upon Danes. A law imposed a fine upon any township where a Dane was killed. The Danish thanes were surrounded by their countrymen in the great cities. London, which had so stoutly resisted the intruders, received their yoke. But Canute was not a barbarous conqueror. When he ceased to be an enemy of England he became its real friend. His power was too strong to be disputed; and he therefore wielded it with moderation, after the contest for supremacy was fairly over. He, the emperor of the Anglo-Saxons, as he chose to be called, was also king of Swedes, and Danes, and Norwegians. He was an unmitigated despot in his own half-Christian lands; but he adapted his English rule to the higher civilisation of his most important kingdom. In 1030 he made a pilgrimage to Rome, with his staff and wallet; and on his return to Denmark he sent a letter to "all the nations of the English," in which there is a passage, of which the humility and justice may well make us believe that Canute was not corrupted by power and prosperity. The well-known legend of his rebuke to his courtiers is calculated to prove the same thing. Canute died in 1035, at Shaftesbury, and was buried at Winchester.

Canute had two sons previous to his marriage with Emma of Normandy.

They were illegitimate. The one was Sweyn; the other Harold, called Harefoot. His legitimate son by Emma was Hardicanute. At the time of Canute's death, the two sons of Ethelred, also the children of Emma, were living in Normandy. The two sons of Edmund Ironside were in Hungary. Of these possible claimants to the crown of England, Harold was the only one in the country. Sweyn had the kingdom of Norway assigned to him in his father's lifetime; Hardicanute was in Denmark. The great nobles were divided as to the choice of a successor to the Danish king; but at a Witenagemot held at Oxford, it was decided that Mercia and Northumbria should be assigned to Harold; whilst Wessex should be held by Emma, as regent for her son Hardicanute, who remained in his Scandinavian kingdom. There was a strong party in Wessex, who would have preferred the sons of their old Saxon king Ethelred. Edward, in consequence, came over with Norman soldiers. But these new followers of an English prince were hateful to the people; and Edward very soon gave up an enterprise which involved so much of personal risk. A similar attempt of his brother Alfred had a tragic ending. With a few adherents he landed in Kent, and proceeded to Canterbury, where the people gladly received him. Ethelnoth, the archbishop, welcomed the exile; for Harold, who had claimed to be supreme king over all England, was living an infamous life, and the archbishop had refused to consecrate him. The unfortunate Alfred was the victim of an abominable plot; and was seduced into the rash step of placing himself in the power of an unscrupulous tyrant. A letter had been written in the name of his mother, urging her son to make an attempt to obtain the kingdom. When Alfred had advanced into the country, earl Godwin, who had supported the claims of Hardicanute, received him with open arms, and conducted him to Guildford. In the night, the weary adventurers were seized and manacled. There are various narratives of their subsequent fate. Some write that the greater number were massacred; and that Alfred was blinded, and finally put to death at Ely. The mother of Alfred fled to Bruges; and Harold was proclaimed king of all England. He died in 1039. Hardicanute was now invited to take possession of the vacant throne. His election equally satisfied the Saxons and the Danes. A deputation was sent to Bruges to conduct him and his mother to the kingdom; and the ships which Hardicanute had intended for a hostile descent bore him to the Thames for a peaceful coronation. There were some proscriptions; and there was extravagant taxation, which drove the people of Exeter to revolt. But the country soon settled into tranquillity under this brief rule. The king was surrounded by Danish flatterers and boon companions, and he suffered his mother and the earl Godwin to rule the kingdom, whilst he abandoned himself to his feasts and carousals. These soon came to an end. At a great marriage-banquet, at the house of Clapa, one of his thanes, the king stood up at a late hour of the night to pledge the company, and dropping speechless, was carried to his death-bed, after having reigned a little less than two years.

Hardicanute had sent for his half-brother Edward, and had treated him with kindness. To this lineal descendant of the Saxon race the English people now turned. Malmesbury says that, upon the death of Hardi-

canute, Edward was in great perplexity; that, having desired a conference with Godwin, he threw himself at his feet, imploring him to facilitate his return to Normandy; and that to him Godwin answered, that the kingdom was Edward's right; that he was disciplined by difficulties in exile; from his former poverty would feel for the miseries of his people; and that if he would rely upon him, his throne would be secure. Malmesbury adds of Godwin, "He was a man of ready wit, and spoke fluently in the vernacular tongue; powerful in bringing over the people to whatever he desired." Of Edward we may truly say, he was a man of slow understanding; had no vigour of character; had received the education of a monk rather than that of the descendant of a long line of kings; was familiar with other customs and with another language than that belonging to his race; and was powerful to accomplish nothing by his own will. Godwin put Edward upon the throne; and he gave to him his own daughter in marriage.

It is difficult to trace the origin of Godwin's greatness. An old MS. chronicle says, that he was the son of a Saxon herdsman. At the accession of Edward he held the greatest earldom of the south, including Sussex, Kent, and part of Wessex. His sons, Harold and Sweyn, were, with their father, the lords of all the land from the Humber to the Severn. They had the command of half England, and of the richest half. There were other brothers of this powerful family—Wulnoth, Tostig, Gurth, and Leofwine—who were subsequently advanced to high dignities. Edith, the daughter of Godwin, who became queen, exhibits, in the quiet charms of her character, a proof that in the family of the ambitious earl she had received a gentle nurture.

There were two other mighty chieftains, who divided the kingdom with Godwin and his family, as the delegates of the sovereign: Leofric, who ruled the northern counties of Mercia; and Siward, whose earldom reached from the Humber to the Scottish borders. By these powerful nobles was the throne of Edward upheld, at the beginning of his reign. They asserted the Saxon supremacy; and expelled the traitorous or tyrannising Danes from the country. They united in resisting the pretentions of Magnus, the successor of Hardicanute in Denmark, to the English kingdom. But the influence of Godwin and his family soon came to be regarded with suspicion. One of Godwin's sons, Sweyn, carried off an abbess, and was outlawed. He became a terror of the sea, in the old trade of piracy. At length the king pronounced his pardon to the outlaw; but his brother Harold, and his cousin Beorn, opposed the royal clemency; and Sweyn murdered his cousin. Still he was restored to his estates and honours by the weak-minded king.

Edward was a gentle and merciful ruler. He had abolished the Danegeld. Under the old laws, the Saxon and the Dane now lived in peace. They pursued their industrious occupations, and the country was flourishing. Edward might have lived through a long reign untroubled, could he have forgotten the associations of his years of exile. When he became possessed of the power and riches that belonged to the crown of fertile England, the Normans crowded round him to share the abundance of his treasury. They came to fill the great offices of his household; to be the

leaders of his troops; to take the command of his fortresses; to be his spiritual directors; to have the richest abbeys and the most honoured bishoprics.

Eustace, count of Boulogne, had married Goda, the sister of Edward. He came to the court of his brother-in-law, with a great retinue. On his return to Boulogne, he had to rest at Dover. Before entering the town he ordered his men to put on their hauberks; and at the head of his followers he demanded quarters of the sturdy householders. The burghers resisted the insolent mandate; and one who refused entrance to the foreigners was slain. Then count Eustace, when the cry of vengeance rose amongst the people, made a furious onslaught with his spearmen upon the inhabitants, and many fell under the French lances. The burghers hastily armed, and forming themselves in the military order with which they were familiar, encountered the horsemen of Boulogne, and slew nineteen. Eustace and a few of his followers took their course along the Watling Street, till they had reached the king's presence at Gloucester. There, surrounded by his Norman court, the pacific king showed unwonted fury against his rebellious subjects, who had resisted the will of his brother-in-law. He sent for earl Godwin, in whose earldom this outbreak had taken place, and ordered him to visit the people of Dover with a summary vengeance. The earl refused. They should have legal trial in the burh-gemot; he would see justice done; but he would not punish, without a hearing, those whom the king was bound to protect. Sullenly Edward yielded. But the Norman counsellors represented the discretion of Godwin as direct rebellion; and he was summoned to appear before a great council at Gloucester. While Edward was surrounded by his new favourites, Godwin saw danger; and he came prepared for resistance. He and his sons marched to the west with a large force; and they demanded that Eustace and his men should be delivered to their custody. The earls Siward and Leofric upheld the king, and mustered their forces. Civil war seemed imminent. A day was appointed for a conference between the king and the earl. The king, or rather, his Norman advisers, employed the interval in raising a great army; whilst Godwin's adherents returned to their homes. The king's army was commanded by Normans. When Godwin and his two sons were summoned to attend the Witan, they demanded hostages for their personal safety; but the demand was refused. Then Godwin and his sons, after a second demand, and a second refusal of hostages, disobeyed the summons. Sweyn, by sentence of the Witan, was outlawed. Godwin and Harold were sentenced to banishment—to depart out of England within five days. Harold sailed from Bristol to Ireland; Godwin and Sweyn from the east coast to Flanders. The unmanly king extended his revenge to his own wife. He stripped her of every means of independent maintenance—of money, of lands. He plundered her of every womanly ornament, and sent her to the monastery of Wherwell, where his sister was abbess.

When Canute leapt into the English throne, and married the widow of Ethelred, her brother Richard II. became the protector of her two sons by her first marriage; and they remained under his guardianship until his death, about 1026. His eldest son, Richard III., succeeded to the duke-

dom; but he soon gave place to his brother Robert, the bold and powerful duke, who is sometimes styled "Robert the Magnificent," and more commonly "Robert the Devil." He was favourable to the pretensions of his cousins, Edward and Alfred; for he fitted out a fleet for the invasion of England, to place them in the sovereignty which Canute had usurped. But his armament was driven back by a tempest; and he changed its direction, to enforce the submission of Alan of Brittany. He then went upon a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Before his departure, he presented to the nobles a little boy who, he said, was his son; and told them that his "little bastard" should be their lord if he saw them no more. The young William of Normandy was placed under the care of Henry I. of France. At the death of Robert, in Bithynia, in 1035, he was put in possession of his father's dominions; and the seat of his court was Rouen. Edward of England and William of Normandy were second-cousins. Edward was called to his kingdom in 1042, seven years after the death of Robert. In 1051, William visited his cousin in England, and sojourned a little while at the court of Edward.

In 1052, Harold and Leofwine sailed from Ireland, and entered the Severn. They landed, and defeated the opposing thanes, whose districts they ravaged. Godwin, in the meantime, had fitted out a fleet from Flanders, and found all the mariners of the coast, and all the people of his old earldom, ready to follow his bidding. Harold came round the coast, and joined his father at Portland. They seized upon the king's ships; they received hostages; they obtained supplies wherever they touched. At length they sailed up the Thames, and found the people of Southwark favourable to their cause. The king had ships in the river, and an army near at hand. But the disposition of the people was too manifest to permit him now to resist the demand that Godwin and his sons should be restored to their possessions and their dignities. Their demand was not unreasonable, on the part of men who had a superiority of physical force, and whose cause was so popular. The king at length yielded. Then the Normans, who were with the army and the king, hastily fled. The Witan was assembled; and decreed the restoration of the earls, and held them innocent of the acts and designs which had been imputed to them. The greater number of the foreign advisers of Edward were declared outlaws. The joy of the Anglo-Saxon race was unbounded. They had achieved a great triumph with little bloodshed. Within a year after his restoration the energetic and sagacious Godwin died.

We are now reaching a point of history in which the narratives greatly vary, according to the national prejudices of the relators. There is a picture-history of the events which we are about to relate. The famous Bayeux Tapestry, a roll of brownish linen-cloth worked with coloured thread, with figures and letters perfectly bright and distinct, is a roll twenty inches broad and two hundred and fourteen feet in length. This is, however, a Norman history; and illustrates the circumstances of the most important period of our annals as they presented themselves to the Norman mind.

In the year 1065 Harold was practically the foremost man of England. His bravery and military talent were undoubted. He was the idol of the

Saxon race. He had subdued the British people to his fealty by the terror of his arms. That he looked to the crown of England on the death of Edward was a natural result of his character and his position.

Harold's young brother Ulnoth, and his nephew, who had both been confided to William, when Godwin gave them as hostages upon the conclusion of his revolt, had been detained in Normandy, though not ill-treated. Harold went to redeem them. His ship was driven by a tempest on the coast near the mouth of the Somme. Guy, the count of Ponthieu, was lord of that territory. He imprisoned Harold in a fortress near Montreuil. Harold had little hope of immediate escape; but he found a ransomer in duke William. Upon his release from Montreuil, Harold went on to Rouen. There he was welcomed with the most lavish generosity. The secret rivals became the warmest friends. Harold followed William to his war with Conan, a count of Brittany; and William honoured him with splendid gifts of arms and horses. The duke frankly promised the surrender of Ulnoth and the son of Sweyn. William told Harold that when he and Edward were living under the same roof in Normandy, Edward had affirmed that if ever he became king of England, William should be his successor. The duke then asked whether Harold would support him in realising that promise. The Saxon was in his power. These were not times when ambition was easily surrendered to conscientiousness. Harold assented. But his assent was to be more solemnly enforced. He was to swear. He did swear. But he swore with a mental reservation. He was swearing upon common reliquaries, as he thought; but under the reliquaries were hidden, by a cloth of gold, the bones of saints and holy martyrs. William then commanded the cloth to be removed; and Harold turned pale when he knew the super-sanctity of the oath which he had taken. This strange story is in perfect accordance with the character of the age in which these two men lived. Harold, at length, returned to England.

Godwin's son, Tostig, and William of Normandy had married sisters. —the daughters of Baldwin, count of Flanders. In his earldom of Northumbria, Tostig was most tyrannous and oppressive, even beyond the usual oppression of these petty kings. The people of Northumbria rose against his power, drove him from York, and chose Morcar, one of the sons of Leofric, as their chief. The whole country was in alarm; and Harold was deputed to put down the insurrection. He summoned the insurgent people to a conference. They stated their wrongs. He tried to extenuate the deeds of Tostig, and to plead for his restoration. "We were born free," said the Northumbrians. "We were brought up in freedom. We will have no tyrant." Harold returned to the king without striking a blow; and he brought back to the insurgents pardon and peace. Tostig fled to Flanders; and became Harold's implacable enemy.

Upon the banishment of Tostig, Harold contracted a marriage of policy. He married the daughter of Algar; she being the widow of Griffith, king of Wales, whose sons had succeeded to the kingdom. He was thus placed in alliance with two of the most powerful of the other chieftains. King Edward was old, and more than ever enfeebled. His great desire

was to complete his abbey-church of Westminster. Close by that abbey was his palace. Here the gentle Edward died, on the 5th of January, 1066. There was one legitimate heir to the throne—Edgar, the grandson of the brave Ironside; but on the day of Edward's burial, Harold was crowned by the Saxon archbishop Stigand. Some of the chroniclers, amongst others Hoveden, state, that before his decease the king appointed Harold his successor. The fact is generally admitted; but it is coupled by others with a statement that the nomination was extorted from the dying Edward by the importunities of Harold and his partisans.

Duke William was in his city of Rouen, in the January of 1066. The news came that Edward was dead; and that Harold filled his throne. William immediately sent an envoy to Rome, to ask that Nicholas II. should put England under interdict—the England that had chosen a perjurer for king; that had expelled a Norman archbishop whom Rome had consecrated; that had ceased to pay the "Peter's pence" which her pious kings of old had willingly given. The duke secured the aid of Rome. He was not so successful with the king of France, whose help he implored in his projected assertion of a right to the English crown, on the promise of Edward. Philip of France thought his imperious vassal somewhat too powerful already. Baldwin of Flanders, his brother-in-law, was equally indisposed to assist him in his enterprise. Conan, then duke of Brittany, after William had for some time announced his design, declared war against him, claiming Normandy as his own. Conan paid the penalty of his rashness. He died by poison. William had still to surmount difficulties with his own people. Then went forth a proclamation that, supported by the Holy Father of Christendom, who had sent to him a consecrated banner, William, duke of Normandy, was about to demand, by force of arms, his rightful inheritance of England; and that all who would serve him with spear, sword, or cross-bow, should be amply rewarded. At this call gathered together all the adventurers of Western Europe. They came in crowds from Maine and Anjou, from Poitou and Brittany, from Aquitaine and Burgundy, from France and Flanders. The summer of 1066 was almost passed before the preparations were complete. A large fleet had assembled at the beginning of September at the mouth of the Dive. This fleet consisted of small transports, scarcely larger than a fishing smack. Their whole number is stated to have been nine hundred and ninety-seven. They were detained for a month by contrary winds. At length, on the 28th September, William leapt from his boat on the flat beach at Pevensey; and falling to the ground, a cry went forth that it was an evil omen. He grasped the sand, and turned the omen into a sign of gladness, for he had taken seisin of his kingdom. In a few days the army marched to Hastings.

King Harold was far away when duke William landed on that unprotected shore. His exiled brother, Tostig, had been to Normandy, and had arranged with William a plan of united action for the invasion of the country; and he engaged Hardrada, the king of Norway, in the confederacy. Tostig first tried his fortune alone on the south coast; but the vigilance of Harold drove him to the north. At the mouth of the Tyne, Tostig waited for the Norwegian armament, and their forces having

landed, they marched to York. Here they defeated the Northumbrian earls, Edwin and Morcar. Harold was with his army on the southern coast when the news of the Norwegian invasion reached him; and he marched at once to encounter these enemies. He would have negotiated with his brother; but when Tostig asked what the king of Norway should have, the Saxon answered, "Seven feet of earth for a grave." A great battle was fought at Stamford-Bridge on the Derwent; and Hardrada and Tostig were amongst the slain. Where this battle was fought, the bones of the dead whitened the earth for half a century. That day of carnage was the same 27th of September on which William sailed from Saint Valéry. As Harold sat at a banquet at York after the victory, the news came of the Norman landing. He had made adequate preparations for a resistance by sea when he marched to the north; but the same tempest that detained the invaders in Normandy compelled the Saxon ships to remain in their ports. They came out too late; and blockaded the whole coast. Harold rested not a day in Northumbria. He marched direct for London, where all the warlike population rallied round his standard. Meanwhile, the Normans had entrenched themselves near Hastings. They had ravaged this beautiful district so mercilesaly, that for twenty years it lay waste and desolate.

On the 13th October, the army of Harold was encamped on a range of hills, near a place then called Senlac. This is the modern "Battle." The sea was in the distance, and the English ships were ready to cut off the retreat of the invaders. The army of William was on another range of hills. The watch-fires of each camp could be seen by the other as the night closed in. There was revelry in the English camp. There was silence and prayer in the Norman. William mounted his horse at day-break on the 14th. At nine o'clock the Normans moved across the little valley, with the papal banner carried in advance of the duke. They were formidable in their cavalry and their bowmen. The English waited the attack with their battle-axes, the Kentish men in the front. They kept their ground like a mighty wall; and they advanced in the same firm array. After a fight of six hours, William commanded his men to turn their backs. The English raised a cry of triumph, and, breaking their ranks, rushed from their commanding position into the plain. Then the Norman cavalry wheeled round, and a terrible slaughter took place. Harold fell a little before sunset. There was still a struggle; but the great leader had passed away.

CHAPTER IV.

WILLIAM of Normandy was encamped at Hastings, when he heard that a division of his army, having landed at Romney, had been attacked by the people of that port. William marched to Romney, and revenged himself by a slaughter of its inhabitants. Dover had a strong garrison, and

there, around the castle, was a large English force collected. The Normans set the town on fire, and the castle was taken. William's army was falling away by sickness. The Conqueror waited for reinforcements from Normandy; and at length, leaving the coast, marched along the Watling Street to London.

On learning the death of Harold, the people of the south, and of London, chose Edgar Atheling as king. The two great earls of Mercia and Northumbria, the brothers-in-law of Harold, withdrew to the north. As William advanced, the people of London exhibited a show of resistance; but they finally made their submission, through the archbishop and great nobles, who did homage to the invader at Berkhampstead. He was crowned king at Westminster, on Christmas-day. In the midst of the solemn ceremony, a tumult was raised by the Norman troops outside the abbey, for the purpose, we may suppose, of interrupting the wonted Anglo-Saxon form of the king swearing to govern justly.

The new king was politic enough to use, in the beginning of his reign, that moderation which belonged to a legal title. He had a difficult policy to carry through. He had to propitiate the rapacity of his own people; and he had to avert the hatred of those whom he claimed to rule over. He treated Edgar Atheling with kindness; he welcomed some of the chieftains to his court. He exhorted his adherents to moderation. He so regulated the collection of his revenue that the burthen should be equally distributed. He prohibited all riotous assemblies. He provided for the safe passage of traders, and the transport of merchandise by sea and land. Where the country was considered settled, there the rule was entrusted to Norman chiefs. In the castle of Winchester, which William erected, he placed William Fitz-Osborn, as lieutenant of the south. His half-brother, Odo, bishop of Bayeux, was established at Dover, as governor of Kent. In the spring of 1067, the Conqueror went to Normandy, and remained there during the summer and autumn. During his absence from England, his chieftains commenced a system of oppression which drove many of the bravest and best of the Anglo-Saxon race into exile. Ordericus has briefly told the story of "the flower of the English youth," who valiantly served in the armies of Alexius, the Greek emperor. Others sought in foreign aid for their country's deliverance. In the west the people depended upon themselves. Edric, commonly known as "The Forester"—Edric of the woods—refused obedience to Fitz-Osborn, as earl of Hereford; and, with the aid of the British, held the district against him. The two sons of Harold sailed from Ireland, and ascending the Avon, ravaged the country near Bristol. William was alarmed by the news of all this disaffection and disquiet. He hastily left the administration of Normandy to his queen and his son Robert, and sailed from Dieppe for Winchelsea, on the night of the 6th December. He kept his Christmas at London; and assembled around him the English bishops and nobles. Having satisfied the Londoners, William departed to carry his arms to the west and to the north. In January his army was before Exeter. The burghers fought stoutly for eighteen days, but they finally surrendered. The king then marched into Cornwall, where he met no resistance.

Edwin of Northumbria had, with his brother Morcar, given his adhesion

to the Norman; and William had promised one of his daughters to the powerful earl. But when he became more secure, William "refused to give him the princess who was the object of his desire, and for whom he had long waited."* The brothers, indignant at the promise-breaker, summoned the English and Welsh to their standard; and sent their messengers in every quarter to rouse the people to rebellion. The provinces beyond the Humber were the first to rise. But the prompt vigour of the king put down the insurrection before it became general. Edwin and Morcar submitted; and William made a show of favour and forgiveness. In this year Edgar Atheling fled, with his mother and sisters, to Scotland, and they were received with kindness by Malcolm, the king.

The submission of Edwin and Morcar had not arrested the disaffection of the north. In the beginning of 1069, the English burst into the city of Durham, which was held by one of William's chiefs, Robert de Comines, set fire to the palace where the intrusive earl and his followers were sleeping after late revelry, and massacred all the Norman soldiers, except two. York then rose upon its foreign garrison. Again the king came in person against the insurgents, and routed them with unsparing slaughter. In June, the sons of Harold came in force, and landed near Plymouth. They were repulsed. In the same month, Canute, the son of Sweyn, king of Denmark, came with a mighty fleet. These forces were repulsed on the south and eastern coasts; but in August the invaders sailed for the Humber. They were here joined by a fleet under Edgar Atheling, and some English earls. As this army advanced towards York, the Normans in garrison set fire to the houses, and the city was burning for three days. The Normans made a sally upon the Danes and English, who had invested the city, and were utterly defeated with immense loss. William had collected about him a new body of auxiliary troops, and he marched to the north with an overwhelming force. But he trusted not to force alone. His agents were busy amongst the Danish chiefs; and their powerful army retired to their ships. The English, who had joined the Danes at the Humber, fell back to the Tyne. York was left to be defended by earl Waltheof alone. When the king, after a march through a hostile population, and an almost impassable country, reached that city, he found it abandoned. He dispersed his commanders in separate divisions over a surface of a hundred miles, with orders to destroy every living man, and every article that could minister to the sustenance of life. Houses were to be burnt; the implements of husbandry were to be broken up; the whole district from the Humber to the Tees, from the Wear to the Tyne, was to be made a desert. And it was made a desert. From the desolated Yorkshire, William, in the March of 1070, led his army to Chester, and put down the insurrectionary spirit in Mercia. The submission of the wretched inhabitants of the north provoked the resentment of Malcolm, king of Scotland, and he became their enemy. At the head of an army he crossed the Tyne, and completed the work of devastation.

In 1072 took place the last struggle of Saxon nationality. Hereward

* Ordericus Vitalis.

had been exiled under the displeasure of his father, Leofric, the lord of Born, and had fought in foreign lands. After the conquest, his patrimonial possessions had been seized on the death of his father, and his mother was turned out to starve by a foreign minion of the Conqueror. He came to England, collected a band of the friends of his youth, and drove the intruders from his inheritance. Ivo Taillebois, the lord of Hoyland, led a great force against Hereward; but he was repulsed again and again. William had become jealous of earls Edwin and Morcar, and had commenced a persecution which threatened their personal safety. Morcar fled to the camp of Hereward. Edwin endeavoured to escape to Scotland; but his flight was interrupted through treachery, and he was slain leading a few followers, as he attempted to ford a swollen river. With Morcar came to Hereward many an ejected chief, and many a deprived churchman. The "Camp of Refuge" was entrenched in the midst of waters, in some places stagnant and thick with reeds, in others rapid; but in all places dangerous for the passage of horse or foot. The king collected a large naval force in the Wash, and blockaded every arm of the sea that was an inlet to the fens. Wherever a road led into that district, he closed all access by his troops. For three months did William blockade the Isle of Ely. At last the monks of Ely began to feel the approaching scarcity of the wheaten bread and fresh meat to which they had been accustomed; and they made terms with the king for the discovery of a passage from the fens to the camp. The Norman troops entered the isle, occupied the monastery, and finally stormed the entrenchments. Resistance was at an end. Morcar became a captive, and the king kept him imprisoned for years. Hereward threw himself into the marshes, and, escaping to his own estate, long kept up a partizan warfare. He at length submitted, when a longer struggle was hopeless. Then England had rest. The politic conqueror had destroyed the Saxon independence, by force or by cunning. Malcolm of Scotland had submitted to him, and remained at peace. Many of the dispossessed and hunted proprietors and tenantry of the northern counties had found shelter in Scotland under the protection of Malcolm's queen, Margaret, the sister of Edgar Atheling. This last of the Saxon princes had become a pensioner upon the bounty of William. The people were settling into their old habits of rural industry; and the Normans and English began to intermarry.

In 1073, Roger Fitz-Osborn, the earl of Hereford, and Ralph de Guader, the earl of Norfolk, agreed to unite their interests in the marriage of the sister of one to the other. But the king issued his commands that no such marriage should take place. He was absent, quelling an insurrection in Maine, and the earls gave no heed to his prohibition. At the marriage feast a conspiracy was formed against William, to which Waltheof was made privy. But the Saxon earl refused to take any active part in what he conceived a hopeless attempt. He however kept the secret of the Normans. The insurrection broke out, but was speedily subdued. A great battle was fought in Norfolk, before the arrival of William from Normandy. He came to determine the fate of the captive rebels. The Norman leaders were sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. Waltheof was betrayed by his wife—the Conqueror's daughter, Judith; and after

lingering a year in prison, was beheaded at Winchester. William returned to Normandy.

The Saxon Chronicle records that, in the nineteenth year of King William's reign, Canute, the king of Denmark, was expected to invade England; and that when William, who was then in Normandy, heard this, he came over with a great army of Normans and Bretons. The invasion being abandoned, the king sent back some of these stipendiaries. The writer then relates, that at Christmas the king was at Gloucester, with his Witan, and held his court there for five days, after which the archbishop and clergy held a synod for three days. Then the king called a great council, and had much grave talk concerning the land, how it was held, and by what men. Then he sent his servants through all the country, to make a survey of every possession, and to register every hide of land in every county, and what was the money value, and what cattle were maintained upon each property. The survey thus made is contained in the ancient register called "Domesday Book." It extended to all England, with the exception of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham. All the country between the Tees and the Tyne was held by the bishop of Durham; and he was reputed a count palatine, having a separate government. The other three northern counties were probably so devastated that they were purposely omitted.* The chronicler further relates, "that at Lammas, in 1085, the king was at Salisbury; and there came to him his Witan, and all the landowners of any account, from all parts of England, whose men soever they were, and they all bowed to him and became his men, and swore to him an oath of fealty, that they would be faithful to him against all other men." These landowners were divided into four great classes: the freemen—*liberi homines*—which term included the Norman barons and the Saxon thanes. Many of these were tenants of the king "*in capite*,"—that is, they held their possessions direct from the crown. In the register there are also *liberæ feminæ*, free women. Next to the free class were the *sochemanni*, or "socmen," a class of inferior landowners, who held lands under a lord, and owed suit and service in the lord's court, but whose tenure was permanent. Descending in the scale, we come to the *villani*. These were allowed to occupy land at the will of the lord, upon the condition of performing services, uncertain in their amount, and often of the meanest nature. But they could acquire no property in lands or goods; and they were subject to many exactions and oppressions. The lowest class were *servi*, slaves; the class corresponding with the Saxon "*theow*."

The survey of 1085 affords the most complete evidence of the extent to which the Normans had possessed themselves of the landed property of the country. The ancient demesnes of the crown consisted of fourteen hundred and twenty-two manors. But the king had confiscated the properties of Godwin, Harold, Algar, Edwin, Morcar, and other great Saxon earls. Ten Norman chiefs who held under the crown, are enumerated in the survey as possessing two thousand eight hundred and twenty manors. Domesday also shows that in some towns there was an admixture of

* Introduction to Domesday, by Sir H. Ellis, folio, p. xii.

Norman and English burgesses. It affords us many curious glimpses of the condition of the people in cities and burghs. For the most part they seem to have preserved their ancient customs. London, Winchester, and several other important places are not mentioned in the record. There is only mention of five forests, Windsor, Gravelings (Wiltshire), Winburn, Whichwood, and the New Forest. Ordericus Vitalis says, "When William the First ascended the throne of Albion, being a great lover of forests, he laid waste more than sixty parishes, compelling the inhabitants to emigrate to other places, and substituted beasts of the chace for human beings, that he might satisfy his ardour for hunting." Thierry thinks that the extreme severity of the Forest Laws was chiefly enforced to prevent the assemblage of Saxons in those vast wooded spaces which were now included in the royal demesnes. All these extensive tracts were, more or less, retreats for the dispossessed and the discontented.

When the Conqueror knew how many tenants-in-chief he could command, and how many men they could bring into the field, he instituted the great feudal principle of knight-service. Those who held by this military service had their allotments divided into so many knight's fees, and each knight's fee was to furnish one mounted and armed soldier. By this organisation, which was universal throughout the kingdom, 60,000 cavalry could, with little delay, be called into the field. It was established that every tenant-in-chief should do homage to the king; that every superior tenant should do homage to his lord; that every villein should be the bondman of the free; and that every slave should, without any property, however limited and insecure, be the absolute chattel of some master. Thus, the whole system of government became one vast confederacy, which deprived the small proprietors, tenants, and villeins of every chance of independence.

Before the conquest of England, William's eldest son, Robert, had been named as his father's successor in Normandy. Richard, the second son, had been killed in England by an accident whilst hunting. Robert desired to have the crown of Normandy during his father's life, and his father was not at all willing to forego any power. William, the next brother, took part against Robert. In 1077, the father interposed in a quarrel between the brothers, and the elder took arms against him. The parent and child met in battle; and the son unhorsed the father. Perceiving whom he had at his mercy, the son begged forgiveness of the parent. But William would not be fully reconciled; and after a few years of secret hostility they never again met. Odo, the half-brother of the king, gave him dire offence by entertaining the ambition of becoming pope. William seized him as he was sailing from the Isle of Wight, and kept him strictly imprisoned, till death conquered the conqueror.

In the January of 1087, William went to Normandy, to settle a long-standing dispute with Philip I. of France, about his claim to the territory of the Vexin, which had been dismembered from Normandy, and annexed [illegible]. The French king despised the demand of the Norman duke. [illegible] joke about his corpulency. William left his bed at [illegible] was on his war-horse before the town of Mantes. [illegible] taken by assault and burnt; and William, under the

hot autumn sun, rode amongst the smouldering ruins. His horse fell, with his bulky rider, who received a severe injury, and was carried back to Rouen. The death-bed of William, according to the chroniclers, was a death-bed of repentance. He had always made a profession of religion, and he was now surrounded by bishops and confessors. His two sons, William and Henry, were around their father. Robert, the elder, was at the court of France. Though the king hated this son, he could not deny him his right to the inheritance of Normandy. To William he recommended an instant journey to England, to secure possession of the crown. To Henry, the Beauclerc, the lettered prince of the family, who was then only eighteen years of age, he bequeathed five thousand pounds of silver. He commanded the release of some whom he held in captivity—amongst whom was earl Morcar. His forgiveness of Odo was most reluctantly wrung from him. The great duke and king suddenly expired, on the morning of the 9th of September, as the cathedral bell of Rouen was tolling the hour of prime. William was buried in the church of St. Etienne at Caen, which he had founded. When his body was about to be lowered into the earth—in the presence of a few, for a fire had broken out in the town—Ascelin, the son of Arthur, cried out, that the land upon which they stood was the yard belonging to his father's house, and that the duke of Normandy had seized it by an exercise of tyranny. "I therefore," said the bold man, "openly demand its restitution, and in God's name I forbid the body of the spoiler being covered with earth which is my inheritance." The Conqueror's death-bed was deserted; his body was not laid in its grave without an indecorous dispute.

William Rufus was crowned at Westminster on the 26th of September, 1087. He was on his road to England while his father was dying. But there were difficulties in his elevation to the throne, which would probably not have been easily overcome had not archbishop Lanfranc moved the whole power of the Church in his behalf. The principle of elevation to the sovereignty was not relaxed. As the elder brother, Robert, would have had a clearer title, the doubts that hung over the accession of the younger were very considerable. Some of the more powerful of the Norman chiefs were strongly against a divided sovereignty. They had large possessions in both countries. Odo and others, therefore, tendered their allegiance to duke Robert. An insurrection very soon broke out, in different quarters. The English, almost universally, supported the young king. William raised a large army, and besieged Odo, who was the most formidable of the conspirators, in Rochester Castle, after a previous encounter at Pevensey. Disease compelled the garrison to capitulate, and the Norman revolters marched out, amidst the English cry of "A gallows for the bishop." Odo never returned; and his enormous possessions were confiscated. The other disaffected nobles and bishops were subdued or propitiated. The first proceedings of William II. gave evidence of his character. The death-bed clemency of the Conqueror had bestowed freedom on Morcar, and on Wulfnoth, the brother of Harold. They followed Rufus to England; and he rewarded their confidence by immediate imprisonment.

In 1089, Lanfranc, the archbishop of Canterbury, died. William

appointed no successor to the archbishop, but held the revenues of the see in his own hands. He soon found a more congenial minister than Lanfranc. There was in his court a Norman clerk, of the name of Ralph, of handsome person and fluent speech, sensual and ambitious, to whom the king's steward gave the sobriquet of Flambard. He was a subtle financier. He managed to swell the king's revenues by a stricter admeasurement of the lands of the kingdom than that of Domesday-Book. He and his master seized Church properties, and made exactions upon the laity, with no pretence of justice. The halter was loosened from the robber's neck, if he could promise any gain to the king. The courtiers consumed the substance of the country-people.

Robert, duke of Normandy, was doing wrong to his commonwealth, after a different mode from William, king of England. Robert was destroying the resources of the state by improvident liberality. He had sold a third part of his duchy, the province of Cotentin, to his brother Henry, under some financial pressure. In 1090, the city of Rouen was incited to insurrection, chiefly by the bribes and promises of William. Henry came to the aid of Robert, although they had previously quarrelled; and through his determined boldness the revolt was quelled. Robert, the duke, had many affairs on his hands at this period. When he was roused by war he appears to have been foremost in battle and siege. The king of England passed many months in Normandy, during the year 1091; and the brothers came to terms of agreement for their future government. Edgar Atheling was now deprived of his estates in Normandy, and compelled to seek an asylum in Scotland. Henry had put his five thousand crowns to such good interest that he had become formidable to the king and the duke. Amongst several strong castles, he had secured Mount St. Michael, although obliged to abandon other fortresses. Here, on this lofty rock, which stands twice in the day amidst a plain of sand, and twice encompassed with tidal waters, Henry bade defiance to the assaults of arms. But the waters which surrounded the castle were useless to allay the cravings of his famished garrison, and he was finally obliged to capitulate.

In 1092 the king returned to England, accompanied by the duke of Normandy. During his absence, Malcolm, the king of Scotland, had invaded the northern counties; and William hastened to drive them back. The armies met in Lothian; but a peace was concluded. On the return to the south, the English king seized Carlisle, which had been considered an appanage of the crown of Scotland. Another quarrel was the consequence; and Malcolm, after having met the English king at Gloucester, and resisted his claims, invaded Northumberland. Here the unfortunate king of Scotland, and his son Edward, were killed in a sudden surprise—some say by treachery. The good queen Matilda survived her husband and son only four days.

Duke Robert had come to England to obtain indemnity for possessions which he had surrendered in Normandy. He obtained nothing. According to the custom of chivalry, Robert sent to England two heralds to denounce his faithless brother as a perjured knight. William went to Normandy to submit the points in dispute to arbitration. Twenty-four Norman

barons decided against him. He then resolved upon war; and collected a large army at Hastings. The chroniclers say that the unscrupulous financier, Ralph Flambard, made this a new pretence of extortion. The war with Robert was not undertaken; and the soldiers were dismissed to their homes, upon making a handsome contribution to the wants of the king. He had more bribery to accomplish in Normandy. But he suddenly returned home, to put down an outbreak of the Welsh; to which succeeded an insurrection of the nobles in the north. Rufus was as energetic and as merciless as his father; and the dangers were averted. But there was a new arrangement between the rival brothers which was eventually to unite England and Normandy again under one king. Robert, in 1096, pawned his dukedom to William for five years. The mortgage-money of ten thousand pounds was, of course, to be paid by the people of the island. Then Robert of Normandy became one of the leaders of the First Crusade.

In 1095 a zealous missionary went through Italy and France, and proclaimed in every land that the Holy Sepulchre, which Christian pilgrims had freely visited from the days of Haroun Alraschid, was now closed against them by the Turk who had conquered Syria; and that the servants of the cross were massacred, plundered, sold into slavery. This was Peter of Amiens, known as Peter the Hermit.* In November of the same year, Pope Urban II. attended the great council of Clermont, in Auvergne; and from a lofty scaffold in the market-place preached the crusade to assembled thousands. With one voice the people in the market-place of Clermont shouted,—*Deus lo volt; Deus lo volt.* "It is, indeed, the will of God," said the Pope. "Let that acclamation be your battle-cry. Wear the cross as your sign and your solemn pledge."

The great Army of the East was to be gathered together from all nations, by another year. But the impatience of the people would not wait for arms or leaders. In the March of 1096, a vast multitude set forward from France, gathering fresh crowds as they proceeded. Wales, Scotland, Denmark, and Norway sent out their thousands, to join the great body that were moving on to the Rhine and the Danube. They were led in two divisions, one of which was commanded by Peter the Hermit; the other by a soldier named Walter the Penniless. Undisciplined, ill-provided, encumbered with women and children, their numbers were gradually wasted by hunger and fatigue. They irritated the inhabitants of the wild countries through which they passed, and suffered the most terrible defeats in Bulgaria. At last the remnant of the hundred thousand that had undertaken this perilous journey reached Constantinople. The emperor would have treated them with kindness, but they began to plunder the beautiful city, and they were driven out to seek the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus. They here renewed their devastations; and they were finally routed and cut to pieces by the Turks. The regular army of the Crusaders at length approached Asia under the commanders whom History and Poetry have made famous,—Godfrey of Bouillon, Hugh of Vermandois, Robert of Normandy, Robert of Flanders, Stephen of Chartres, Raymond of Toulouse,

* This common title was derived from his family name of L'Ermite.

the ambitious Bohemond, and the accomplished Tancred. They came by different routes from their several countries. It was more than three years after Pope Urban had preached the crusade at Clermont, that Jerusalem fell, and the Holy Sepulchre was free. A terrible massacre disgraced this Christian triumph.

Whilst duke Robert was at the head of his knights and their horsemen in siege and battle, William, the king, was foreclosing upon the property of Normandy like a grasping usurer. His borrowed dukedom, however, gave him some trouble. He renewed the old quarrel with the king of France about the Vexin territory. In the province of Maine, also, which had been ceded to him, there was an obstinate baron, Hélie, who was little disposed to submit to his domination, and relied upon the support of the people, by whom he was beloved. The Red King was too strong for the baron in the end. In the July of 1099, at which time duke Robert was marching into Jerusalem, King William was ravaging Maine.

On the 1st of August, 1100, the king was in Malwood Keep, in the New Forest, hunting and feasting. According to William of Malmesbury, he was vexed and dispirited by evil dreams, and would not hunt. Dinner came, with copious draughts of wine; and then he would ride in the forest. He was alone with Walter Tyrrel. The sun was declining. The king had drawn his bow and wounded a stag; he was shading his eyes from the strong level light, when Walter, aiming at another stag, pierced the king's breast with a fatal arrow which glanced from a tree. Breaking off the shaft of the arrow, William fell from his horse, and "spoke word never more." Walter immediately ran up to the body, and then leapt upon his horse, none perceiving him. A few countrymen conveyed the body in a cart to Winchester, and there "it was committed to the ground within the tower, attended by many of the nobles, though lamented by few."

Prince Henry had been riding near the spot where William fell. Immediately that the death of his brother was certain, he galloped twenty miles to Winchester, pursued by William de Breteuil, the treasurer of Rufus, who divined his purpose. They arrived at the same hour. Henry hastened to the treasury; and, in spite of the opposition of de Breteuil, who insisted that Robert was the rightful successor, at length obtained the royal treasures. The next step was easy. He was crowned at Westminster on Sunday the 5th of August.

Duke Robert, after the conquest of Jerusalem, had set out homeward. Passing through the Norman dominions in Italy, he was cordially received at the court of Geoffrey of Conversana, in Apulia; and there he lingered long, and finally married Sibylla, the daughter of his entertainer. With his young and beauteous wife he received a marriage portion amply sufficient to redeem his mortgaged dukedom. They arrived in Normandy, within a few weeks after Henry was firmly seated on the throne of England.

The sovereignty of Henry was so clearly an usurpation, that, with that prudence, however selfish, which belonged to his character, he sought to conciliate all classes of his subjects. He published a charter of liberties in 1101, in which he made many large concessions to the public good. Upon his accession he purged his government of the evil ministers of his

brother's pleasures, and the corrupt administrators of his oppressive exactions. Ralph Flambard, the bishop of Durham, who was particularly obnoxious, was committed to the Tower, whence he contrived to escape to Normandy. Henry's choice of a queen appears to have been decided by a just and wise desire to propitiate the English population. Maud, the daughter of Malcolm, king of Scotland, and of Matilda, the sister of Edgar Atheling, was of the lineage of the Saxon kings. She had been brought up under the care of her aunt, the abbess of Wilton, who had caused her to wear the veil, though she had not taken the vows. After many discussions amongst the ecclesiastics, it was held that Maud was not bound to celibacy; and the king shared his throne with her. This marriage, which was called "The Union of the Races," was a cause of offence to the imperious Norman nobles; but Henry was supported by the best of the Churchmen, and especially by Anselm, the honest and enlightened bishop of Canterbury, who had been recalled and re-invested.

In 1101 Robert of Normandy invaded England. He landed at Portsmouth on the 1st of August. Some of the Norman barons openly joined him; others secretly encouraged his pretensions. Robert marched from the coast, and the two armies pitched their camps near each other. Henry desired a conference with his brother; and they met in the presence of the hostile troops. They were reconciled. A treaty was concluded without umpires; of which the chief article was that Robert relinquished his claims upon England. Robert and his army returned to Normandy; and the troops of Henry were disbanded, after the duke had remained a guest for several months at the court of the king. In the following year Henry, of whom clemency was not an attribute, commenced a series of persecutions against those of his barons who had favoured the enterprise of Robert. One of these Norman chieftains was Robert de Belèsme, earl of Shrewsbury. The king had surrounded him with spies, and preferred many charges against him of the heaviest nature. The earl fled to his castles, and refused to appear to abide a trial. Henry immediately called out the whole military force of the country, so formidable was this baron. At last the rebel earl surrendered; and was banished. He went over to Normandy, where he had vast estates, and for several years ravaged the country, and defied the power of the duke, who had entered into a mutual engagement with Henry to make common cause against any traitor to either of them. At length duke Robert concluded a peace with the fierce earl, and admitted him to his patrimonial estates. There was now a new cause for enmity between the reigning brothers.

Robert of Normandy had lost his wife in 1102. The corrupt manners of the times were immediately exhibited in the personal conduct of the unhappy prince; and for three or four years his example was one of public offence. In 1104, Henry went over to Normandy. Many of the nobles, who had also estates in England, gathered round him, and stimulated what was no doubt the secret desire of his heart; yet the brothers parted friends. Again the province was ravaged by the private hostilities of those who were considered the friends of Henry, and those who hated him. The country-people in many districts fled into France, leaving their lands uncultivated. In 1105, Henry landed on Easter-eve at the small port of Barbaflot; and

slept at the village of Carentan. On Easter Sunday he went in the most private manner to the church, where Serlo, the bishop of Séez, was to officiate at the solemnities of the great festival. The bishop took the misrule of Robert for his theme, and urged Henry to "take arms to redress this affliction of the land. Take arms, and recover the territory of your ancestors, and rescue the people from the dominion of abandoned men." And then the king said—"In God's name, I will not shrink from toiling earnestly for the restoration of peace." Very shortly after, Henry took Bayeux by assault, and burnt it to the ground. The people of Caen surrendered their fortress. At Whitsuntide, Henry and Robert had a conference, without coming to agreement. The Normans took their several sides; and the country was burnt and pillaged. Henry returned to England for money and men. In 1106 he was in Normandy with a far greater force, and constructed a fort before Tinchenbrai. The place was vigorously defended by William, earl of Morton; and duke Robert came to his relief, with a large force of Norman chivalry. Henry was strong in his infantry, both English and Norman. There was some negotiation before the decisive battle, which took place on the 28th of September, the anniversary of William the Conqueror's landing at Hastings. When the ranks met, "the troops were thronged so closely, and their weapons so locked together, that it was out of their power to injure each other, and both parties in turn attempted in vain to break the impenetrable phalanx." One of Henry's chaplains, Baudri, took the duke prisoner, after he had gallantly fought with unequal numbers. The contest was over. Amongst other prisoners was Edgar Atheling, who passed the remainder of his eventful life in England, without molestation, an object of pity rather than of fear. The deposed duke Robert was kept a prisoner in Cardiff Castle; "nor was he liberated till the day of his death." That release from a captivity of twenty-eight years arrived in 1135.

At the time of the battle of Tinchenbrai, duke Robert had a son of five years old, who had been brought up at Falaise. When Henry took possession of the place, the little boy was led to him. Henry used no violence to the child, but committed him to an honest guardianship. The king appears, in another year, to have repented of his honesty, and to have desired to get the young prince into his power. But Hélie de St. Saen fled with his charge; and put him under the protection of Louis, king of France, and Fulk, earl of Anjou. As the boy grew, the interests connected with him became more complicated. He was first patronised and afterwards cast off, by the earl of Anjou. The king of France used him as an instrument to check the growing power of Henry. At length there was open war between France and Normandy, and in 1119 was fought the battle of Noyon, or Brenneville, a place on the road from Rouen to Paris. Louis was here defeated and fled.

In 1118 "the good queen Maud" died. She had long retired to the monastery of Westminster, where she spent her revenues in the relief of the sick, and in acts of penitential piety. Her only daughter had been betrothed to the emperor of Germany in 1108, and was married in 1114. The king of England had many illegitimate daughters, and one was married to Eustace of Breteuil. In 1118, Eustace and the king had a dispute

about the castle of Ivri; but Henry was desirous to retain the allegiance of Eustace, and it was agreed that hostages should be exchanged. Ralph de Harenc, the commander of the fortress, gave his son to Eustace, and Eustace gave his two little daughters to the custody of Henry. The quarrel was not made up, and the count of Breteuil, with a savageness which is wonderful even in that age of ferocity, put out the eyes of the innocent boy. Ralph de Harenc, in a transport of rage, presented himself to the king, and demanded vengeance. Henry, without hesitation, gave up his two grand-daughters. The children were sacrificed to the revenge of Ralph de Harenc. But the mother's injuries were too deep for a common indignation. She had undertaken the defence of Breteuil in the absence of her husband. The king pressed the siege. Juliana appeared on the walls, and demanded a conference with her father; and when he appeared she launched a bolt at him from a cross-bow; Henry, who was unhurt, broke down the drawbridge, so that escape was difficult. But Juliana dropt from the wall into the fosse, on a freezing night in February. In 1119, when Henry was everywhere victorious, Eustace and his wife knelt before the king in his tent; and there was reconciliation and forgiveness.

In this same year William the Etheling,—the Saxon title being still applied to the heir to the crown,—was married to the daughter of Fulk, count of Anjou. The young prince remained in Normandy; and peace having been restored between Henry and the king of France, did homage to that king, Louis le Gros, for the fief of Normandy. On the 25th of November, 1120, Henry and his son were about to leave Normandy. At Barfleur there came to the king a mariner, and said, that his father was the owner of the ship that conveyed the Conqueror to make war on Harold; and he asked the king to sail with him in his ship, the Blanche-Nef. Henry replied that he had chosen his ship, but that his son might sail in the Blanche-Nef. The king put to sea in the first watch of the night, and reached England in safety. The young prince and his companions went on board full of merriment and wine, and the rowers and their steersman were mad with drink. As they pulled out of the harbour, incapable of directing the vessel, she struck upon a rock, filled, and went down. One man only, out of three hundred on board, was saved—Bérold, a butcher of Rouen. Malmesbury says, "the boat having been launched, the young prince was received into it, and might certainly have been saved by reaching the shore, had not his illegitimate sister, the countess of Perche, now struggling with death in the larger vessel, implored her brother's assistance; shrieking out that he should not abandon her so barbarously. Touched with pity, he ordered the boat to return to the ship, that he might rescue his sister; and thus the unhappy youth met his death through excess of affection; for the skiff, overcharged by the multitudes who leaped into her, sank, and buried all indiscriminately in the deep."

In 1121, King Henry married Adelaide, the daughter of the duke of Louvain. They had no issue. After the death of prince William, Henry's enemies in Normandy took up the cause of the son of Robert, and the king of France bestowed on him the hand of his sister-in-law. Finally he succeeded to the earldom of Flanders. Henry's only legitimate child, Matilda, the empress of Germany, had become a widow in 1124; and at

the Christmas of 1126, at a solemn assembly at Windsor, of nobles, and bishops, and the great tenants of the crown, it was declared that the empress was the next heir, failing any future legitimate male issue to the king. They then all swore to maintain her succession; and amongst the nobles who took the oath were Stephen, earl of Boulogne, the son of Adela, the daughter of the Conqueror; and Robert, earl of Gloucester, the illegitimate son of Henry. David, king of Scotland, who was present as an English earl, also swore to maintain the succession of his niece Matilda. Fulk, the earl of Anjou, had surrendered his European states to his eldest son Geoffrey, for he had accepted the higher dignity of king of Jerusalem. Henry negociated a marriage of Matilda with the young earl. Their nuptials were solemnised at Rouen at the Whitsuntide of 1127. In 1133 Matilda bore a son, Henry. The oaths to maintain the succession were renewed. Before this period, however, the king had been freed from much disquiet, by the death of his nephew, William, the earl of Flanders, who was wounded under the walls of Alost in 1128, in a revolt headed by the earl of Alsace, and fomented, no doubt, by the intrigues of the English king.

On the 25th of November, 1135, Henry arrived at his favourite hunting-seat, the castle of Lions, about six leagues from Rouen. He had not lost his active habits at the age of sixty-five, and he gave orders for the chace on the next day. But the next day saw him sick. He had feasted upon a dish of lampreys, and in four days was dead, after beating his breast and lamenting his sins.

CHAPTER V.

STEPHEN, earl of Boulogne, the nephew of King Henry I., had lived much in England, and was an universal favourite. This popular man was at the death-bed of his uncle; but before the royal body was borne on the shoulders of nobles from the castle of Lions to Rouen, Stephen was on his road to London. Dover and Canterbury shut their gates against him. But he went boldly on to London. By the Londoners he was received with acclamations: and the Witan chose him for king without hesitation, as one who could best fulfil the duties of the office, and put an end to the dangers of the kingdom. Stephen's brother Henry was bishop of Winchester; and his influence with the other dignitaries of the Church was mainly instrumental in the election of Stephen to be king, in open disregard of the oaths taken a few years before to recognise the succession of Matilda and of her son. Stephen was crowned on the 26th of December; and he vindicated the choice of the nation at the very outset of his reign, by going in person against the robbers who, during the suspension of the royal functions, had ravaged the country. The new king had succeeded to a vast amount of treasure. With this possession of means he surrounded himself with troops from Flanders and Brittany.

The unanimity which appeared to hail the accession of Stephen was

soon interrupted. David, king of Scotland, had advanced to Carlisle and Newcastle, to assert the claim of Matilda which he had sworn to uphold. But Stephen came against him with a great army, and for a time there was peace. Robert, earl of Gloucester, the illegitimate son of Henry I., had done homage to Stephen; but his allegiance was very doubtful; and he soon defied the king's power.

In 1138 an invasion of England was made by the Scottish king, without regard to the previous pacification. From the period of the Conquest, a large number of Anglo-Saxons had been settled in the lowlands; and the border countries of Westmoreland and Cumberland were also occupied, to a considerable extent, by the same race. The people of Galloway were chiefly of the original British stock. The author of the Gesta Stephani says, "A confused multitude of this people being assembled from the lowlands of Scotland, they were formed into an irregular army, and marched for England." The archbishop of York, Thurstan, an aged but vigorous man, collected a large army to resist the invaders. The bishop of Durham was the leader of this army, composed of the Norman chivalry, and the English archers. The opposing forces met at Northallerton, on the 22nd of August, 1138. The Anglo-Norman army was gathered round a tall cross, raised on a car, and surrounded by the banners of Saint Cuthbert, and Saint Wilfred, and Saint John of Beverley. From this incident the bloody day of Northallerton was called "The Battle of the Standard." The Scotch fought with darts and long spears, and attacked the solid mass of Normans and English, gathered round the standard. Prince Henry, the son of the king of Scotland, made a vigorous onslaught with a body of horse, composed of English and Normans attached to his father's household. The issue of the battle was the signal defeat of the Scottish army, with the loss of eleven thousand men upon the field. A peace was concluded with king Stephen in the following year. There were still many indications of an unsettled government. To counteract the power of the great nobles, Stephen had made a lavish distribution of crown lands, to a large number of tenants-in-chief. These new barons had permission from the king to build castles; and from these castles the petty barons sallied forth to plunder their neighbours. The great towns also sent out bands of marauders.

In 1139, Stephen engaged in a most perilous contest. The ecclesiastical power in England had rapidly and steadily increased since the period of the Conquest. During the reigns of the first William and his sons the erection of monastic buildings was universal. Wealth flowed in upon the ecclesiastics from king and noble, from burgess and socman; and every improvement of the country increased the value of Church possessions. It has been computed that three hundred monastic establishments were founded in England during the reigns of Henry I., Stephen, and Henry II.* The English Church, during the troubled reign of Stephen, had become more completely under the papal dominion than at any previous period of its history. The king attempted to interpose some check to the ecclesiastical desire for supremacy. There were three bishops whose

* Lyttelton's Henry II. vol. iii. p. 294, ed. 1769.

intrigues he had especially to dread. Roger, the bishop of Salisbury, had been promoted from the condition of a parish priest at Caen, to be chaplain, secretary, chancellor, and chief justiciary of Henry I. He was instrumental in the election of Stephen to the throne; and he was rewarded with extravagant gifts. The bishop had erected castles at Devizes, at Sherborne, and at Malmesbury. King Henry had given him the castle of Salisbury. This lord of four castles had powerful auxiliaries in his nephews, the bishop of Lincoln, and the bishop of Ely. Alexander of Lincoln had built the castles of Newark and Sleaford, and was almost as powerful as his uncle. In July, 1139, a quarrel occurred at a great council at Oxford, between the retainers of the bishops and those of Alain, earl of Brittany, about a right to quarters; and the quarrel went on to a battle, in which men were killed on both sides. The bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln were arrested, as breakers of the king's peace. The bishop of Ely fled to his uncle's castle of Devizes. The king, under the advice of the sagacious earl Millent, resolved to dispossess these dangerous prelates of their fortresses, which were all finally surrendered. The great body of the ecclesiastics were indignant at what they considered an offence to their order. The bishop of Winchester, the brother of Stephen, had become the pope's legate in England; and he summoned the king to attend a synod at Winchester. The king refused to attend the council, but he sent Alberic de Vere to represent him. At a subsequent day the archbishop of Rouen came as the champion of the king. Swords were at last unsheathed. The king and the earls were now in open hostility with the legate and the bishops. Within a month Matilda and the earl of Gloucester landed at Arundel, where the widow of Henry I. was dwelling. They had a very small force to support their pretensions. The earl crossed the country to Bristol. Stephen invested the castle of Arundel. But in the most romantic spirit of chivalry he permitted the empress to pass out, and to set forward to join her brother at Bristol, under a safe-conduct. In 1140 the whole kingdom appears to have been subjected to the horrors of a partisan warfare.

In 1141, Lincoln Castle was treacherously surprised by Ranulf, earl of Chester, an avowed partisan of Stephen. The king speedily marched to Lincoln. The earl of Chester contrived to leave the castle, and soon raised a powerful army of his own vassels. The earl of Gloucester joined him with a considerable force, and they together advanced to the relief of the besieged city. Stephen decided upon instant battle. He set forth to meet the insurgent earls. The best knights were in his army; but the infantry of his rivals was far more numerous. Stephen detached a strong body of horse and foot to dispute the passage of a ford of the Trent. But Gloucester by an impetuous charge obtained possession of the ford, and the battle became general. The king's horsemen fled, and after fighting with desperate bravery, the king himself was made prisoner. Ordericus says, "... filled with grief the clergy and monks and the ... was condescending and courteous to those ... if his treacherous nobles had allowed it, ... their rapacious enterprises, and been a gene... friend of the country."

After the capture of King Stephen, at this brief but decisive battle, he was kept a close prisoner at Bristol Castle. Then commenced what might be called the reign of Queen Matilda, which lasted about eight months. The defeat of Stephen was the triumph of the greater ecclesiastics. On the third Sunday in Lent, Matilda swore that in all matters of importance, and especially in the bestowal of bishoprics and abbeys, she would submit to the Church; and the bishop of Winchester and his supporters pledged their faith to the empress on these conditions. The Londoners at first refused to acknowledge Matilda; and St. John's-day had arrived before they would yield. Many parts of the kingdom had then submitted to her government; and she entered London with great state. The vigilant queen of Stephen, who kept possession of Kent, now approached the city with a numerous force; and by her envoys demanded her husband's freedom. Of course her demand was made in vain. She then put forth a front of battle. Instead of being crowned at Westminster the daughter of Henry I. fled in terror; for "the whole city flew to arms at the ringing of the bells, which was the signal for war, and all with one accord rose upon the countess [of Anjou] and her adherents, as swarms of wasps issue from their hives." * After Matilda had taken her hasty departure, the Londoners marched out, and they sustained a principal part in what has been called "the rout of Winchester," in which Robert, earl of Gloucester, was taken prisoner. The ex-empress escaped to Devizes. A convention was agreed to between the adherents of each party that the king should be exchanged for the earl. Stephen was once more "every inch a king." But still there was no peace in the land.

The bishop of Winchester had again changed his side. From the day when Stephen exhibited his hostility to fighting bishops, the pope's legate was his brother's deadly enemy. But he found that the rival whom he had set up was by no means a pliant tool in his hands, and he then turned against Matilda. When Stephen had shaken off the chains with which he was loaded in Bristol Castle, the bishop summoned a council at Westminster, on his legatine authority; and there, "by great powers of eloquence, endeavoured to extenuate the odium of his own conduct;" affirming that he had supported the empress, "not from inclination but necessity." He then "commanded on the part of God and of the pope, that they should strenuously assist the king, appointed by the will of the people, and by the approbation of the Holy See."

In 1142 Matilda was at Oxford, a fortified city, protected by the Thames, by a wall, and by an impregnable castle. Stephen, with a body of veterans, waded across the river, and entered the city. Matilda and her followers took refuge in the keep. For three months the king pressed the siege, surrounding the fortress on all sides. Famine was approaching to the helpless garrison. The country was covered with a deep snow. The Thames and the tributary rivers were frozen over. With a small escort Matilda contrived to escape, and passed undiscovered through the royal posts. In the course of the night she went to Abingdon on foot, and afterwards reached Wallingford on horseback. After the flight from

* Gesta Stephani.

Oxford the arms of the earl of Gloucester were again successful. Stephen was beaten at Wilton, and retreated precipitately with his military brother, the bishop of Winchester. There was in the autumn of 1142 universal turmoil and desolation.

The earl of Gloucester died in 1147. After eight years of terrible hostility and desperate adventure, Matilda left the country. Stephen was now engaged in another quarrel with the Church. His brother had been superseded as legate by Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, in consequence of the death of the pope who had supported the bishop of Winchester. Theobald was Stephen's enemy, and his hostility was rendered formidable by his alliance with Bigod, the earl of Norfolk. The archbishop excommunicated Stephen and his adherents, and the king was enforced to submission. In 1150, Stephen having been again reconciled to the Church, sought the recognition of his son Eustace as the heir to the kingdom. This recognition was absolutely refused by the archbishop, who said that Stephen was regarded by the papal see as an usurper. Henry of Anjou was now grown into manhood. Born in 1133, he had been knighted by his uncle, David of Scotland, in 1149. His father died in 1151, and he became not only duke of Normandy, but earl of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine. In 1152, he contracted a marriage of ambition with Eleanor, the divorced wife of Louis of France, and thus became lord of Aquitaine and Poitou, which Eleanor possessed in her own right. In 1153 Henry landed in England with a well-appointed band of followers, and besieged various castles. But no general encounter took place. The king and the duke had a conference, without witnesses, across a rivulet, and this meeting prepared the way for a final pacification. The negotiators were the bishop of Winchester on the one part, and Theobald, the archbishop, on the other. Finally, Stephen led the prince in solemn procession through the streets of Winchester, "and all the great men of the realm, by the king's command, did homage, and pronounced the fealty due to their liege lord, to the duke of Normandy, saving only their allegiance to King Stephen during his life." * Stephen's son Eustace had died during the negotiations. The troublesome reign of Stephen was soon after brought to a close. He died on the 25th October, 1154. His constant and heroic queen had died three years before him.

Henry was in Normandy when Stephen died; and it was six weeks after that death before he arrived in England. He was crowned at Westminster, on the 19th of December, 1154—the first king of the Plantagenet race, which ruled England for more than three centuries.

At the time of his accession Henry II. was twenty-one years of age. Though a young man of strong passions, he held over them the control of a firm will and a commanding intellect. He went steadily to his great work of substituting law and order for violence and confusion. He expelled the foreign mercenaries by whom the people had been grievously plundered. He demolished the castles which had been the hiding-places of privileged robbers. He recovered those lands of the crown which had been improvidently alienated by Stephen. He abolished the private mints,

* Henry of Huntingdon.

which had been as numerous as the castles, and claimed the exclusive sovereign right of issuing a new coinage. Much of this counter-revolution required to be effected by military force; but the arduous labour appears to have been carried through with little injustice and less cruelty. According to Peter of Blois, Henry was shrewd in council, ready in speaking, self-possessed in danger, careful in prosperity, firm in adversity. His court was a daily school, where he constantly discussed hard questions, and obtained knowledge from learned men. His moderation in eating and drinking was habitual. He was gentle and affable to the poor and distressed; but overbearing to the proud. Henry had an able grand-justiciary in the earl of Leicester; and the counsels of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, were those of conciliation and peace. In his own person he attended vigilantly to the administration of justice.

The first seven years of Henry's reign were not without the vicissitudes of policy and the difficulties of war. Normandy was his, by the same right as England. He derived the sovereignty of Aquitaine from his marriage. His father was count of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine; and he would have lawfully inherited these possessions had he not sworn that he would perform every article of his father's will. One article was that he should resign these territories to his younger brother, Geoffrey, should Henry obtain possession of England. Henry applied to the Roman see to give him a dispensation from his oath, which he said he had blindly taken; and the obsequious pontiff granted the formidable king's desire. Geoffrey was not so easily satisfied, and assembled an army; but his brother quickly subjected him, and gave him a pension to compensate for the loss of his coronet. Henry did homage to Louis of France, for all these vast possessions.

On his return to England in 1157, the king, not unnaturally, sought to recover that power which England had lost during the reign of Stephen. The counties of Cumberland and Northumberland had passed into the possession of the Scottish crown, either as fiefs or by especial grant. There was an oath in the way of their resumption, which had been imposed upon Henry when a youth under the protection of his great-uncle, the Scottish king. But the surrender of the northern counties, which Henry demanded, could not be resisted; and the young king Malcolm also did homage to Henry for Lothian.

During the contest between Stephen and Matilda, Wales had, also, under brave chieftains, recovered much of its ancient territory from the English. In 1157, the king led a powerful army into Flintshire. He had previously strengthened the Flemish colony of sturdy artisans in Pembrokeshire, who had maintained their ground against the Welsh till the end of the reign of Stephen. When Henry marched into North Wales, to encounter the chief Owen Gwynneth, Owen was encamped at Basingwerk. Henry, somewhat rashly, entered a narrow and woody defile, called Eulo, near Coleshill, in the parish of Holywell. The Welsh, with all the advantage of local knowledge, routed the king's forces. Henry then marched along the coast, but gained no advantage, because "he was principally advised by people remote from the marches, and ignorant of the manners and customs of the natives." Thus writes Giraldus Cambrensis,

who describes these natives as active and hardy, universally trained to arms, and always ready for war. They are frugal, hospitable, and of an acute intellect; excelling in music and oratory. They commit acts of plunder, not only against foreigners and hostile nations, but against their own countrymen. Bold in their warlike onsets, they cannot bear a repulse, and trust to flight for safety; but defeated one day, they are ready to resume the conflict on the next. Their ancient national custom of dividing property amongst all the brothers of a house leads to perpetual contests for possessions, and frequent fratricides. The ecclesiastical benefices are conferred, not by election, but by assumed hereditary right. Finally Giraldus says, that, from the pride and obstinacy of their dispositions, they will not, like other nations, subject themselves to the dominion of one lord and king.

Gilbert Becket was a citizen of London in the reign of Henry I. His son Thomas was born there in 1119, and received his early education at the abbey of Merton. To complete his accomplishments young Becket went to Paris. He returned to England with more chivalric accomplishments than entirely befitted his clerical vocation. His abilities soon commanded attention, and he received valuable benefices from Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, and became archdeacon of that diocese. By him he was employed in two difficult negotiations at Rome, one of which was to obtain a papal bull against any bishop officiating at the coronation of Eustace, the son of Stephen. When Henry II. became king this service brought Becket into favour. After a short period, he was appointed chancellor. This position placed him about the king's person as the sealer o his writs, and as his secretary and adviser. Becket was remarkable for his ostentation and love of display. He did everything for effect, at every period of his life. Of unbounded ambition, of overbearing pride, and we will venture to believe of very doubtful honesty, he followed for eight years the path of secular greatness, having the confidence of the king in his undoubted ability, and securing that confidence by his agreeable qualities. When Henry's pretensions to Toulouse had roused the hostility of Louis of France, Becket is said to have raised a force of seven hundred knights, and marched at their head to the siege of the disputed town. The chancellor's predilections were not in the least towards that Church of which he received the revenues almost as a lay-impropriator. Archdeacon of Canterbury, dean of Hastings, provost of Beverley, prebendary of many stalls, he had an interest in the Church; but he had little love for the essentials of religion. In addition to his vast pluralities in the Church, he was warden of the Tower, and had other lay-offices. Henry, upon the death of Theobald, the archbishop of Canterbury, offered his chancellor the primacy. Henry knew that he had a great battle to fight against an authority out of his realm which claimed to hold in subjection the mightiest order within his realm. The civil power, too, had been gradually encroached upon by the ecclesiastical, for nearly a century. Becket was chosen as the king's reliable agent, to bring the Church within the bounds of its lawful authority and influence. Becket, in accepting the primacy, must have thoroughly known that he must take one of two courses—either to be a moderator between the State and the Church, or to precipitate the Church

into a contest with the State. It is said that the king's mother warned her son that Becket would become a rival, and disturb the peace of the kingdom. Becket paused a year before he accepted the archbishopric. In the June of 1162, he was elected archbishop of Canterbury by the suffragan bishops and the prior and monks of Canterbury, assembled at Westminster. Henry had sent his justiciary from Normandy, to bear his royal mandate for the elevation of his chancellor to the primacy. Becket was then, at Canterbury, ordained a priest; and afterwards consecrated with extraordinary magnificence. After his election and consecration he resigned his office of chancellor, to the great offence of the king. Henry came to England, and was met by the primate at Southampton. The king now knew that the predictions of his mother were not altogether vain. He required the archbishop to give up his archdeaconry, which he had continued, illegally, to retain. Becket was obliged to yield. The old friendship was gone.

The next year the archbishop, with most of the other dignitaries of the Church, proceeded to a great council at Tours, to meet Pope Alexander and his cardinals. It was here determined that a severe canon should be made against all who usurped the goods of the Church. Upon his return to England the archbishop demanded from several barons, and even from the crown, the restoration of manors and castles which had belonged to the see of Canterbury.

From the period of the separation of the secular and ecclesiastical jurisdictions, which had been effected in the reign of William, the administration of civil justice had been gradually becoming more essentially connected with the kingly office. When Henry II. had been on the throne ten years, he had, in a great degree, brought all his lay subjects under the equal rule of the laws. But the position of the Church presented an insuperable obstacle to their equal administration. The clergy claimed an exemption from all secular judicature. Whilst the murderer and the robber were punished with death if tried in the courts of the crown, the vilest offender, if a clerk, escaped the extreme penalty of his offence, and was often freed from all consequences except that of pecuniary compensation. It has been stated that in the first years of Henry II. there were reckoned nearly one hundred homicides that had been perpetrated by priests then living. After the appointment of Becket to the primacy, a priest of Worcestershire committed a most infamous crime. This offender was required to be delivered up for trial in the king's courts. Becket interposed the shield of the Church between the criminal and the outraged laws. Henry called an assembly of prelates at Westminster, and earnestly asserted the public necessity of putting an end to such hideous compromises as the archbishop had maintained. He asked them "whether they were willing to submit to the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom?" The reply, framed by Becket, was that they would observe them "saving the privileges of their order." The king was indignant; and immediately deprived the archbishop of the temporal appointments which he held at the pleasure of the crown. Henry then called a great council at Clarendon, near Salisbury. A series of resolutions were there proposed which have since been known as "The Constitutions of Clarendon." These

constitutions were a formidable attack upon the power of the clergy at home, as well as upon the interference of the papal see with the affairs of the English Church. They were earnestly debated for three days; and were ultimately carried, even with the consent of Becket. That some force was used to compel his submission is unquestionable. The constitutions were sent to the Pope for confirmation, and Alexander refused his consent to ratify them. Then began a course of determined hostility on the part of the archbishop that appeared to shut out all hope of a compromise. Returning to his see, he boldly set about acting in defiance of the statute he had consented to pass. He was arraigned as a traitor, at Northampton, and being held as guilty, his possessions were decreed to be at the king's mercy, which means that the king had absolute power over them. Having preached at the morning service from the text, "Princes sat and spake against me," Becket went in solemn procession to the king's palace, bearing the archiepiscopal cross in his own hands. As the primate entered the king's hall in this unusual pomp, the king retired. Henry was in great anger; and the bishop of Exeter came out, and throwing himself on his knees before Becket, besought him to have pity on himself, and upon his brethren. His answer was, "Fly, then, thou canst not understand the things that are of God." The bishops then came out, and renounced their obedience to him, on the score that he had sworn falsely to observe the constitutions, and had then resisted them, and broken his fealty. "I hear what ye say," was his only reply. The barons then pronounced a sentence of imprisonment against him, and the earl of Leicester came into the hall to read the sentence. The archbishop interrupted him with, "Sir earl, hear you first;" and then, after a defence of himself, concluded by disclaiming the king's judgment, and that of the peers, "being only to be judged, under God, by our lord the pope." He then cited the bishops, who, he said, had chosen to obey man rather than God, to appear before the presence of the pope. As he rose to depart, some called him traitor. The ancient spirit of the warrior was roused, and he exclaimed, "If my holy office did not forbid it, I would make answer with my sword." To close this extraordinary day, Becket sent out his people to gather the paupers and wayfarers to come into the house where he abode, there to feast and make merry. But in the dead of the night he left the town, in the garb of a monk, with only two attendants. At the end of fifteen days they embarked in a small fishing-boat at Sandwich, and were set on shore near Gravelines. His escape was a very doubtful issue of his flight, for Henry had given orders that all the seaports should be watched. After some adventures, under the name of Friar Christian, he finally passed from the territories of the court of Flanders into France; and was at length luxuriously established, by the influence of the pope, in the abbey of Pontigny, in Burgundy, after an interview with the pontiff at Sens. In 1166 he proceeded from Pontigny to Vézelay, near Auxerre: and, on the festival of the Ascension, mounting the pulpit, denounced and excommunicated all those whom he called the enemies of the Church. Amongst these "enemies of the Church," was John of Oxford, who was so termed for having advocated the cause of some unfortunate German families, settled at Oxford, who were condemned as obstinate heretics, by

a synod convened by the king in 1166. The sentence of excommunication was not pronounced by Becket against Henry himself; but the king was called upon, by name, to repent and atone for the usage he had offered to the Church, for otherwise the same malediction should fall upon him. Henry banished all who were connected with Becket by any ties either of blood or affection, and he threatened that he would confiscate all the estates of the Cistercians in England if Becket were still harboured in a Cistercian monastery. The threat had its effect; and the fugitive archbishop, not to bring trouble upon his friends, repaired to Sens, where Louis of France appointed him another asylum. Henry lived in constant terror of an interdict from Rome, by which the allegiance of his subjects might have been shaken; and the greatest watchfulness was exercised to prevent such an instrument arriving in England. But Henry, also, managed to conciliate the court of Rome by unanswerable arguments, more potent than the bitter letters of Becket to the pontiff, in which the king was called a malicious tyrant. The pope withdrew the commission by which Becket had been appointed legate, and prohibited him from excommunicating any person in England, or from using letters of interdict against the kingdom. At last it was settled that Henry and Becket should meet in a solemn conference, in which the king of France should be present. A difference, however, arose, and there was an end, for a time, to any prospect of adjustment. At length, in 1170, on the 22nd of July, a solemn meeting took place at Touraine. As the prelate advanced to the royal tent, Henry rode forward to meet him with vailed bonnet. They long discoursed apart; and to all appearance they were reconciled. Henry held Becket's stirrups when he mounted his horse, but he would not give him the kiss of peace. The archbishop was to be restored to his see, with all his lands, livings, and privileges; and Henry was content with Becket's agreement to love, honour, and serve him, "in as far as an archbishop could render in the Lord service to his sovereign." But they parted without the kiss of peace. Becket anticipated danger, and he was repeatedly warned against going to England. Henry's eldest son had been crowned, and acted in England with royal authority. To him the king sent a brief letter, dated from Chinon, requiring him to fulfil the conditions of the peace with the archbishop. Becket landed at Dover, on the 1st of December, 1170. He had previously sent before him letters of excommunication against the archbishop of York, and the bishops of London and Salisbury. The offence of these prelates was, that they had performed the ceremony of consecrating Prince Henry, and had thus usurped an office pertaining to the see of Canterbury. The archbishop proceeded to Canterbury, where he was received with acclamations by the burgesses and the poor. But none of the nobles or dignified ecclesiastics came to meet him. He attempted to see Prince Henry, his former pupil at Woodstock; but was directed to remain within his own diocese. Amidst an escort of poor people he returned to Canterbury, and on Christmas-day preached in the cathedral, from the text, "I come to die amongst you;" and afterwards "excommunicated Robert de Broc, who, the day before, had cut off the tail of one of his sumpter-

horses."* The prelates, against whom Becket had borne letters of excommunication, had crossed to Normandy, to represent their grievances to the king. Henry, in his passion, exclaimed, "Is there no one to deliver me from this turbulent priest?" Four knights of Henry's court—William de Tracy, Hugh de Morville, Richard Brito, and Reginald Fitz-Urse—crossed the sea, and arrived at Canterbury on the fifth day of the Nativity. They made their way into the archbishop's chambers, and addressed him insolently. Threats were exchanged, and mutual revilings. The knights required the prelate to withdraw the excommunication of the bishops, and to do fealty to the king for his barony. John of Salisbury, his secretary, counselled peace. But Becket was unmoved by terror or by entreaty. He took no precautions against outrage, but resolved to go to vespers in the cathedral. Quietly he proceeded into the church, and stood before the altar of St. Bennet. "Where is the traitor? Where is the archbishop?" exclaimed Tracy. The courageous prelate answered, "Here am I, the archbishop, but no traitor." "Thou art a prisoner," said Tracy, and took him by the sleeve. The archbishop threw him off with violence. He refused to fly; or to make any submission. He was then struck at, and as the sword of Fitz-Urse was descending upon his head, his faithful cross-bearer, Edward Gryme, received the blow upon his arm. Becket was slightly wounded and fell. Another and another blow completed the murder.

When the news of Becket's death reached King Henry in Normandy, he gave way to the most passionate grief, and sent envoys to Rome to declare his innocence, and to moderate the anger of Pope Alexander. After excommunicating the assassins, with all the advisers and abettors of Becket's death, Alexander sent two legates into France to investigate the whole circumstances of the unhappy affair. Henry immediately withdrew from Normandy, and in Ireland he waited the result. At length an encouraging issue of five months' debate was announced to him, and then he returned to Normandy and met the legates. He solemnly swore in the cathedral of Avranches that he was innocent in word or deed of the murder of the archbishop; and was as solemnly absolved of all censure, upon agreeing to certain concessions in favour of the Church, which had the effect of suspending the operations of the Constitutions of Clarendon.

Early in the reign of Henry, Pope Adrian had given him a pretended authority to subdue Ireland, and to reform its barbarous people. Giraldus has given this people much the same character as he gives the inhabitants of Wales. They had the same internal contests under separate chiefs; the same preference of pasturage to agriculture; the same dislike to sedentary pursuits; the same excitable natures; the same impetuous bravery; and the same universal love of music. Before the ninth century, the Irish had schools of learning which were celebrated throughout Europe, and the Celtic tribes were gradually acquiring a taste for the advantages of civilised life. But the system of succession kept the country from making any real progress. The native rulers were called kings, and there was a chief

* Hoveden.

monarch who claimed the sovereignty of the whole island. There was no hereditary claim to a regular succession amongst the sons of these kings; but the "tanist," or heir-apparent, was elected by the voices of the "sept" during the life of the chieftain. Perpetual contests were the result. Lands descended to all the sons of a family in equal shares. But there was not only this division upon the death of the father, but upon the death of each possessor the lands were thrown into the common stock, and a new division was made.

In the middle of the twelfth century, the nominal sovereignty of Ireland was claimed by the O'Connors, the kings of Connaught. There had been great agitation in the country since the time when Dermot, king of Leinster, had carried off the wife of O'Ruare, prince of Leitrim; and after years of battle and vicissitudes of power, Dermot was driven out of the island in 1167. He went to Aquitaine, did homage to Henry, and obtained permission to enlist adventurers in his service. With the aid of Richard de Clare, earl of Pembroke, surnamed Strongbow, and of two Welsh brothers, Robert and Maurice Fitzgerald, he recovered his dominions. Strongbow married Eva, the daughter of Dermot. The native king died the same year, and the ambitious adventurer from England assumed the royal authority. Henry was not disposed to have an energetic rival quite so near his own dominions; and he forbade any more English to engage in the invasion, commanding Strongbow and his adherents to return. The adventurer was alarmed, and hastened to lay his authority and acquired possessions at the feet of Henry, as his liege lord. The king of England proceeded himself to Ireland, with a disciplined and numerous band. He landed at Waterford and marched to Dublin, receiving the homage of native princes as he went forward. He committed no excesses, and received the chieftains with his politic cordiality. The princes of Ulster alone refused to bow to the authority of the English king. Henry returned to England in the spring of 1172. He had made no conquests; and his possession of the island, even as a feudal superior, was exceedingly precarious. But in 1175, Henry produced the bull of Pope Adrian, and claimed to be monarch of Ireland. He then granted to Roderic, king of Connaught, that he should be king under the English crown, over the other chieftains, tribute being paid by all to Henry. Strongbow, the king of Leinster, died in 1177. The same year the king obtained a papal bull, giving him power to enfeoff either of his sons with Ireland, as its lord; and he conferred that authority on Prince John, then twelve years of age. The king, however, chose a sagacious lord-deputy, Hugh de Lacy; who laboured successfully to reconcile the people to the authority of the English strangers. He was recalled in 1185, and Prince John, with a numerous force, proceeded to Ireland. The oppressions which this impolitic boy encouraged, raised up enemies on every side; and after a perilous and contemptible rule of less than a year his father recalled him.

Henry had four sons by Queen Eleanor. In 1172, some influence had been at work to procure a powerful confederacy against the great king of England; and in this confederacy Queen Eleanor and her three elder sons, Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey, were involved. The young Henry had been a second time crowned at Westminster, with his wife, the daughter of the

king of France; and he was termed king, from this circumstance. At the instigation, it is believed, of his father-in-law, Prince Henry set up a pretension to divide the royal power with his father, and demanded that the king should resign to him either England or Normandy. In the same spirit, Richard, a boy of fifteen, claimed Aquitaine, because he had performed homage to Louis for that duchy; and Geoffrey claimed the immediate possession of Brittany. The rebellious sons fled from the court of their father to the French king; and their mother soon followed. The bishops of Normandy exhorted her, under pain of ecclesiastical censure, to return with her sons. King Henry took a more effectual mode—he secured her person, and kept her in close durance for many years. Louis of France bound himself, with the usual oaths, to aid the young Henry in his attempt to possess England: and the young Henry vowed never to make peace with his father, unless France should give consent. There were two other princes who became parties to this league—William, king of Scotland, and Philip, earl of Flanders. Prince Henry collected an army of twenty thousand adventurers, soldiers of fortune, who were ready to support any cause that afforded pay and plunder. The allied enemies of the king entered Normandy; but they were repulsed. The Scots made incursions upon the north of England, but they were driven back by Richard de Lacy, the justiciary, and Humphrey de Bohun, the lord constable, who ravaged Lothian and burnt Berwick. Meanwhile, the earl of Leicester, who had taken part against the king, had brought over a large body of Flemings; and the force was joined by the earl of Norfolk, at Framlingham Castle. Near Saint Edmundsbury they were met by the army which had returned triumphantly from Scotland. The banner of Saint Edmund was carried in front of the royal army; and, at a marshy place called Fornham, on the bank of the river, the rebel forces were entirely defeated, and the earl of Leicester and his countess were taken prisoners.

In 1174, the rebellion became even more formidable. The Scots again entered England in great force. The insurrectionary standard was raised in the northern, the midland, and the eastern counties. A fleet was ready at Gravelines to bring over the young Henry. On the 8th of July the king took ship from Normandy, and crossed the Channel in a heavy storm. On the 10th he rode from Southampton during the night, and as he saw the cathedral towers of Canterbury looming in the grey dawn, he alighted, and walked in penitential garb barefoot to the city. He knelt at the tomb of Becket in deep humiliation. The bishop of London preached, and maintained that Henry had thus appealed to Heaven in avowal of his innocence of the guilt of blood. Then the great king, before the assembled monks and chapter, poured forth his contrition for the passionate exclamation which had been so rashly interpreted by de Tracy and the other knights; and he was scourged with a knotted cord. He spent the night in the dark crypt, and the next day rode fasting to London. On the morning when Henry was humiliating himself before the tomb of Becket, the Norman barons in the interest of the English king surprised the king of Scotland, tilting in a meadow at Alnwick, with sixty companions. The Scottish king was taken prisoner; and the insurrection was at an end in England. The army which Henry had sent to oppose the rebel lords was now turned against

his rebel sons and Louis of France. In another month Henry had scattered or terrified all his enemies; and at the end of September there was peace.

The king of Scotland was confined for several months in the castle of Falaise. A deputation of Scottish nobles and prelates assembled in Normandy to advise their king; and he was finally liberated, after doing homage to Henry as liege lord, it being stipulated that the Scottish clergy and barons should also take an oath of fealty to the English king, and that certain castles in Scotland should be garrisoned by English. This treaty was ratified at York, in the succeeding year. It was some time before Henry would receive the reconciling homage of his eldest son; but in 1175 they sailed to England in company, and lived in apparent cordiality together.

During the peace which Henry enjoyed for eight years after the suppression of the revolt of 1174, he devoted himself to the unremitting discharge of his civil duties. In 1176, at a council at Northampton, he divided the kingdom into six districts, each having three itinerant justices. The circuits of modern times do not greatly vary from these ancient divisions. In the same year Trial by Jury was established by a precise enactment. The duties of a juror were in many respects different from those of modern times. They were essentially witnesses; and were often called "recognitors." The court of king's bench is held to have been "confirmed and fully established by Henry II., if not originally instituted by that prince."*

In 1183, the king commanded his son Richard to do homage to his elder brother for Aquitaine. He refused; and Henry entered Richard's territory with an army. The father interposed, and apparently reconciled the sons. But new causes of quarrel arose; and then Henry and Geoffrey rebelled against the king. Being about to give battle to his father, the young Henry fell ill; and then he became penitent. The king, always forgiving, sent him a ring as a token of his love, and the unhappy man died, pressing that token to his lips. Geoffrey was pardoned; but he then made new demands, and repaired to the court of Philip, now king of France, to excite new troubles. In 1186, he was thrown from his horse at a tournament, and died in a few days.

The kings of England and France had solemnly enrolled themselves as defenders of Jerusalem; the safety of the Christian kingdom there being imperilled by the growing power of the great Saladin. Louis of France died in 1180; and Henry of England was then released from their mutual obligation to visit the Holy Land. But in 1185, during a suspension of hostilities with Saladin, the patriarch of Jerusalem, Heraclius, arrived in England to urge King Henry, as the representative of Fulk of Anjou, whose descendants had been kings of Jerusalem for half a century, to rescue the sacred city from the dangers by which she was threatened. Henry referred the question to his great council,—whether he should go to the East, for the defence of Palestine, or remain to govern the nations of which Heaven had given him the charge. The council decided wisely.

* Allen, in "Edinburgh Review," vol. xxxv., p. 8.

The king remained: but he promised a large sum to assist those who were engaged in the sacred warfare. In 1187, Jerusalem was surrendered to Saladin. In 1188, Henry proceeded to France, and he and Philip Augustus resolved to take the cross. He returned to England, and obtained an enormous tribute, of which nearly one half was extorted from the Jews. The projected crusade was, however, suspended by some disputes, which ended in Henry's son Richard joining the French king in a war against his father. Henry met Philip in a plain near Tours. He yielded, almost without a struggle, to the demands which were made upon him. They were exorbitant. On a sick-bed Henry signed the treaty. Throughout these unnatural conflicts, he had rested his hopes upon his beloved John, to whom he had required his seneschal to deliver his castles in the event of his death, and who he had hoped might possess Normandy. He had asked for the names of those barons who had joined the French king. The first name he saw was John. He turned his face to the wall, and exclaimed, "Let every thing go as it will." He was then carried in a litter to his pleasant palace of Chinon, and there laid himself down to die. One only watched over him with real affection—Geoffrey, his illegitimate son by Rosamond Clifford. On the 6th July, 1182, Henry II. was no more.

CHAPTER VI.

ROGER DE HOVEDEN thus speaks of the demeanour of Richard at the burial of his father: "On the day after his death, when he was being carried out for burial in the church of the Nuns at Fontevraud, earl Richard, his son and heir, came to meet him, and, smitten with compunction, wept bitterly." He adds, "All the persons, clergy as well as laity, who, leaving his father, had adhered to himself, he held in abhorrence, and banished from his acquaintanceship; while those who had faithfully served his father, he retained with him, and enriched with numerous benefits."

Richard was crowned king of England, at Westminster, on the 3rd of September, 1189. During the interval of two months from his father's death, his mother, Eleanor, had exercised some administrative powers. At the coronation there was more than usual magnificence. Richard swore to observe peace, honour, and reverence towards the Holy Church, and to exercise true justice and equity towards the people committed to his charge. After the gorgeous ceremonies of the coronation, the chief men of the Jews came to offer presents to the king. They had been forbidden to come, but they came with gifts, and they were therefore bold. The common people, according to the chronicler, rushed upon the Jews, stripped them, and cast them forth out of the king's hall, with wounds and blows. The citizens of London, following the example, attacked and murdered the Jews in the city, and burnt their houses.

Some of the offenders were hanged, by the king's command. After the riot of London, the spirit of persecution went through the kingdom; and the Jews were barbarously treated and atrociously massacred in many a town. At York this persecuted race exhibited a sublime heroism. A body of armed men entered the city, and commenced their work of plunder and massacre, by attacking the house of a Jew who had perished in the riot of London. All the Jews of York then claimed shelter in the castle. They were admitted, to the number of five hundred. The governor went away; and, upon his return, the Jews, alarmed for their safety, refused him readmission. The fortress was attacked on all sides, and ransoms were refused. Then the desperate race, all except a few, put their wives and children to death, and stabbed each other, that they might not fall into the hands of their cruel enemies. The few who shrank from this terrible self-sacrifice were murdered. The Jews had deposited their bonds with the officers of the cathedral; but the authors of this catastrophe obtained possession of these documents, and burnt them in the nave of the church. One great object of the persecution was accomplished. A load of debt was wiped off the estates of many a servant of the Cross, by the destruction of his victims, and, with them, the evidence of his own obligations was destroyed.

Under such auspices was the third crusade commenced. Richard, and Philip of France, had agreed to proceed to the Holy Land, after the Easter of 1190. In his father's treasury the English king had found a hundred thousand marks; but this sum was a trifle for his extravagant purposes. He put up the crown demesnes for sale. He sold the public offices. He sold earldoms. He sold the claim which Henry had asserted to the right of homage for the crown of Scotland. He had one large, passionate idea, which he carried out with surpassing bravery, and with the loftiest contempt of danger and privation; but with an utter forgetfulness of the true duties of a king.

It was midsummer in 1190 before Richard and Philip set out on their great expedition. Richard proceeded from Tours, Philip from Paris. They met at Vezelay, and thence marched to Lyons. The leaders and their followers here separated. Richard took the road to Marseilles. His fleet had not appeared. His impatience drove him onward; and he left the army, coasting along the Italian shores, till he reached Messina. His fleet was there before him. At Messina he engaged in a quarrel with the prince and the people. The king of France, who had arrived before Richard, wisely kept aloof from these differences. It was Richard's personal quarrel about the dower of his sister; and it was at last ended by the payment of forty thousand ounces of gold by Tancred, the king of Sicily, and by the betrothal of Arthur of Bretagne, the nephew of Richard, to the daughter of the Sicilian king. Richard gave Philip a half of the large sum that he had raised from the king of Sicily. But they had a quarrel about matrimonial projects. Adelais, sister to the king of France, was in some manner betrothed to Richard: but Richard now refused her, and proffered his hand to Berengaria, daughter of the king of Navarre. The difference was reconciled by money, and Philip departed for Syria. Richard's mother and bride arrived at Messina. The Holy Land was within a few

days' sail; but, after he left Sicily, he was engaged in another episode of war, before he reached his destination. Some of his vessels had been stranded at Cyprus, and had been subjected to that barbarous inhospitality which was not uncommon in those times. Richard was ardent for revenge. He engaged in a contest with Isaac, emperor of Cyprus; subjected him to a heavy tribute; bound him "in silver chains," and kept him in captivity till he was released by death. At Lymasol, in Cyprus, Richard married Berengaria. He at length set sail from Cyprus, on the 5th of June, 1191. As he landed at Acre, a shout of joy went up from the crusaders' camp. The English king having heard that the king of France had made liberal donations to his soldiers, proclaimed a higher rate of pay to every one in his service, of whatever nation. But an intermitting fever checked his activity, and he waited for the arrival of some more men from England. Philip led his troops to an assault of the city, and was repulsed. As Richard regained his strength the assaults were more vigorous. Day by day there were desperate battles in the trenches. But still the siege went on. All the various machines were plied night and day. At last the city was threatened with famine. Saladin could not penetrate the lines of the crusaders to supply the brave defenders of Acre with new stores. After long negotiation it was agreed that the city should be surrendered, a certain portion of the garrison being left as hostages for the performance of the conditions of capitulation, the most important in the eyes of the crusaders being, that Saladin should restore the holy cross. The Turks were also to pay a large sum of money, and set at liberty fifteen hundred Christian captives. During the siege, the loss of human life was enormous; Geoffrey de Vinsauf estimates that three hundred thousand Christians perished from the time of its commencement to the surrender of the city. Philip of France, after the capture of Acre, resolved to return home. He had his own schemes to pursue in the absence of Richard from his continental dominions. The duke of Normandy bound his feudal superior, by the customary oaths, not to make war upon his territories while he was not there to defend them; and the king of France left ten thousand soldiers under the command of Richard. But they parted in anger and mutual hatred.

Saladin had delayed to restore the cross, within the time agreed; and he had asked further time. Richard committed the atrocity of hanging two thousand seven hundred of the Turkish hostages; and the duke of Burgundy participated in his guilt, by massacring the prisoners which had been taken under the banner of France. Saladin retaliated by the decapitation of his Christian prisoners. After this mutual slaughter, Richard led his army, now reduced to thirty thousand men, by the line of the coast to Jaffa. Pack-horses and loaded wains went slowly on by this difficult path on the side of the sea; and the Saracens, who hovered round their march, often attacked the troops and plundered the baggage. "The strength of all paganism," says Visnauf, "had gathered together from Damascus to Persia, from the Mediterranean to the East." On the 7th of September, 1191, a most signal victory was obtained by Richard over Saladin in the neighbourhood of Assur. At length Jaffa was reached, and its walls were rebuilt. Again the Christian host marched forward,

in the hope of reaching Jerusalem. They were within thirty miles of the Holy City, and Richard was eager for advance. The Templars and Hospitallers, who knew the country, endeavoured to dissuade him from the perilous enterprise; for the armies of Saladin were in every pass of the mountains. But the king went on. The rains set in; provisions failed; sickness daily thinned the reduced ranks; the Christians lost heart. Richard had the prudence to return, retreating rapidly to Ascalon. This strong place had been dismantled by the Saracens, and the crusaders found its walls and gates but a heap of stones. They vigorously applied themselves to the labour of rebuilding the fortress. "All engaged in this work—princes, nobles, knights, esquires, clerks, and laymen," says Visnauf. Richard's strong arm, and more influential purse, were always ready. But there were disunion and jealousy in the crusading ranks. Richard, who, whatever were his faults, was too brave to resort to the cowardly guilt of conspiring to put to death one whom he disliked, had at this time his honour blackened by an imputation that he was concerned in the murder of Conrad, marquis of Montferrat. The king of England had opposed his claim to the sovereignty of Jerusalem, and had supported Guy of Lusignan. The marquis was at length chosen king of Jerusalem, Richard having abandoned his opposition. Shortly after, Conrad was murdered in the streets of Tyre. One of the two young men who had stabbed him confessed that they were sent to do this deed by the chief commonly known as The Old Man of the Mountain. The sects called The Assassins had possession of many hill-forts in Syria; and from their colony of Mount Libanus went forth the secret ministers of the revenge or the avarice of their Scheik, to whom his followers vowed a blind obedience. Richard was accused of having bribed the Scheik to the murder of Conrad; and the Scheik, in two letters, vindicated the king from any participation in what the fanatic avowed as his just revenge for an injury sustained by one of his people. These letters were produced in Richard's behalf, when he was solemnly accused as the instigator of the crime. He was also accused of having endeavoured to procure a similar murder of Philip of France, which was also denied in this evidence of the Scheik.

In the spring of 1192, Richard received bad news from England. His brother John was playing him false. He perambulated the kingdom, courting popularity, as soon as Richard was fairly on his way to Palestine. His followers called him the king's heir. He had received homage for the royal castle of Lincoln. Richard had entrusted him with no authority; but had placed the government of the country in the hands of William de Longchamp, the chancellor,—who was also bishop of Ely,—in association with the bishop of Durham. There were two parties in the kingdom, one of which clung to the chancellor, and the other to Prince John. At last a solemn meeting was held. On the 8th of October, 1191, Prince John had arrived in London at night, and was joyfully received by the citizens with lanterns and torches. On the 9th there was a great assembly of nobles and prelates in St. Paul's Church, at which Geoffrey, archbishop of York, whose landing in England had been resisted by the chancellor, preferred heavy complaints against him. Prince John warmly espoused the quarrel of his illegitimate brother; and the assembly finally deposed the chan-

cellor, saying, "We will not have this man to reign over us." John was then elected chief-justiciary of the whole kingdom. There was another meeting on the 10th, in which a large body of the people participated. There was much speaking. The chancellor was overthrown; and the citizens of London swore fealty to John, against all men, saving always their fealty to King Richard. The deposed chancellor, after narrowly escaping from the popular fury at Dover, landed in Flanders. The pope espoused the cause of Longchamp; and John, having had offers of bribes from him, made efforts for his recall. But the papal bull, and the ex-chancellor's purse, were equally ineffectual. Longchamp demanded redress from King Richard; to whom he wrote, that his brother John had taken possession of the kingdom, and would place the crown on his own head, unless the king should return with all speed. Richard, however, at the instance of his chaplain, William of Poitou, resolved not to depart from the Holy Land before Easter. The crusaders were marching a second time upon Jerusalem. But Richard had become prudent, and would not take the responsibility of a hazardous attempt. The matter was now referred to twenty discreet men, who agreed that it was the most eligible plan to proceed direct to the siege of Babylon. The French were violently against this proposal. The army was put into good humour by the capture of an enormous caravan by Richard and a select band of his own soldiers, and of the French. The prize was not obtained without a severe battle. Visnauf records that four thousand seven hundred camels and dromedaries, besides mules out of number, were left by the slaughtered or fugitive Turks.

But the avowed objects of the crusade were advancing slowly. At last, Saladin, knowing the distracted state of the Christian councils, refused to agree to a truce; and Richard retreated in the direction of Jaffa, and thence proceeded to Acre, with a part of his forces. Saladin now assaulted Jaffa with petraria and mangonel; and captured the town after a great slaughter. Richard was preparing to embark at Acre, when the news arrived of the siege of Jaffa. At the first words of messengers from the besieged, Richard determined to go to the relief of the Christians in the citadel. The French refused to be again under his command; but the Templars and Hospitallers, with soldiers of all nations, retraced their steps; and Richard embarked with many knights in his fleet of galleys, and arrived after some delay in the harbour of Jaffa. He found the citadel surrendered to the Turks. But the king, without waiting for the land-forces, threw himself into the water, and with a small band of followers recovered the castle. He then boldly encamped outside the gates, having amongst his two thousand men only ten who were mounted. A great body of Turkish cavalry attacked the small force of bowmen and spear-men. Richard and his ten knights scattered the Saracens wherever they rushed. The large-hearted courtesies of chivalry had been exchanged between Christian and pagan. Richard had knighted the son of Saladin's brother, Saphadin; and Saphadin now sent Richard, during the fight, two noble horses, requesting him to accept them. From the morning sun to the setting sun Richard had fought against great odds. That day's terrible toil was followed by fever. His true friend, Saphadin, was at hand, to

arrange an armistice. A truce for three years was finally determined on; by which the pilgrims were to have free access to Jerusalem. Some of the Turkish chiefs proposed to take vengeance on the Christians who were in their power. Saladin preferred honour to revenge. The great Curdish soldier, the magnanimous and wise Saladin, died within six months of this truce.

Richard sailed from Acre on the 9th of October. The solitary ship in which he had embarked was detained a month by contrary winds before he reached Corfu. Here he hired three coasting-vessels to take him and twenty companions to Ragusa. They landed in the guise of pilgrims; and the king, with a single attendant, rode day and night, till he arrived in the neighbourhood of Vienna. Here he was discovered, and taken captive. Leopold of Austria had been scorned by Richard at Acre; and he was also brother-in-law to Isaac of Cyprus. He sent Richard a prisoner to the castle of Tyernsteign, and afterwards sold him to the emperor of Germany. The emperor was ready to sell his captive again to the highest bidder. He kept him safely chained in a castle in the Tyrol. Richard's imprisonment was made known to Europe by a letter from the emperor to the king of France. In England, the people were faithful to their captive king. Prince John was in open hostility to his brother. He surrendered to Philip some portions of the continental dominions of Richard, and did homage to him for the rest. He returned to England with a band of mercenaries, and proclaimed that the king had died in prison. But the prelates and barons were firm; and the schemes of John were overthrown. Philip invaded Normandy, but with very partial success. Longchamp, the deposed chancellor, was the first to make any active exertions for the deliverance of Richard. So History says; but Romance will not surrender to chancellor or bishop the fame of Blondel, the minstrel, who is said to have discovered his master's prison by singing before the window one verse of an air, to which Richard replied with the second verse. Longchamp succeeded in bringing the king before the diet of the empire at Hagenau. An investigation of the charges against Richard took place; but he defended himself with such spirit, that his chains were struck off, and the amount of ransom was the only question in dispute. It was some months before a sufficient instalment of the amount required—a hundred thousand marks—could be raised by taxation in England; and even then the emperor negotiated with John for a bribe to detain his brother. The treaty was finally accomplished. After a captivity which, Hoveden says, lasted one year, six weeks, and three days, the king of England was delivered to his mother, Eleanor. He hastened on his way to Antwerp; and after difficulty in navigating the river, and delay by contrary winds, reached England for a short sojourn.

Richard landed at Sandwich on the 12th of March, 1194. He had been absent more than four years from the land of which he was king; and he came back to an impoverished, discontented, and distracted people. The record of Richard's proceedings from the 12th of March to the 9th of May, as given by Hoveden, shows how this energetic Plantagenet employed himself in this limited visit. A fortnight of March was passed

in the favourite occupation of fighting for the castles which were occupied by the creatures of his brother John. "On the 29th day of March, Richard, king of England, went to see Clipstone and the forests of Sherwood, which he had never seen before, and they pleased him greatly; after which, on the same day, he returned to Nottingham."* Thierry intimates that it was something beyond the charm of woodland scenery that took Richard to Sherwood. The fame of the forest outlaws had, he imagines, presented an object of attraction to Richard's adventurous spirit. We have, however, no record of any meeting between the king of the crusades and the greenwood king. Indeed, the only historical evidence of the individuality of Robin Hood rests upon the popular ballads, and upon a slight mention of this famous brigand by Fordun, the Scottish historian, who wrote in the fourteenth century. On the 31st of March, Richard held a great council at Nottingham, and dispossessed certain barons of fortresses and shrievalties, and put them up for sale to the highest bidder. He called, too, for a judgment against John, who was cited to appear within forty days, or forfeit all right to the kingdom; for he had broken his fealty to Richard, taken possession of his castles, wasted his lands, and made a treaty with his enemy the king of France. The judgment was given. At this council, a land-tax was decreed, and knight's service was demanded to enable Richard to carry an army to Normandy. At the beginning of April, Richard had a meeting with the king of the Scots. They had many discussions about their respective rights, and a charter was finally granted at Northampton, which did much for the dignity of the king of Scotland, though Richard again and again refused to grant him Northumberland, as was desired. On the 17th of April the king of England went through the ceremony of a second coronation. He was now looking to depart; but he first reconciled Geoffrey, the archbishop of York, with Longchamp, the chancellor. He sailed from Portsmouth on the 2nd of May, but the adverse wind kept him weather-bound in the Isle of Wight for nine days. At length he landed at Harfleur, and his warriors with their horses and arms arrived in a hundred large vessels. John fell on his knees before him, and obtained his pardon. The king of France was besieging Verneuil; but on hearing of Richard's approach, left his troops. The king of England hurried to do battle with his great suzerain, and pursued his retreating army with the edge of the sword. In a few months he drove Philip of France out of Normandy, Touraine, and Maine. This sanguinary contest was continued for six years, with an occasional truce when each of the combatants was exhausted. In England, Hubert, the archbishop of Canterbury, was guardian of the realm, and his chief duty was to raise money for these wars. The most unjust and cruel exactions were made upon the people; and they suffered not only from royal cupidity, but from municipal corruption. In 1196, William Fitz-Osbert went to the king in Normandy, and informed him "of certain great oppressions and excessive outrages used by rich men against the poor (namely the worshipful of the city, the mayor and aldermen), who in their hustings, when any tallage was to be

* Hoveden.

gathered, burthened the poor further than was thought reason, to ease themselves."* Henry Fitz-Ailwin was the first mayor of London, the city, prior to 1189, having been governed by a portreeve, who was an officer of the crown. William Fitz-Osbert—William of the Long Beard—had a hard fate, though fifty thousand of the "common people" stood at his back. He was seized in the church of Saint Mary Bow, of Cheap, and, being first stabbed, was then hanged.

Richard perished fighting for a paltry treasure which one of his barons had discovered on his estate. The royal right to treasure so found was asserted by the king. The viscount of Limoges refused to surrender all the gold and silver, though he offered a large portion. Richard, accordingly, laid siege to the viscount's castle of Chaluz; and would allow the garrison no conditional surrender. Reconnoitring the fortress, Richard was wounded in the arm by an arrow, aimed by Bertrand de Gurdun. The castle being captured, the king ordered all the people to be hanged, one alone excepted, —the youth who had wounded him. After twelve days of agony from his wound, Richard died, on the 6th of April, 1199. He bequeathed the kingdom of England and all his other dominions to John; and ordered a fourth of his treasure to be distributed amongst his servants and the poor.

Had the crown of England descended by strict hereditary succession, Arthur, the son of Geoffrey, the third son of Henry II., would have been king in preference to John, the fifth son of Henry. But Arthur was a boy of twelve years; John was thirty-two. John's claim, on the ground of hereditary right, was, that being the surviving brother of the late deceased king, he was nearer of kin to him than Arthur, the son of Richard's brother. The claims of Arthur had not been overlooked in England, in the interval between the death of Richard and the coronation of John. But the interests of the young prince had been overpowered by the promises which the archbishop and the justiciary had held out at a great council at Northampton, and by respect for the will of the deceased king. John was crowned at Westminster on the 27th of May. In Normandy, also, the pretensions of John were recognised without opposition, as well as in Aquitaine and Poitou. But in Maine, Touraine, and Anjou, the cause of the young Plantagenet was openly espoused. John, alarmed at the position of his continental authority, returned to Normandy before the end of June.

Philip of France, the most politic of monarchs, saw clearly his position. The rival claim of the young Arthur of Brittany, was the weak point in the succession of John. Philip, therefore, espoused the cause of Arthur; and in his interest, invaded Normandy, and placed garrisons in Anjou, Maine, and Touraine. There was war for eight months between the rival kings, and then an armistice. During the two months of this suspension of hostilities, John was in England. On the 2nd of May he was again in Normandy, where he remained till October. On the 23rd of May the kings of France and England concluded a peace. The interests of Arthur were abandoned by Philip, and he was compelled to do homage to his

* Holinshed.

uncle for Brittany. The alliance was to be cemented by Louis, the son of Philip, becoming the husband of Blanche of Castile, John's niece.

John had been married since 1189 to Hadvisa, the daughter of William, earl of Gloucester. He now found it convenient to obtain a divorce, under the usual plea of consanguinity. In his progress through Aquitaine he had seen the beautiful betrothed of Hugh, count of La Marche; and the lady, although she was privately espoused as some believe, was tempted to violate her faith and become the wife of John. He went to England in October, 1200, to be crowned with his new queen. The count of La Marche headed an insurrection against John in Poitou and Aquitaine. The force which the king of England brought into the field was too strong for him to resist. But the count had a secret ally in the crafty Philip, to whom he appealed to redress his wrongs. John, from the June of 1201, to the December of 1203, was away from England. During these two years and a half he lost Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine. All that had been inherited from William of Normandy, and Fulk of Anjou, was gone.

In 1202 Philip was again at war with John. The ostensible cause was the injury and insult to the count of La Marche, for the redress of whose wrongs there were many confederate barons and knights in arms. Constance, the duchess of Brittany, was now dead; and the young duke was sent by Philip into Poitou to head the insurrection against John. Arthur, the boy of fifteen, had a strong force of his own faithful Bretons with him, and the discontented nobles met him at Tours with their scanty band of followers. Eleanor, the old queen-mother, was at Mirabeau, near Poitiers. Arthur, with his little army, marched to seize the person of his grandmother, who had always been bitterly opposed to his pretensions. The wary Eleanor took refuge in the strong citadel. While the Poitevin army was besieging this fortress with little caution, John suddenly arrived with a powerful force; and the town was taken by surprise on the night of the 1st of August. Arthur was a prisoner, with two hundred nobles and knights who had followed his unhappy fortunes.

Over the precise circumstances of the fate of Arthur there hangs a terrible mystery. The young prince was first confined in the castle of Falaise. He was then moved, according to some writers, to Rouen. He suddenly vanished, says one, in a manner unknown to all. The king was suspected to have killed him with his own hand, says another. That Arthur was murdered, and at the instigation of John, if not by his hand, there can be little doubt. The maid of Brittany, Arthur's eldest sister, wore out her life in confinement at Bristol. Those who were taken prisoners at Mirabeau were treated with a cruelty which rarely disgraced the times of chivalry. John had his reward in the gathering hatred of all mankind. In 1203, at a meeting of the estates of Brittany, at Vannes, it was resolved that a deputation should go before their feudal lord, King Philip, and demand justice. Upon this, John was summoned to appear as a vassal of France at the court of his peers. The bishop of Ely came as the king's representative, but John himself did not appear. The court adjudged that, "Whereas, John, duke of Normandy, in violation of his oath to Philip, his lord, had murdered the son of his elder brother, a homager of

the crown of France, and near kinsman to the king, and had perpetrated the crime within the signiory of France, he was found guilty of felony and treason, and was therefore adjudged to forfeit all the lands he held by homage." It was no mere form of words when the fiefs of John were confiscated. Philip took, with scarcely an attempt at resistance, the strong places of Normandy. John's general, the earl of Pembroke, made a gallant attempt to relieve a besieged castle on the Seine. John himself lingered at Rouen, in a voluptuous indifference to disaster; fancying that he could easily recover the power that was melting away from him. At last a strong place in the neighbourhood of the great Norman city was taken, and he fled to England. The Normans were unable effectually to resist the powers of Philip. Rouen fell to the French besiegers. The duchy was won by France. The other provinces were all separated from the rule of the Plantagenets, with the exception of Aquitaine. In two years after, John made one more attempt to recover his ancient fiefs. In 1206 he landed at Rochelle; took the castle of Montauban; burnt Angers; and left the usual traces of cruelty and devastation. On the eve of a battle he proposed a negotiation, and then stole off to England before a treaty was concluded. Through the legate of the pope an armistice was agreed upon. The contest was at an end.

John was soon embarked in another contest. In 1207 the see of Canterbury was vacant. The monks of St. Augustine's abbey had always contended, though in vain, for the right to elect the archbishop. They now clandestinely assembled, and elected their sub-prior to be the head of the church in England. They dreaded the opposition of the king and the prelates, but they had hope in the character of the pope. Innocent III. was one of the most resolved and ambitious men that ever filled the papal throne. He maintained that "the regal dignity should be but a reflection of the papal authority, and entirely subordinate to it." The sub-prior was sent to Rome. He divulged the secret; and, upon leaving the kingdom, avowed himself archbishop elect. The monks were alarmed when their proceedings became known, and immediately yielded to the nomination by the king of John de Gray, bishop of Norwich. A deputation of their body was sent to Rome, and they made oath to John that they would support the bishop of Norwich if a fresh election were required. The pope, having decided that the choice was in the monks, in preference to the suffragan bishops, absolved the deputation from their oaths, and set aside the sub-prior and John de Gray. The monks, under the papal direction, chose Stephen Langton, an Englishman of great learning and ability, then a cardinal at Rome. The king seized upon the monastery of Canterbury, banished the monks who remained, and appropriated its revenues. Innocent, it is stated, wrote him conciliatory letters, which John met with angry defiance. In another year the whole kingdom was placed by the pope under an interdict.

The effect of an interdict upon a country was to suspend all the offices of religion. When the bishops of London, Worcester, and Ely, by command of Innocent, pronounced the sentence against all the king's dominions, in Passion Week of 1208, they fled the country. Other bishops quitted their pastoral charge, one only being left in England. This anomalous

condition of society lasted more than six years. During this period, John appears to have conducted himself with more vigour and decision than at any other part of his reign. He compromised a difference with the king of Scotland, without any actual warfare. He led a great army into Ireland, which had been distracted by the rivalries and oppressions of the proud barons who had been deputed to its administration since the time of Henry II. The presence of the English king, with a powerful force, was held as a blessing by the native chiefs and the body of the people. Ireland was, before the visit of John, a prey to those lawless outrages which are invariably the result of tyrannous government. Dublin was peopled in a great degree, by colonists from Bristol, under a grant from Henry II. John originated some useful reforms. He divided the portions of the kingdom in his possession into shires, each with its sheriff and other officers, and he coined the first sterling money circulated in Ireland. He left John de Gray, bishop of Norwich, as his chief justiciary, a man of talent and discretion. During the troublous future of England in this reign the sister island was tranquil and prosperous.

The expedition to Ireland was followed next year, 1211, by an attempt to repress the incursions of the Welsh. John advanced to the foot of Snowdon, and there received twenty-eight young men as hostages, from Llewellyn. During these warlike operations in Ireland and Wales, the interdict had been followed by a sentence of excommunication against John personally. By the most vigorous watchfulness of the ports its publication was prevented. The marches of the king to Scotland and Ireland and Wales were, doubtless, intended to give occupation to discontented nobles and dangerous men-at-arms. But they were costly. The Jews were, as usual, plundered without scruple. What the Jews could not supply was taken from the churches. For four years the pope persevered in the interdict. During this period the private activity of the clergy stimulated the people against the secular power; and they became slowly and silently alienated from the king. In 1213, Innocent proceeded to act upon the formal excommunication which he had previously issued, by deposing the king of England, absolving his vassals from their fealty, exhorting all Christian princes and barons to unite in dethroning him, and excommunicating those who held any intercourse with him. By this excommunication all the ordinary operations of law were suspended. There was impunity for crime. There was no safety for property. Two legates, Pandulph and Durand, had come into England, in 1212, and proclaimed this deposition of the king before a great assembly at Northampton. In another year the sentence was pronounced, and Innocent found a willing instrument to enforce his sublime pretensions to be the sovereign of sovereigns. He promised to grant Philip of France the kingdom; and Philip assembled a great army at Rouen, and an armament of seventeen hundred ships in the Channel, for the invasion of England. John, to do him justice, was not inactive. He issued orders that every ship in his dominions, capable of the freight of six horses, should assemble at Portsmouth; and every man that could bear arms was summoned to the coast of Kent. Instead of waiting for Philip, this fleet crossed the Channel, destroyed many ships at Fecamp, and burned Dieppe. The invasion was postponed by

this well-timed boldness. But while John awaited at Dover the result of the expedition to the shores of Normandy, the legate Pandulph again arrived. John was now terrified by imaginary dangers as well as real ones. A fanatic called Peter had prophesied that before Ascension-day John would cease to reign. That feast of the Ascension fell on the 16th of May. To avert this danger, he hurriedly submitted to the legate. On the 13th of May he subscribed an instrument by which he promised to obey the pope, in the admission of Stephen Langton to the archbishopric; to recall the exiled bishops, and others who had taken part against him; to reverse outlawries; to make restitution for property unlawfully seized. These conditions being fulfilled, the interdict and excommunication were to be revoked. Four of the most powerful barons guaranteed these stipulations on the part of John. The next day was spent in secret council with the legate. On the 15th of May the English king took an oath of fealty to the pope as his vassal. He put an instrument into the hands of the legate, subscribed by himself, nine earls, and two barons, by which he granted to Pope Innocent and his successors the kingdom of England and Ireland, to be held of him and of the Roman church in fee, by the annual rent of one thousand marks, reserving to himself and his heirs the administration of justice and the peculiar rights of the crown. Ascension-day came, and John hanged Peter as a false prophet. The people said that he was a true prophet, for that John had ceased to reign in doing fealty to the pope.

Upon the absolute submission of John to the papal authority, it was notified to Philip of France that the king of England had been received as a repentant son of the church, and that no attempt must be made upon his dominions. In this disappointment of his ambition Philip unwillingly acquiesced; and proposed to invade England unsupported by any papal encouragement. Ferrand, earl of Flanders, who held this earldom as a vassal of France, refused his consent to join in the invasion; and a war ensued. Ferrand invaded France, and John sent assistance to him from England, in a powerful fleet. There was a signal victory, in which English ships, loaded with armed men, captured and burnt a French fleet. The scene was Damme, near Bruges. But this partial success was converted into an evil by the misjudging king, who, in his elation of spirit, imperiously called upon his barons to follow him to war in France. They came at his bidding to Portsmouth with their armed retainers; but they refused to embark till he had recalled the exiled prelates and laity as he had covenanted. He at length complied. Stephen Langton now came to take possession of his see, and with him the churchmen who had fled the kingdom. Still the barons refused to sail with John. They said their term of feudal service was expired. They stayed behind, to deliberate upon the grievances of the kingdom, at a council at St. Alban's. They then issued a proclamation, in the royal name, commanding the laws of Henry I. to be observed. When the king found that the barons had not followed him to Jersey, where he waited, he returned in fierce indignation, determined to punish those whom he denounced as traitors. Langton met him, and told him the honest truth, that it was not for a king to punish any man without trial, and that the barons were ready to answer in the King's

Court. The patriotic archbishop convened another council at London, and here he produced what was called the charter of Henry I.—a code of ancient Saxon laws with Norman additions. All those of the council then took an oath to maintain their liberties.

In 1214, John landed at Rochelle, and obtained some advantages in Poitou. In the meantime France was invaded by troops under the emperor of Germany, the earl of Flanders, the earl of Boulogne; and by English under the earl of Salisbury. Philip met these combined forces, amounting to a hundred and fifty thousand men, with half the number of the chivalry of France. On the 27th of July a great battle was fought at Bouvines, a village between Lille and Tournay. Its result was the utter rout of the allied armies, and the overthrow of the hopes of John. He concluded an ignominious truce with Philip, and returned to England in October, bringing in his train a large body of foreign mercenaries.

There were now two eminent persons, amongst many other bold and earnest churchmen and laity, who saw that the time was come when a king should rule in England by law instead of by force, or rule not at all. Stephen Langton, the archbishop, and William, earl of Pembroke, were the leaders and, at the same time, moderators in the greatest enterprise that the nation had yet undertaken. On the 20th of November, the barons held a solemn meeting, and, upon the altar at St. Edmundsbury, swore to withdraw their allegiance from John, if he should resist their claims to just government. From St. Edmundsbury the barons marched to London, where the king had shut himself up in the Temple. When their deputies came into his presence, he first despised their claims, and then asked for delay. The archbishop of Canterbury, the earl of Pembroke, and the bishop of Ely, guaranteed that a satisfactory answer should be given before Easter. During the king's absence from England, the pope's interdict had been rescinded. John now endeavoured to propitiate the Church, by promising a free election of bishops. He took the Cross and engaged to wage war with the infidels. He sent to Rome, to implore the aid of the pope in his quarrel. Innocent commanded Langton to exercise his authority to bring back the king's vassals to their allegiance. At Easter, the barons, with a large force, assembled at Stamford. John was at Oxford. He sent Langton and Pembroke to ascertain the demands of their peers. They brought back the written articles which the king signed at Runnymede. As the archbishop solemnly repeated these demands, John went into a furious passion, and declared that he would never grant liberties which would make himself a slave. The archbishop and the earl took back his refusal. "The army of God and holy Church," as the barons proclaimed themselves, then advanced upon London, which they entered on the 22nd of May. The citizens had previously agreed to make common cause with them. On the 10th of June, John was at Windsor, which was his abiding-place for a fortnight. On Monday the 15th of June he went from the adjacent castle to Runnymede. The time and place of meeting were by solemn appointment. The great business of the assembly was accomplished on that day; but John was at Runnymede on six subsequent days, between the 15th and 23rd of June.

Magna Charta, the Great Charter of Liberties, was a code of laws, expressed in simple language, embodying two principles:—the first, such limitations of the feudal claims of the king as would prevent their abuse; the second, such specification of the general rights of all freemen as were derived from the ancient laws of the realm, however these rights had been neglected or perverted. It defined, in broad terms of practical application, the essential difference between a limited and a despotic monarchy. It preserved all the proper attributes of the kingly power, whilst it guarded against the king being a tyrant. Life, liberty, and property were protected. No man, from that time, could be detained in prison without trial. No man would have to buy justice. The Charter recognised the Court of Common Pleas, and the circuits of judges of assize, which had been before established. But it put an end to that enormous corruption by which justice was sold, not by mere personal bribery of corrupt ministers of the crown, but by bribing the crown through their hands. The Great Charter, in these broad provisions, applied only to freemen. One sole piece of consideration for the villan occurs upon the subject of amerciament, or fines to the king: "And a villan shall be amerced after the same manner, saving to him his wainage, if he falls under our mercy." The expression, "salvo wainagio suo," saves to the villan his implements of husbandry—his carts and ploughs. The specific provisions of the Great Charter went to the remedy of existing evils as they presented themselves in the existing state of society. It was not a revolution. It was a conservative reform. "From this era a new soul was infused into the people of England."*

Twenty-five barons were chosen by the barons assembled at Runnymede to maintain the observance of the peace and liberties granted and confirmed; so that, if the king or his officers violated any of the conditions, four out of the twenty-five barons so chosen might petition for redress of the grievance, and if not redressed within forty days, the cause being laid before the rest of the twenty-five, they might levy war upon the king.

At the end of August, John was at Sandwich, and through September at Dover and Canterbury. Gradually numerous bodies of freebooters, from Poitou, from Gascony, from Flanders, from Brabant, landed in the country, and gathered around the king at Dover. Rochester Castle was in the hands of the barons; and John arrived with his army to besiege it. After a siege of eight weeks, it was reduced by famine. The king, with his accustomed ferocity, was about to hang the whole garrison, but was contented with a partial butchery. John had one great ally—the pope. A bull was issued, excommunicating the barons, and annulling the Charter. Stephen Langton, the archbishop, refused to excommunicate the disobedient barons, and was, of course, suspended from his functions. The country was overrun by the king's fierce mercenaries. John marched to the north with a determination to recover his authority by the terrors of a wide-spreading desolation; and entered Scotland, in revenge for the alliance which its king, Alexander II., had formed with the barons. In the south the same work of terror went forward, under the command of

* Hallam, "Middle Ages."

John's illegitimate brother, the earl of Salisbury. The barons, despairing of their cause, came at last to a desperate resolution. They offered the crown to Louis, the eldest son of the king of France. It was a dangerous experiment; but it was surrounded by as many safeguards as could reasonably be attempted. Louis advanced some pretensions to a title to the English crown, in the right of his wife, Blanche, the niece of John. The pope excommunicated Louis and his supporters. But the young prince was not willing to give up the prize which had been presented to his ambition. John was at Dover with his mercenaries in great force, in May, 1216. As the French fleet appeared in sight, he commenced a retreat upon Winchester, ravaging the country after his usual custom. On the 30th, Louis landed at Sandwich, reduced Rochester, and marched upon London, where he was received in solemn procession, and was paid the homage of the barons and the citizens, he swearing to govern justly, to defend them against their enemies, and to restore them to their rights and possessions. There can be no doubt that Louis was the object of popular enthusiasm. His career was for some time a triumph. But he soon lost the confidence of those who had placed the kingdom at his feet. He began to dispense honours and possessions to his own countrymen. There was disunion in the camp of the confederates. The king's character, however, was a tower of strength to his enemies. Even at this time of difficulty, by new outrages he had driven his own brother, Salisbury, to the camp of his assailants.

On the 12th of October John had marched to Wisbeach. He resolved to cross the Wash. The tide was flowing in. The river Welland was descending in a strong current. Part of the army had securely crossed; but at a spot still known as King's Corner, between Cross Keys Wash and Lynn, the king's baggage-waggons, his sumpter horses—all the movables of a royal army—were swallowed up by the waters, and John stood, on the northern shore of the Wash, helpless and despairing. He proceeded, the same night, to the Cistercian abbey of Swineshead. Fatigue and anguish of mind brought on a fever. On the 15th he mounted his horse to continue his march; but was obliged to be placed in a litter, and was borne to Sleaford. The next day he was carried to the castle of Newark; and he there died on the 18th of October.

CHAPTER VII.

JOHN'S eldest son, Henry, was ten years of age at the time of his father's death. The form of coronation was hastily gone through at Gloucester, on the 28th of October. A fillet of gold was placed on the child's head, for the crown had been lost in the fatal crossing of the Wash. Gualo, the pope's legate, performed this office. The usual oaths were administered, and homage to the pope was exacted. Three English bishops stood around,

with a few nobles. On the 11th of November, at a great council held at Bristol, Pembroke was chosen regent. The supporters of Louis gradually fell off. Gualo, the legate, brought his spiritual weapons to the support of the new government, by excommunicating Louis himself, and all who adhered to him. Hostilities between the armies went on till Christmas was at hand, when a truce till Easter was agreed to. Louis hurried to France, and came back with reinforcements; but he found that a spirit of dislike to his pretensions had grown up in the nation. The regent had been active in winning over the most formidable barons, and there was a general confidence in his honour and sagacity. The Londoners, however, continued to adhere to the prince who had come to their succour. At last a decisive battle was fought at Lincoln. At the end of April, 1217, the count of Perche, with six hundred knights and twenty thousand men, marched from London to besiege the castle of Lincoln, which was held by the king's party. Pembroke called out the tenants of the crown, and he marched from Newark with a resolute band. Having been promised the privileges of crusaders by the legate, they advanced with white crosses sewed on their breasts. The French army was within the walled town; but the castle held out, being bravely defended by Nichola de Camville, the widow of its hereditary governor. Pembroke boldly entered the town whilst a sortie was made from the castle; and in the narrow streets, where the horse could not act with advantage, a merciless slaughter ensued, and the French army surrendered to the inferior numbers. The count of Perche had fallen, refusing to accept of quarter. This victory, which from its easy accomplishment was called "The Fair of Lincoln," was grossly abused by the royalists. The city, which had resolutely adhered to the cause of the barons, was given up to pillage; and many of the wretched inhabitants perished in their flight over the Witham.

This victory of the 20th of May was followed up, within three months, by a great naval success. Under the command of a famous pirate, Eustace the Monk, an armament of eighty large vessels put to sea from Calais, on the 24th of August, for the purpose of effecting a landing on the Thames, to aid Prince Louis. Hubert de Burgh, the justiciary, a resolute and able man, collected forty vessels in the Cinque Ports, and boldly set sail from Dover to meet the invaders. The victory was complete. From that day the cause of Louis was hopeless. The regent was too high-minded to exact severe terms from his opponent. On the 11th of September a treaty was signed, on an islet of the Thames, near Kingston. An amnesty, with a participation in all privileges, was granted to the English adherents of Louis; he and his followers were absolved from all spiritual censures; and he was conducted to the coast by the earl of Pembroke. Roger of Wendover says that Louis received five thousand pounds to meet his necessities. Others record that the citizens of London lent him the money. Some months elapsed before the kingdom settled into peace. By the regent's moderation and love of justice the Charter of John was now perfected by a Charter of the Forests, in which the terrible penalties for destroying the king's deer were abolished, and the milder punishments of fine or imprisonment were substituted. Pembroke also bestowed the Charter upon Ireland; and provided that it should live in

the popular mind of England, by being read periodically in the county courts.

Unfortunately for the country, the regent Pembroke died in 1219, and Hubert de Burgh succeeded to the regency. His nature, unlike that of Pembroke, did not rise above the tyranny and cruelty of his times. He repressed disorders with unrelenting severity; and he obtained, in 1223, a bull from the pope, declaring Henry competent to do all royal acts; which bull was followed by a disposition to encourage a neglect of the charters in the king's officers.

In 1225, when the king was nineteen years of age, a common council was summoned to deliberate upon the urgent necessities of the crown for supplies. An aid of a fifteenth upon all personal estates was granted, under very strict limitations as to the mode in which it was to be used; but it was also required that the Charter should be confirmed for a third time. In the form in which it was passed in that year, it still holds a place as the first statute of the English statute law. The collection of the subsidy was immediately enforced; but no foreign successes were the result. In 1227, the king declared himself of age, and set up his prerogative above the charters in these words: "Whensoever, and wheresoever, and as often as it may be our pleasure, we may declare, interpret, enlarge, or diminish, the aforesaid statutes, and their several parts, by our own free will, and as to us shall seem expedient for the security of us and our land." He then undertook an expedition into Wales, from which he quickly returned. The next year he collected an army for the invasion of France; but suddenly quarrelled with his minister, De Burgh, and dispersed his troops. In 1230, he received homage in Poitou and Gascony. From that time, foreigners became his favourites. His quarrel with his able but unscrupulous justiciary, De Burgh, now assumed a formidable character; and, after a violent contest, the minister lost his power. The king's chief minister was now Peter de Roches, the bishop of Winchester; and he and his foreign adherents were hateful to the English nobles, and the nation was again on the point of civil war. In 1234, De Roches and the Poitevins were dismissed. Henry then entered into the trade of kingship upon his own account. With him, the royal office was indeed a trade. History presents him in scarcely any other light than that of an extortioner or a beggar. The Jews, according to the custom of the age, were lawful plunder. But Henry did more than any of his predecessors in the spoil of the Israelites. He sold them, as he would a farm, to his brother Richard.

In 1236, Henry married Eleanor, the daughter of the count of Provence. In 1239, the queen bore a son, Edward. Queen Eleanor was a woman of extraordinary energy; and stimulated her weak husband to many acts of oppression. She had a perpetual quarrel with the citizens of London about the claim that all vessels navigating the Thames should unlade at Queenhithe, and there pay to her heavy dues. During Henry's absence in Gascony, in 1253, she was Lady Keeper of the Great Seal; and, with that power, vigorously enforced her dues, and committed the two sheriffs to prison for their resistance to the payment of what she termed "queen-gold." She had wounded the citizens in the tenderest place; and

thus, in 1264, in passing through London Bridge in her barge, she was assailed with cries of "Drown the witch!" and was pelted with mud and stones. Her son Edward never forgave this outrage upon his mother. London, in the middle of the thirteenth century, was a great commercial port. The city was flourishing. Her merchants were rich. The burgess class was rising into importance. It had become too great to be overlooked, as it had hitherto been, by the dominant feudal class. The citizens of London called themselves barons. In 1248, Henry stopped the regular trade of the great city for a fortnight by establishing a fair at Westminster. And, in 1250, when the temper of the citizens began to look alarming, he assembled them and their families in Westminster Hall, and "humbly, and as if with rising tears, entreated that each and all of the citizens would with mouth and heart forgive him for his anger, malevolence, and rancour towards them." From these exactions and caprices there grew up a deadly hatred between the Londoners and their king.

The great tenants of the crown, the earls and barons, had now become wholly English. In 1244, the king of France declared thus: "As it is impossible that any man living in my kingdom, and having possessions in England, can consistently serve two masters, he must either inseparably attach himself to me, or to the king of England." The king of England went further, and ordered that the French in England, especially the Normans, should be dispossessed, without a choice. This separation made the barons of England patriots.

In 1242, the parliament had refused a supply, when the king desired to go to Poitou, with a sum of money to carry on the war against the French. The result of this expedition was the total loss of Poitou. In 1243, Henry came back to an exhausted treasury, which the clergy and the Jews were called upon to refill. In 1244, the pope set up a rival extortioner to the royal tax-gatherer, in the person of Master Merton, who demanded rich gifts, and seized upon vacant benefices. The king remonstrated with Innocent IV.; the parliament despatched messengers to Rome with remonstrance; but the pope defied the king and his parliament, threatened the kingdom with an interdict, and the king yielded. In 1248, another parliament rated and threatened Henry, and refused the required supply; and then came new extortions. In 1252, the king called a parliament, and produced a mandate of the pope, by virtue of which he demanded the tithes of the church for three years, that he might accomplish his oft-repeated vow of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The bishops and the nobles agreed in their refusal. In 1253, the aspect of the kingdom was becoming serious. A parliament was held, at which the wish of the king for a grant to enable him to undertake the crusade was again debated; but being conceded, the expenditure was to be "at the discretion of the nobles;" and the king promised that he would strictly observe the Great Charter. The pilgrimage was never entered upon; and the king, having obtained a part of the grant, lavished it at Bordeaux.

The king of Sicily had died in a state of excommunication; and the pope, who pretended to the right of giving away the crown, persuaded

Henry to accept the empty title for his son Edmund. In 1257, the king came to his parliament, "bringing his son dressed in the Apulian fashion," and asked for aid. He had pledged himself, he said, under the penalty of losing his kingdom, to the payment of a hundred and forty thousand marks. There was the old condition talked of,—the inviolable observance of the Great Charter; and the king obtained the promise of fifty-two thousand marks. The clergy were even more irritated than the nobles; for Henry avowed that the pope, in furtherance of this project for granting the Sicilian kingdom, had conferred upon him the tithes of all benefices in England, and the first-fruits of those which should be vacant. The pope had really advanced a large sum which Henry could not repay; and a Roman agent came before the parliament, and followed up his demand for instant payment by a threat of excommunication and general interdict.

In the spring of 1258, England was visited by a scarcity of corn so great as to produce a famine. Fifteen thousand people had died in London, when a herald went forth and proclaimed that those who wanted bread should apply to certain nobles, who would bestow alms upon them. Ships arrived from Germany, bringing as much corn as was equal to the produce of three English counties; and a proclamation was issued, forbidding any merchant to buy corn for storing-up. There had been an insurrection of the Welsh in 1257, and the border lands had been reduced to an uninhabited desert. With these evils around them, the parliament met at Westminster on the 2nd of May. In the great hall a large body of barons assembled, each in complete armour. They demanded that the powers of government should be delegated to a committee of bishops and barons, who might correct abuses, and enact good laws. A commission of twenty-four was decided on, one half of which had been selected from the king's council, and the other half was to be appointed by the barons at a parliament to be held at Oxford. On these conditions, it was agreed that the king's debts should be paid.

In that assembly at Westminster was the most remarkable man of those times, Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester. He was the son of the count de Montfort, the persecutor of the Albigenses; and he became earl of Leicester in right of his mother. In 1238 he had married Eleanor, a sister of King Henry. He was beloved by the people, and was consequently obnoxious to the court. The favourites of Henry procured his banishment from the king's presence. He was afterwards entrusted with the government of Guienne; and, ruling there firmly, was complained of by those whose interests were mixed up with a lax administration, and was removed from his authority. He withdrew for a time to France. The king's tyrannical half-brother, William de Valence, and the earl of Leicester, were at bitter enmity.

On the 11th of June, the parliament met at Oxford. The earl of Leicester was nominated as head of the council. It was enacted that four knights should be chosen by the votes of the freeholders in each county, who should submit all breaches of law and justice to a parliament, to be called together regularly thrice in each year; that the sheriffs of the counties should be chosen by the freeholders; and that the great officers of state should be

reappointed. Prince Edward reluctantly took the oaths to observe the provisions to which his father had sworn. But the king's half-brothers, though two of them had been nominated to the council, openly expressed their dissatisfaction; and De Montfort threatening them with the loss of their lands, and even their lives, they fled to France, with a host of followers who were hated by the English. The council of state filled up the vacancies in their own body without reference to the king's right of nomination. In the beginning of 1259, the king's brother Richard, who was now king of the Romans, came to England to look after his pecuniary interests. He was not allowed to set foot in the country till he had sworn to the Provisions of Oxford. He took the oaths, and then commenced a vigorous opposition to the committee of government. In a short time, this controlling power of the state was split into two factions—that of the earl of Leicester and that of the earl of Gloucester. De Montfort withdrew to France. The king, having obtained a dispensation from the pope to violate the Provisions of Oxford, told the committee of council, in 1261, that he should rule without them. He obtained possession of the Tower of London, and commanded the citizens to renew their fealty to him. Prince Edward was in France, but he hurried home; and, though his father had also procured for him a dispensation, he refused to violate the oath which he had taken at Oxford. There was a show of civil war for a year, which the king carried on with mercenary troops; but in 1262 he again consented to observe this solemn pledge.

In 1263, Leicester returned to England. His rival, Gloucester, was dead, and the son of Gloucester gathered his retainers, and put himself under the guidance of De Montfort. In 1264, after various turns of fortune, the differences between the king of England and his barons in arms were referred to Louis of France, by mutual consent. He decided that the Great Charter should be observed, but he set aside the Provisions of Oxford. The barons rejected the decree as unfairly obtained by the influence of Henry's sister, the wife of Louis. The civil war was renewed. The Jews of London were massacred and plundered by both parties. The people of London were all in arms. The royalists had captured Northampton, under the command of the king. Prince Edward had compelled the submission of Tutbury. On the 13th of May, 1264, the two armies of the king and the barons met on the downs of Lewes.

Henry was lodged in the priory at Lewes. Prince Edward occupied the castle. The position was a commanding one. The army of the barons had marched direct from London, and halted on the night of the 12th at the village of Fletching, ten miles from Lewes. Before sunrise of the morning of the 13th the army of the barons took up a position on a hill about two miles from Lewes. De Montfort's soldiers wore white crosses on their breasts and backs, such as the army of God and the Church wore before the day of Runnymede. The king marched out to meet the advancing force. His army was in three divisions; that of the barons was in four. Edward, who commanded a division, made a fierce onslaught with his cavalry on that division of the adverse forces in which were the great body of the Londoners. He put them to the rout; and in the fury of his pursuit followed them over that undulating ground for four miles.

Henry to accept the empty title for his son Edmund. In 1257, the king came to his parliament, "bringing his son dressed in the Apulian fashion," and asked for aid. He had pledged himself, he said, under the penalty of losing his kingdom, to the payment of a hundred and forty thousand marks. There was the old condition talked of,—the inviolable observance of the Great Charter; and the king obtained the promise of fifty-two thousand marks. The clergy were even more irritated than the nobles; for Henry avowed that the pope, in furtherance of this project for granting the Sicilian kingdom, had conferred upon him the tithes of all benefices in England, and the first-fruits of those which should be vacant. The pope had really advanced a large sum which Henry could not repay; and a Roman agent came before the parliament, and followed up his demand for instant payment by a threat of excommunication and general interdict.

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When he returned, satiated with the blood of three thousand of these rebellious citizens, whom he regarded as the personal enemies of his family, he found that the field was lost. His impetuosity had given an advantage to the promptitude of De Montfort, who threw all his force on the weakened divisions of king Henry and the king of the Romans, and made both these leaders his prisoners. The next day a treaty was entered into by which it was agreed that Prince Edward, and Henry, the son of the king of the Romans, should remain as hostages for their fathers; and that the whole matters in dispute should be referred to arbitration. Edward was sent to Dover Castle. Though the king was subject to no confinement in stone walls, as his brother Richard was, he was really a prisoner in the hands of the victors. No arbitration was attempted, for the referees refused the office. It was a triumph which placed the administration of the realm in the hands of De Montfort and De Clare. The queen had left England before the battle of Lewes, and had collected a great force of mercenary troops to invade the country. De Montfort, relying upon the attachment of the people, called out the whole militia of the nation, from every township and every city and borough. In a short time a great army encamped on Barham Downs. The pope had excommunicated De Montfort and his adherents; but the people were indifferent to the once terrible denunciation; and the name of the earl of Leicester went through the land as "Sir Simon the Righteous." All the acts of his government were done in the name of the king, who was treated with every outward respect. There were no deaths or forfeitures for political offences. De Montfort gathered the mariners of the Cinque Ports, and went to sea to meet the fleet of the queen, whose army was collected at Damme. The invasion was never attempted.

At Christmas, Leicester issued writs, in the king's name, for the meeting of parliament. They were directed to the sheriffs, commanding them to elect and return two knights for each county, two citizens for each city, and two burgesses for each borough. Only eleven prelates and twenty-three peers were summoned; but a large number of the dignified clergy came to this council. De Montfort probably felt that, in a time of great national exigency, safety and peace could only be attained in a general council of freemen, instead of a limited assembly of the high-born and dignified. The parliament of 1265, which assembled on the 28th of January, determined upon the release of Edward from confinement, but that he should remain "in free custody" at Hereford. It decreed that the charters and ordinances should be inviolably observed, and prescribed some strong securities which left the king little exercise of his free-will.

In the May of 1265, Prince Edward escaped from his "free custody," by proposing a trial of horses, and having obtained the fleetest, outrode his pursuers. Dissensions had grown up between the earls of Leicester and Gloucester. The natural and acquired superiority of De Montfort provoked jealousy, and there were nobles speedily in arms for the royalist cause. The king's banner was raised under the earl of Gloucester at Ludlow. The prince received the command; but the nobles who joined him had the wisdom to make him swear that he would respect the charters. De

Montfort, having the king in his possession, marched upon Worcester. Edward obtained at Kenilworth an advantage over Simon, the son of the great earl, and went forward to give battle to De Montfort, who had taken up a position at Evesham, awaiting there the expected arrival of his son's troops from Kenilworth. But Edward had taken some of the leaders of that force prisoners, and the young De Montfort kept in the safety of his father's castle. The town of Evesham is, as it were, encircled by the Avon; and from Twyford to Evesham, the road, for more than two miles, is a tongue of land, with the river at no considerable distance on either hand. De Montfort was shut up in that bounded field of action, with a narrow stone bridge the only passage to the safer plains. On the morning of the 4th of August, the banners of Prince Edward, and Gloucester, and Mortimer were visible. De Montfort marched forward on the road by which his enemy was advancing, Henry, the king, being in the midst of his host. It was two o'clock in the afternoon. Before night-fall thousands were slain. In a little valley called Battlewell the carnage was thickest. The king, turned loose upon a war-horse, saved himself from his own friends by crying, "I am Henry of Winchester." There was no escape from the slaughter of Prince Edward's horsemen but over that narrow Evesham bridge. De Montfort and his son fell. No quarter was given; and the mutilation of the remains of the great earl disgraced the conquerors.

The opposition to the royal authority was not at an end when Simon de Montfort fell at Evesham. A band of his adherents defended the castle of Kenilworth against the royalist forces; and its garrison only surrendered under the pressure of famine in November, 1266. Simon, the eldest son of the great earl, long defied the king's armies in the Isle of Ely and the Isle of Axholm; the Cinque Ports, which were strongly attached to the interests of De Montfort, resisted Prince Edward, who took Dover and Winchelsea after much bloodshed. The De Montforts were all proscribed by the English government. They were excepted from the pardons and commutations of "The Award of Kenilworth." In the parliament held at Kenilworth in November, 1266, it was an especial object to restore the peace of the kingdom by assigning to the king his legitimate power, under the condition that he should adhere to his oath to preserve and keep the liberties of the church, and the charters; and that, with certain exceptions, all those who during "the present troubles of the realm," had committed offences against the king or his crown, should be wholly pardoned, if they should come into his peace.

In 1269, the victor of Evesham, with many barons and knights, amongst whom was the earl of Gloucester, took the cross at Northampton, previous to setting out upon an expedition to the Holy Land. The king, in 1268, had obtained a grant from the people of the tenth of the church revenues for three years, for the purposes of this crusade, and a general subsidy of a twentieth of the goods of the laity was also raised. This subsidy yielded £31,488, exclusive of the expense of collection. This was certainly equal to half-a-million pounds of our present money. The Rolls of Parliament show what such a subsidy meant. It was a property-tax upon all the movable possessions of the people, from the valuable stock of the wealthy

tanner, down to the commonest utensil of the poor housewife, and the simplest tools of the working carpenter.

The taxation of the churchmen and laity of England was insufficient for the expenses of the crusade. Edward borrowed a large sum of the king of France, secured upon the revenues of Bordeaux. Louis IX. himself had set out on the expedition in 1270; and Edward, with his train of barons and their hundred and four knights, and accompanied by his faithful wife, Eleanor of Castile, set sail for the Holy Land. It was probably owing to his political foresight that the Londoners were appeased, previously to his departure, by a renewal of their charters. King Louis was diverted from the main object of the expedition, by turning his arms against the bey of Tunis, who had refused tribute to the brother of Louis, the king of Sicily. The French king died of a dysentery on this unhealthy coast. The career of Prince Edward was therefore suspended. He wintered in Sicily. In the spring of 1271 he set forward with a small force, and landed at Acre, the only place left of the once-powerful kingdom of the Crusaders. Acre was surrounded by the troops of the sultan of Babylon; but the reputation of the English courage had survived in the East, and the sultan retired. Edward then gained some battles, and took Nazareth by storm. But he soon returned to Acre, where his wife gave birth to a daughter, Joanna. Here Edward was treacherously wounded, with a poisoned dagger, by a messenger from the emir of Jaffa. As the touching story goes, Eleanor, the affectionate wife to whom Edward had been married for eighteen years, sucked the poison from the wound at the risk of her own life. Edward, having concluded a truce with the sultan, left Acre in the autumn of 1272, and set sail for Europe. As he passed through Calabria he learnt that his father had died on the 16th of November.

Henry III. was buried at Westminster on the 20th of November, 1272. On the same day, Gilbert, earl of Warenne, and all the clergy and laity, swore fealty to Edward. "And after this the nobles of the kingdom assembled in like manner at the New Temple of London. And having had a new seal made, they appointed faithful ministers and guardians to protect faithfully the treasure of the king, and the peace of the kingdom."*

King Edward landed at Dover on the 3rd of August, 1274, and on the 19th of August he and his queen were crowned at Westminster. The hospitalities of his coronation were scarcely ended when Edward repaired to Chester. The prince of Wales, Llewellyn, had been in arms against Henry III. in the war of the barons, but had promised fealty to the king before Edward went on his crusade. The Welsh prince had suffered much hardship at the hands of Henry III. during his youthful captivity. He was deeply attached to the family of De Montfort; and in the days of their prosperity he had pledged his hand to Leicester's daughter Eleanora. When he was summoned as a vassal of the English crown to the coronation of Edward, he refused to attend without a safe conduct. When Edward repaired to Chester, Llewellyn was again summoned, and refused to meet the king. He was further summoned to attend a parliament at West-

* Matthew of Westminster.

minster in 1275, and again he declined to appear. Before the death of the widow of the earl of Leicester, in 1275, the young Eleanora was married by proxy to the Welsh prince. She sailed with her brother Almeric, in 1276, to join her affianced husband in Wales. The vessel which bore her from the continent was intercepted off the Scilly islands; and Eleanora and her brother became the captives of their cousin Edward. Llewellyn indignantly demanded the release of his bride; and once again refused to attend a parliament. He offered a ransom for Eleanora and her brother, but the king was inexorable. When Llewellyn refused to come to the parliament of 1276, his lands were declared to be forfeited; and in 1277, Edward led an army into Wales. Llewellyn, beset by foreign foes and domestic treachery, submitted to the hard terms which the king of England imposed upon him. He retained only the complete sovereignty of the district of Snowdon and the Isle of Anglesey, though the title of prince of Wales remained to him. At Christmas, 1277, Llewellyn came to London to do homage to King Edward. Upon the promise of a large tribute, which could never be paid, Eleanora was given up to Llewellyn, and they were married at Worcester, in 1278, in the presence of Edward and his court. Almeric de Montfort was kept in confinement four years longer. The terms of peace with Wales had been previously arranged at Westminster.

During the five years of peace which followed the submission of Llewellyn, several statutes of great importance were passed: reducing the laws of the country to a more accurate shape, and introducing many new provisions for the correction of abuses, and the due administration of justice.

In 1279, King Edward visited King Philip of France at Amiens. At this meeting Edward received formal possession of Gascony, and as formally resigned Normandy. At this time the Jews, throughout England, were all seized, on one day, upon a charge of clipping the coin; and, says Matthew of Westminster, "of the Jews of both sexes, there were hanged in London, two hundred and eighty, and a very great multitude in other cities of England."

In the spring of 1282, the fancied security of the English government was disturbed by a national outbreak of the Welsh. On the night of Palm Sunday, David, the brother of the prince of Wales, surprised the castle of Hawarden. The justiciary, Roger de Clifford, was carried off a prisoner to the recesses of Snowdon, and all his retinue of knights and servants were put to the sword. There appears to be little doubt that the Welsh on the border were subjected to many oppressions from the English officers. De Clifford is described in the Welsh annals as a cruel tyrant. Upon the outbreak of his brother David, the prince, Llewellyn, immediately besieged the castles of Flint and Rhuddlan. The mountain chieftains hastily assembled their dependants, and, pouring down upon the lowlands, drove the English intruders across the marches. Edward sent for foreign aid from Gascony; collected the military tenants; and having raised a forced loan, the necessity of the case furnishing a pretext for this violation of the Charter, marched with a large force to Worcester. The courts of king's bench and the exchequer were removed to Shrewsbury. In one battle Edward's advance was decidedly checked; and, in passing the Menai Strait upon a bridge of boats, so wide that forty horsemen could go over

abreast, the alarm was given that a strong force was coming from their ambush in the hills; and, in a precipitate retreat, many knights and foot-soldiers perished in the turbid wintry waters. Llewellyn was elated by the partial success which had as yet attended the daring enterprise in which he had engaged. He left the passes of Snowdon to be defended by his brother, and descended into the open country. His wife had died shortly before the last struggle for Welsh independence had commenced. Llewellyn fell in a sudden skirmish at Builth, in the valley of the Wye. Upon the death of Llewellyn, the principal chiefs, with the exception of David, made their submission to the king, who was too politic to treat them with severity. For six months, the last of the unfortunate princely family held out against the invaders; but being betrayed, he was imprisoned in the castle of Rhuddlan; and on the 30th of September, 1283, was arraigned as a traitor before a parliament summoned to meet at Shrewsbury, and in the high street of that city David suffered the penalties of treason.

Edward remained more than a year in Wales, completing the pacification of the country. The ancient laws and customs of "the Land of Snowdon" were not wholly set aside; but some were abolished, some allowed, and some corrected, and certain other laws derived from England were added. The statutes for Wales (1284) were as essential bulwarks of Edward's power, as his castles of Conway and Caernarvon.

The queen of Edward was with the king during his abode in Wales; and there, at Caernarvon, her son Edward was born on the 25th of April, 1284. The child was afterwards declared prince of Wales. There was another insurrection of the Welsh in 1287, which was subdued by the king's justiciary.

Edward was in Gascony from 1286 to 1289. During his absence from England, Alexander III., king of Scotland, had died. His queen, Edward's sister, died some years before, leaving two sons and a daughter, Margaret, who married Eric, king of Norway. By the death of the two sons of Alexander of Scotland, Margaret, his grandchild, became the heir-apparent to the Scottish throne. Her right had been solemnly acknowledged in 1284, at Scone. In 1290, Edward I. successfully negotiated a marriage for his son Edward, prince of Wales, with this young heiress of the Scottish crown. The maid of Norway, as she was called, set sail for England, but the voyage was too exhausting. She was compelled to land on one of the Orkney Islands; and there died, in October of that year.

There arose abundant competitors for the crown of Scotland. Thirteen of these competitors appeared; but the pretensions of ten of the number were utterly frivolous. The remaining three were the descendants of David, earl of Huntingdon, the brother of William, king of Scotland, the predecessor of Alexander II. and of Alexander III., whose direct line was extinct by the death of the young Margaret. David had three daughters. From the first daughter was descended John Balliol, David's great-grandson; from the second daughter, Robert Bruce, David's grandson; from the third daughter, John Hastings, David's great-grandson. In a matter so clear, according to our recognised law of descent, it seems difficult to imagine how the claim of Balliol could have been disputed. But

the question was conflicted by the pretensions of Hastings, who held that the kingdom was partible amongst the descendants of the three daughters of David, earl of Huntingdon. The states of Scotland referred the decision to Edward, king of England.

On the 10th of May, 1291, a solemn assembly was held near Norham in Northumberland. Edward came with many of his nobles. From the 10th of May to the 13th of June there were ten solemn conferences. After a long course of deliberation, the commissioners reported in favour of John Balliol, and the king of England confirmed the decision. Edward then resigned the castles which had been put into his hands pending the inquiry. But he required Balliol to do homage to him as his "liege man for Scotland," saying "which kingdom I hold, and ought of right, and claim to hold by inheritance, for myself and my heirs, kings of Scotland, of you and your heirs, kings of England."

Edward was not slow in the application of his notions of what constituted "faith and loyalty" in a royal vassal of England. In 1293, he summoned Balliol to his court at Westminster to answer to charges of maladministration. Balliol went to Westminster, and was treated with some indignity.

In 1294, Edward was summoned to the court of the king of France, to answer for the alleged misconduct of some of the people of Gascony. He refused to appear, and his fiefs in France were declared forfeited. A war ensued. Edward renounced his fealty to France, and raised a large army to assert his independence. The Welsh took the opportunity of rising; but they were defeated when Edward postponed his French expedition to put himself at the head of his troops in Wales. The revolt was very serious, and the king himself was besieged in Conway Castle, and reduced to the extremest necessity. At last, having subdued the Welsh, he began to make his dominion felt in Scotland. The Scottish barons now incited Balliol to assert the independence of their country. He resigned the conduct of the war which was impending to twelve guardians of the realm; and a secret treaty was concluded between Scotland and France. In 1296, Edward was on his march to Scotland. A large force assembled at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, on the 1st of March. Many of the Scotch nobles, amongst others, Robert Bruce, sided with Edward. Whilst the king was at Berwick, a messenger arrived with a letter from Balliol, renouncing his fealty, and refusing to obey the summons of Edward to appear before him. "The felon fool," exclaimed the king, "since he will not come to us, we will go to him." Whilst at Berwick, the king despatched a portion of his army to Dunbar, which was in the hands of the Scottish forces. A great battle ensued between the English and Scotch, in which Sir Patrick Graham and ten thousand men were slain. Edward himself arrived at the castle, which was surrendered on the 29th of April. Onward went the king, capturing Roxburgh Castle on his way to Edinburgh, where he arrived on the 6th of June. He immediately commenced a siege of the castle, which was not finished on the eighth day, when the king went forward. On the 14th of June, Stirling surrendered without resistance. The king proceeded to Montrose, which he reached on the 7th of July, where he remained till the 10th. Here John Balliol came to him, and rendered up the kingdom.

This important act having been accomplished, Edward proceeded to Aberdeen. He probably went farther north, as far as Elgin. He returned to Berwick, having traversed and conquered the kingdom of Scotland in twenty-one weeks. At Berwick the king of England held a parliament, and there he received the homage of the bishops, barons, and knights of Scotland. He appointed John Warenne, earl of Surrey, regent of the subjected kingdom; and moved on to London, with the crown and sceptre which John Balliol had surrendered, and with the sacred stone, "the stone of destiny," on which the Scottish kings were seated at their inauguration.

There was scarcely a noble who had not sworn fealty to Edward, but there was one man, not of noble birth, who was still exciting a national resistance to the English power.

The early life of William Wallace belongs to legend rather than to history. At the time that Balliol surrendered his crown to Edward, Wallace is supposed to have been about twenty-five years of age. He is said to have been the younger of two sons of Sir Malcolm Wallace of Ellerslie, and his paternal residence was in the neighbourhood of Paisley. The youthful deeds of Wallace, as reflected in tradition, mark him from the first as a hater of oppression. This spirit at last drove him into the mountains, where he kept up a partisan warfare against the English. He was joined by Sir William Douglas, Sir John Graham, and ultimately by Robert Bruce, the grandson of the Bruce who competed with Balliol for the crown. A general revolt against the English authority broke out in the spring of 1297. Edward was in Gascony. But two powerful armies were formed in Scotland; and that on the western coast, under Henry Lord Percy and Sir Robert Clifford, came in presence of the Scots near Irvine. Bruce and Douglas, and other nobles, agreed to acknowledge Edward as their sovereign lord. Sir William Wallace—for he then bore the title which belongs to knighthood—and Sir Andrew Moray, with a considerable body of adherents, retired to the north. The national spirit soon gave Wallace the means of compensating for the desertion of the proud nobles, who dreaded the loss of their estates. The tenants of many of the Scottish chiefs were secretly encouraged to join the insurgents. After various successes, Wallace met the English army near the town of Stirling. His position was on the north side of the Forth. The English approached the river on the southern bank; and on the morning of the 10th September, began to cross by a narrow bridge. When a portion of the army, horse and foot, had passed, Wallace poured down from the hills upon the separated force, and nearly all the English on the north bank perished by the sword or in the stream. The treasurer of Edward, Cressingham, was one of the slain. The chief loss on the side of the Scotch was Sir Andrew Moray. Warenne retreated rapidly into England. Every place of strength was abandoned; and Wallace, with the son of Moray, at the head of the army, which they proclaimed to be that of John, king of Scotland, crossed the Tweed, and, for several weeks, made fearful ravages upon Northumberland and Cumberland. John Balliol was then in the Tower of London.

Edward's warlike enterprises could not be carried through without the imposition of heavy taxes, and his exactions upon the Church

and the laity were very nearly exciting another civil war. He was stripping the clergy of their possessions; he was not only taxing wool and hides at an unprecedented rate, but seizing merchandise and agricultural produce without present payment, in the most wanton exercise of purveyance. Edward had several times endeavoured to escape from the obligations of the charters, and had refused to confirm them. Humphrey Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex, and Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, now called upon the sheriffs to levy no more taxes till the charters were confirmed, without any insidious reservation of the rights of the crown; and they openly resisted the king's commands that they should sail with a reinforcement of troops to his army in Gascony. The king assembled the clergy and the people at Westminster. He lamented that he had been compelled to impose heavy burthens upon them, for the sole purpose of protecting them against the Welsh, the Scots, and the French, who sought *his* crown whilst they thirsted for *their* blood. The king sailed for Flanders. The barons then rose in arms, but they strictly preserved the peace of the kingdom. The young Prince Edward was surrounded by a council; and by their advice the famous Statute of the Confirmation of the Charters was agreed to, and sent to the king abroad. This law went much further than the previous charters, in placing the liberties of the country upon a solid foundation. From that day, the 10th of October, 1297, the sole right of raising supplies has been invested in the people. On the 5th of November, at Ghent, Edward signed the Act, which was never reversed; although he often struggled hard to violate it.

After Wallace's return from the invasion of England, he was made guardian of the Scottish kingdom in the name of King John. Edward hurried from France, and entered Scotland in the June of 1298. Wallace had a numerous army of enthusiastic followers; but these partisans were chiefly on foot. The nobles kept aloof. Edward came on with his mailed chivalry, and his terrible bowmen. At Falkirk, the unequal forces met. Advancing to the field, Edward was thrown from his horse, and broke two of his ribs. Regardless of the injury, he led his cavalry forward to meet the whole Scottish army, standing in close array. Wallace knew that the only safety was in the most desperate resistance. He fought in that field of Falkirk, in which his spearmen long stood up against the English knights, till his friends, Stewart and Graham, and thousands who have left no name, had fallen. All was finished.

For seven years after the fatal battle of Falkirk, we hear little of sir William Wallace. He was deprived of his office of guardian of the kingdom. The war was continued; but Bruce, and Comyn, and the bishop of St. Andrews, were joint guardians, in the name of Balliol. Wallace renewed his former system of desultory warfare. The new regents followed up a measure which the previous government had originated, in appealing to the interference of the pope to protect Scotland from the aggressions of the English king. In June, 1299, the pope, Boniface, in a letter addressed to Edward, demanded that every controversy between England and Scotland should be referred to the decision of the pontiff. The delivery of the letter was delayed for more than a year; and upon its arrival Edward returned for answer that he should submit the matter to

his parliament. On the 20th of January, 1301, a parliament was accordingly assembled at Lincoln. To it there came upwards of three hundred persons—prelates, abbots, barons, knights, and burgesses. The pope was told that "it is, and by the grace of God shall always be, our common and unanimous resolve, that with respect to the rights of his kingdom of Scotland, or other his temporal rights, our aforesaid lord the king shall not plead before you, nor submit in any manner to your judgment, nor suffer his right to be brought into question by any inquiry, nor send agents or procurators for that purpose to your court." The pontiff was not in a condition to visit Edward and his parliament with any ecclesiastical penalties.

Edward concluded a truce with Scotland, which lasted for ten months of the year 1302. He had been negotiating a peace with France, but a demand was made that Scotland should be included. To this demand the English assent was refused, and the war was renewed at the beginning of 1303. Stirling Castle was taken by the Scots; and the English army was defeated at Roslin. Edward had now made peace with France, and obtained the restoration of Gascony. He was thus ready to carry his personal vigour to the Scottish war. He soon enforced an unwilling submission; and concluded a treaty with Comyn, and the other leaders, on the 9th of February, 1304. Wallace was not included in the capitulation; but it was said that he might, if he pleased, give himself up to the king's will and grace. He was afterwards summoned to appear before a parliament of nobles of the two nations; but he continued contumacious, and was pronounced an outlaw. The reduction of Scotland was completed in the summer of that year, by the surrender of Stirling. Edward himself conducted the memorable siege of this important castle. Sir John Oliphant defended the fortress for three months, with a garrison of only a hundred and forty men. Famine at last compelled a capitulation. Wallace was at length taken prisoner near Glasgow. He was conducted to Dumbarton Castle. Strongly fettered, he was hurried on the road to the south, on the 5th of August, 1305. On the 22nd he arrived in London. The next day he was conducted on horseback to Westminster Hall, surrounded by the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen. The undaunted man, crowned with a garland of oak, as a king of outlaws, was arraigned as a traitor to the English crown. "Traitor I could never be, for I was not a subject of King Edward," was his reply. His execution was determined on before this mock-trial. Sentence of death was pronounced against him. He was dragged at the tails of horses through the streets to a gallows standing at the Elms at Smithfield. The horrible barbarities of an execution for treason having been gone through, his head was struck off, and placed upon a pole on London-bridge. His body was divided into four quarters, and exhibited to the Scottish people on the public places of Newcastle, Berwick, Perth, and Aberdeen. In four months Robert Bruce was in arms.

John Balliol, the king John of Scotland, was dead. His son was in captivity in London; and the name of Balliol was held in scorn. Robert Bruce, the grandson of the competitor for the crown, was now twenty-three years of age. He had vacillated between submission to Edward

and adherence to the cause of independence. Scotland had been apparently settled by the pacific policy of Edward; and young Bruce appeared to be in his confidence. John Comyn, the son of Balliol's sister, in some degree represented the rights of the Balliol family. Bruce came to Scotland. In the choir of the church of the Minorites, in Dumfries, Bruce and Comyn met in private conference. According to Fordun, the ancient feud between the two families was the cause of the fatal result which ensued from this meeting. Bruce plunged his dagger into the breast of Comyn, and hurried out of the church. His attendants completed the murder. Bruce immediately assumed the title of king, and he was crowned as king Robert of Scotland, at Scone, on the 27th of March. Edward was now failing in health; but at a solemn festival in London, he conferred the degree of knighthood on his son Prince Edward, and on many of the young nobility; and swore, that he would revenge the murder of Comyn, and punish the rebels who had thus defied him. The prince departed with a large company of knights the next morning. The king, who, apprehensive of his approaching end, had begged that his body might remain unburied till his vow was accomplished by his son, slowly followed. Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, was in the neighbourhood of Perth, when the army of King Robert attacked him. The result was the defeat of Bruce, who escaped with a small band of his friends. For several months the fugitives wandered amidst the Grampian hills, sustaining many severe privations. During their leader's retreat the more important of his followers were imprisoned or executed. In the spring of 1307, King Robert came forth from his hiding. He was again joined by many adherents, and he obtained some successes over the earl of Pembroke and the earl of Gloucester. On the 3rd of July, King Edward, with a large army, set out from Carlisle on horseback. His impatience to take the field against the insurgents would no longer endure the restraint which was demanded by his bodily weakness. The effort was fatal. Edward I. expired at Burgh-on-the-Sands, on the 7th of August.

CHAPTER VIII.

On the 8th of July, the nobles and others assembled at Carlisle recognised Edward of Caernarvon as king, and there did homage. The young king received homage from some Scottish nobles at Dumfries, and then led his army northward. But he suddenly halted at Cumnock, in Ayrshire. Edward's youth had been marked by many wild excesses; and his evil tendencies had been encouraged by Piers Gaveston, who, at a parliament held in February, 1307, had been banished for ever from the kingdom, as a corruptor of the prince of Wales. King Edward II. now recalled Gaveston, who joined him in Scotland. The king departed for London, leaving Aymer de Valence guardian and lieutenant. Before the ensuing Christmas, the ministers of his father were deprived of their

employments; Gaveston was loaded with wealth and honour; was married to Margaret, the king's niece; and was appointed regent of the kingdom, on the departure of Edward for France to marry Isabella, the daughter of Philip le Bel, the French king. The marriage took place at Boulogne; and on the 24th of February, 1308, Edward was crowned at Westminster. At the coronation the place of greatest honour was given to Gaveston. In three days the offended nobles petitioned for the banishment of the favourite. The king referred the matter to a parliament to be holden after Easter. Gaveston was sentenced to banishment, and was compelled to swear that he would never return. In another month it was learnt that the infatuated king had appointed him to the government of Ireland. The king at length persuaded a party of the nobles to consent to Gaveston's recall; and the pope gave the favourite a dispensation from his oath to remain abroad. Then the court became a scene of perpetual banqueting. Gaveston was supreme. The king loaded him with gifts, of which the crown treasury was chiefly despoiled. The great barons looked on in sullen discontent and suppressed hatred. On the 16th of March, they came in arms to a parliament at Westminster; and enforced the appointment of a committee, under the name of ordainers, to provide for the better regulation of the king's household, and to remedy the grievances of the nation. In the articles of reform which these ordainers presented to the king, there was a clause decreeing the banishment of Gaveston. The favourite went to Flanders, but in 1312, he was again in England; and the king published a proclamation, stating that the exiled man was a true and loyal subject, and returned in obedience to the royal command. Thomas of Lancaster, the grandson of Henry III., was appointed leader of an association of barons who were ready to resort to force. They assembled a large body of knights at a tournament; and then marched to York, where the king had been joined by Gaveston. Onward they followed the flight of their sovereign to Newcastle; and thence to Scarborough, where Gaveston remained in the castle, whilst the king returned to York. The earls of Surrey and Pembroke besieged the castle; and Gaveston surrendered to the earl of Pembroke, under a pledge of safety for himself, which had been given to the king. From Scarborough, he was conducted by Pembroke to Dedington in Oxfordshire, the earl leaving him in the custody of his servants. Before the morning dawned the unfortunate favourite was awakened, and commanded to dress himself. At the gate of Dedington, he found himself in the presence of the terrible earl of Warwick. He was placed on a mule, and, surrounded by a numerous force, was carried prisoner to Warwick. He stood before those haughty barons whom he had despised and insulted, and they sentenced him to die. The judicial murder was accomplished on Blacklow hill, near Guy's Cliff.

Robert Bruce was now, after various wanderings and adventures, an acknowledged sovereign. In 1309, he was recognised as king by the most influential body of Scotland—the clergy,—at a general ecclesiastical council held at Dundee. In that year a truce was concluded between England and Scotland, which endured till August, 1310. In 1312, Bruce besieged Perth, which was in the hands of King Edward's officers.

One after another he took the strong places of Scotland. He then crossed the Tweed with a large force; burnt the towns of Hexham and Corbrigg, and part of the city of Durham, and penetrated as far as Chester. In 1313, Edward Bruce, the brother of King Robert, besieged Stirling; and the English governor, Philip de Mowbray, agreed to surrender the castle if not relieved by the 24th of June. On the 16th of June, only a week before the day fixed, King Edward marched from Berwick, at the head of a vast army. Bruce was encamped in an extensive forest lying between Falkirk and Stirling, known as the Torwood; and here, on the 22nd of June, it was learnt that the English force had reached Edinburgh on the 21st. The Scottish army, therefore, moved into the neighbourhood of Stirling. The extreme left of Bruce's army rested upon elevated ground above St. Ninians, and extended through an undulating tract of country called the New Park, the right resting on a stream called the Bannock. The centre was partially defended by a morass, part of which still remains. On the left, on a line which the English would have to cross, Bruce caused pits to be dug, in which were inserted pointed stakes, covered slightly over with turf and rushes. His force, which consisted chiefly of infantry, was greatly inferior to that of the English. A few horsemen were with him. At daybreak of the 24th of June, the great host of the English was in view. The conflict was long and desperate. The earl of Gloucester, the nephew of the king, fell covered with wounds. The horses stumbled in the pits which Bruce had dug. There was confusion in the ranks; and the few Scottish horse which were in the field were led by sir James Graham to a victorious struggle. All the camp-followers of Bruce's army had been stationed apart, behind a small hill, still known by the name of Gillieshill (the servants' hill). They suddenly abandoned the baggage, and came down the hill in a body of fifteen thousand men, armed with pikes and oxen-goads, with rude pieces of cloth fixed on tentpoles in the place of heraldic banners. The English squadrons, at the appearance of this new and strange army, began to waver. Bruce charged the main body. Then ensued a general rout. King Edward refused to fly, till the earl of Pembroke seized his bridle-rein, and hurried him from the field. The spoil which remained to the victors was enormous. The slaughter of the English exceeded ten thousand. The Scots lost about four thousand. Stirling was surrendered the day after the battle. In exchange for some of his English prisoners, Bruce obtained the release of his wife, sister, and daughter,—of the bishop of Glasgow and the earl of Marr.

In 1315 Edward Bruce landed at Carrickfergus, to drive the English settlers from Ireland, in concert with the native chiefs. After various conflicts he was crowned king of Ireland, in 1316, and he reigned some time in Ulster. The Welsh were again in insurrection, and formed an alliance with Edward Bruce. England was suffering from famine, pestilence, and anarchy, and the Scots came again and again to plunder and destroy. At length in 1320, a truce for two years was concluded "between Edward, king of England, and sir Robert de Brus, for himself and his adherents." The Irish invasion had been previously terminated in 1318, by the death of Edward Bruce; who was defeated in a battle near Dundalk, and fell on the field with two thousand of his countrymen.

King Edward had now found another favourite in Sir Hugh le Despenser, his chamberlain. This young man and his father soon got unbounded power over the weak king, who was lavish in his bounties to them. Their wealth was enormous. At last, the earl of Hereford, the king's brother-in-law, and the earl of Lancaster, his cousin, joined with other barons and knights, in an indenture binding them in a common cause against the power and influence of the Despensers. They demanded the banishment of these objects of their hatred; which demand Edward refused with indignation. The confederates advanced to London, where the parliament was sitting, and then was passed, three weeks after midsummer, in 1321, a statute decreeing the exile of the two who bore the name of Hugh le Despenser—father and son.

In the October of this year, Edward took up arms, ostensibly to revenge an affront offered to his queen; and after capturing Leeds castle, in Kent —to which his queen had been denied admission—led his forces northward. The truce of two years was now about to expire. The Despensers had returned to England; and Lancaster now kept no terms in his opposition to the government of Edward. There can be no doubt that at this period he and the earl of Hereford were in alliance with Bruce. As Edward advanced, Lancaster retired into Yorkshire. At Boroughbridge he was encountered by a strong force, under the governors of York and Carlisle, and here Hereford was killed. Lancaster expected the arrival of his allies from Scotland, but no army appeared. He was taken prisoner, and was conducted to his own castle of Pontefract, to which Edward came; and in his own hall, Lancaster was arraigned as a traitor. On a gray pony, without a bridle, he was led to execution; and kneeling down on an eminence outside the town, his head was struck off. Eighteen others of the confederates were executed in London and other places. Three weeks after Easter, in 1322, a parliament was held at York, in which the exile of the Despensers was annulled; and all the "ordinances" which had been made ten years before were revoked, it being found "that by the matters so ordained the royal power of our lord the king was restrained in divers things, contrary to what it ought to be." Moreover, all provisions "made by subjects against the royal power of the ancestors of our lord the king," were to cease and lose their effect for ever.

In 1328, Edward prepared to invade Scotland. The Scots, anticipating the coming war, entered England, and penetrated to Lancashire. They then returned without molestation, laden with immense booty, and driving their waggons bearing the spoil of gold and plate, of furniture and church ornaments, as securely as if they were on a peaceful journey. The king of England collected a great army and marched into Scotland, with an ill-supply of bread for his men and of provender for his horses. As the great host of Edward marched on to the Forth, he found a desert. The English fleet, which had been prepared to co-operate with the invading army, was detained by contrary winds. King Edward hastily marched back to the border; and King Robert came forth from his encampment at Culross, in Fifeshire. Douglas began to harass the English in their rear; and Edward, appointing guardians of the marches, retreated to a strong position near Byland abbey, in Yorkshire. The greater part of his army

was disbanded. Edward felt himself secure. But a body of Scottish knights suddenly appearing before the abbey, and obtaining a victory, the king of England fled precipitately to York. The war of twenty-three years with Scotland was at an end. On the 30th of May, 1323, a truce between the two kingdoms was concluded for thirteen years.

During this period the great military order of the Templars was dissolved. In 1307, Philip le Bel, king of France, suddenly took possession of the palace of the Temple in Paris, and threw the Grand Master and all his knights into prison. The total ruin of the body which had held the highest authority and influence during nearly two hundred years, was soon accomplished throughout Europe, under the sanction of the spiritual head of the Church. Meanwhile the Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John, who had maintained their influence in the East, and continued to make a show of defending Christendom against the Mahommedans, kept their large possessions without molestation. In 1324, a statute was passed conferring all the revenues of the Templars upon the Knights of St. John.

Isabella, the queen of Edward II., was sister to Charles IV. of France; and to reconcile some differences between Edward and Charles in the affairs of Gascony, Isabella was deputed to the court of her brother, with power to conclude a treaty. This she accomplished, upon terms not very advantageous to her husband, in May, 1325. In September of the same year, the king of England was induced to transfer his foreign possessions of Gascony and Ponthieu to his son Edward, then thirteen years of age; who went to Paris, and there did homage for them to the feudal lord, Charles IV. At Paris, the queen was joined by Roger Mortimer, one of the principal supporters of the earl of Lancaster, who had escaped to France in 1323. He became the chief officer of Isabella's household. Edward expected the return of his wife and son, as soon as the homage was performed. But they came not. The archbishop of Canterbury had written to Isabella to exhort her to return, to which she had replied that sir Hugh le Despenser was her enemy, and that she could not come because her life would be in danger. The king wrote several letters on the subject, but still neither wife nor son came. At last, the king of France invaded Gascony, and Edward declared war against him. The pope exhorted Charles to dismiss Isabella from Paris, and William, count of Hainault, received her at his court. The young Edward was contracted in marriage with Philippa, the daughter of the count. A force of two thousand men, under the command of John of Hainault, was placed at the disposal of Isabella; and on the 24th of September, the wife and the son of Edward did return to England, landing at Orwell, in Suffolk, not as suppliants but as complainants, in arms for the redress of injuries. Isabella came surrounded by nobles who had been banished or fled when the insurrection of Lancaster failed. Powerful lords, including the brothers of the king, the earls of Kent and Suffolk; his cousin, the earl of Richmond; and several bishops, joined Isabella. A proclamation was issued, stating that the queen, the prince, and the earl of Kent, had come to free the nation from the tyranny of Hugh le Despenser. Edward, having appealed in vain to the citizens of London for aid, fled with the two Despensers and the chancellor Baldock. The populace rose, and murdered

the bishop of Exeter, who had been sent by the king as envoy to France, to induce the queen and her son to return. The elder Despenser took refuge in the castle of Bristol. The burghers compelled him to surrender the place to the forces of Isabella; and after a brief form of trial, the old man was executed as a traitor, on the 26th of October. The prelates and barons who had taken part with the queen, assumed the powers of a parliament; and, having resolved that by the king's absence the realm had been left without a ruler, they appointed prince Edward guardian of the kingdom. The king at length surrendered to his cousin, the earl of Richmond; and was conducted to the castle of Kenilworth. The younger Despenser, and the chancellor, were taken prisoners in Wales. They were carried to Hereford, where Despenser perished as "a wicked and attainted traitor," and his mutilated body was hanged on a gallows fifty feet high. The earl of Arundel and others were beheaded. Baldock died in prison.

At the parliament which was summoned at Westminster, on the 7th of January, 1327, after a suspense of only one day, the young Edward was, by acclamation, declared king. On the 13th of the same month, by a bill of six articles, it was resolved that the reign of Edward of Caernarvon had ceased. A deputation was sent to Edward, at Kenilworth, to extort from him the resignation of the crown. On the 24th of January, the heralds proclaimed the accession of Edward III.; and the young king was crowned on the 29th. His father was murdered in Berkeley Castle, with circumstances of horrible cruelty, after having endured the most atrocious indignities. Mortimer confessed, when his own life was about to be forfeited, that he had commanded the commission of the crime.

Of the truce with Scotland, concluded for thirteen years in 1323, scarcely four years had elapsed, when an invasion of England was determined on by King Robert Bruce. The Scottish historians justify this violation of the compact by stating that the name of Bruce, as king, was omitted in the instructions given to the English commissioners, for the conclusion of a final treaty of peace between the two kingdoms. In June, 1327, an army of twenty-four thousand Scots, under Douglas and Randolph—for Bruce was sick—crossed the borders, and ravaged Cumberland. The young Edward, with a precocious heroism, put himself at the head of a great army of English knights and archers, and of foreign soldiers under John of Hainault, which had assembled at York. Having marched to Durham, he followed the course of the invaders by the smoke of the desolating fires which had marked their progress. The Scots avoided a regular engagement, and circumvented Edward in every way. At last the English, giving up the pursuit in despair, returned to Durham, and thence to York. In the ensuing spring of 1328, a peace was concluded with Scotland, by which the independence of that country, under King Robert Bruce, was fully recognised, the claim of feudal superiority being wholly renounced. It was also agreed that the Scotch regalia, as well as "the stone of destiny," should be restored. Thirty thousand marks were paid by Scotland, in compensation for the damages caused by the invasion of the previous year. Further, the sister of Edward was contracted in marriage with David, the son of Robert Bruce, who became king, upon the death of

his heroic father, in 1328. The treaty with Scotland was unpopular in England; and the Londoners resisted the removal of the famous coronation stone.

A few months after his return from his northern campaign, Edward was married to Philippa, daughter of the count of Hainault, to whom he had been contracted by his mother. Mortimer and Isabella were still the ruling powers in the state. But they were becoming odious to the people. A confederacy against them was formed between the earl of Lancaster, nominally the head of the regency, and the late king's brothers, Kent and Norfolk. The earl of Kent, a weak young man, fell into a snare prepared for him by Mortimer, and was beheaded as a traitor, on the 19th March, 1330. A little after this, Queen Philippa gave birth to a son, Edward, so renowned in coming years as the Black Prince. It was time that the king should assert his own authority against his mother and her favourite. He confided his purpose to the earl of Montacute. A parliament was to assemble at Nottingham; and the ex-queen took up her residence in the castle with Edward and Mortimer. The castle was filled with guards; and the keys of its gates were taken every night to the private chamber of Isabella. But there was a subterraneous passage, which was made known to Edward and Montacute by the governor. In the silent midnight hour of the 10th of October, Montacute entered, with sufficient force, and being joined by the young king, they proceeded to the rooms of the principal tower, and having seized the object of their search, they carried him off, in spite of Isabella's cries of "Spare my gentle Mortimer." On the 26th of November, Mortimer was condemned as a traitor by a parliament at Westminster. He was executed on the 29th of November, with four others as his accomplices. The pope wrote to Edward not to expose the shame of his mother; and she therefore passed the rest of her life, twenty-eight years, in confinement at her manor of Risings.

During the minority of the young king David, Edward Balliol attempted to recover the crown of Scotland. He sailed with his associates from the Humber, and landed in Fife, in August, 1332. His success was marvellous. On the 27th of September he was crowned at Scone. But his reverse of fortune was equally rapid. On the 16th of December he was surprised at Annan, and fled to the marches. During his brief tenure of power, Balliol had acknowledged that the crown of Scotland was a fief held under the crown of England; and Edward had concluded with him a treaty of alliance. Early in 1333, the Scots, under the leaders who acted in the name of King David, invaded England; Balliol commenced the siege of Berwick; and the English king came in May to his aid. On the 19th of July was fought the great battle of Halidon Hill, in which Edward was completely victorious. Here, amidst a fearful slaughter of his countrymen, fell the regent Douglas, and many earls and barons. Berwick was surrendered to the English, and Balliol was again seated on his uneasy throne. Then, at a parliament held at Edinburgh, a large portion of the south of Scotland was annexed to England. This impolitic dismemberment of the kingdom was an outrage upon the national feeling, and Balliol was again driven forth, in 1334. Again, in 1335, Scotland was ravaged by the English forces, in concert with Balliol; and for several years a struggle was

carried on, with varied success. In 1341, the son of Bruce returned to his kingdom.

Charles IV. of France, died early in 1328, leaving no male issue; but a posthumous daughter was born five months after his death. In the interval, Philip of Valois, who was cousin to the deceased king, had been appointed regent. Edward III., being then in his minority, sent ambassadors into France to demand the crown. His claim rested upon these grounds. His mother, Isabella, was sister to three successive kings of France; and though by the Salic law excluded from the throne herself, might, Edward contended, transmit a title to her son. He was the nearest male heir through his mother. Philip of Valois, though the affinity was through his father, was not so near akin as Edward by one degree. Philip had opposed Edward in the Scottish war, and in 1337, the English king boldly assumed the title of king of France, and prepared to enforce his claim at the sword's point. In 1339, he invaded France from Flanders, but upon this occasion he returned to England without striking any important blow. He had depended upon foreign alliances, which had failed him in the hour of need. In 1340, Edward, who had gone over to England, leaving the queen at Ghent, was informed that Philip had collected a large fleet in the harbour of Sluys, at the mouth of the Scheldt. He immediately resolved upon encountering his enemy at sea, and set sail from Orwell with a powerful armament. The battle was fierce and terrible; and the number slain and drowned amounted to many thousands. It was a hand-to-hand fight, in which the English archers did fearful execution. Edward's victory was complete. In that year a truce between France and England was concluded, which lasted till 1342. In 1343 negotiations for peace were carried on before the pope at Avignon, without any result. In 1344 the war was re-commenced.

The Flemings were prepared for the strictest alliance with England, against the great enemy of their liberties—the king of France. Their heroic leader, James Artevelde, commonly known as "the brewer of Ghent," was a noble, allied to the first families in Flanders. He was "a brewer," as a prince in England is often "a fishmonger." He was a member of the guild of brewers.* Edward knew the value of this alliance with the Flemings and their democratic leader. Artevelde recommended that the burghers should depose Louis, the count of Flanders, and call Edward, prince of Wales, to the government. Bruges and Ypres supported the proposition. The populace of Ghent suddenly turned against the man under whose authority they had arrived, in common with the other towns, at an unequalled height of prosperity, and murdered Artevelde in July, 1345. When Edward heard of his friend's death, he put to sea in great anger, and returned to England. A deputation from all the trading towns, except Ghent, appeased his wrath, and the alliance was continued. The commercial intercourse between England and Flanders, was, at this time, of the greatest importance to both countries. The parliament of England willingly voted large sums for the war with France. While Edward was negotiating with Artevelde, the earl of Derby was winning battles in

* See Barante's "Histoire des Ducs de Bourgoyne," Vol. I., p. 156.

Gascony. Our armies had also previously found an entrance to France through Brittany, in consequence of Edward having supported the claim of John de Montfort to the duchy, against that of Charles of Blois, nephew of the French king.

On the 10th of July, 1346, Edward landed near Cape la Hougue, on the coast of Normandy. He had with his army, his own first-born son, now sixteen years of age. He had earls of famous name, barons, and knights. But his "four thousand men of arms, and ten thousand archers, besides Irishmen and Welshmen that followed the host on foot," were his main strength. Keeping near the coast, the invading army marched by Barfleur, Cherbourg, and Carenton, to Caen. Edward was now fully committed to the dangers of his adventure; for he sent his ships home, laden with plunder and prisoners. From Caen he rode on till he reached Evreux; and thence marched to Louviers, avoiding the castles and walled towns. His object was to cross the Seine at Rouen, and then march to Calais, expecting to be joined by an army of Flemings. But Philip was at Rouen before him, and was encamped on the right bank of the river, having destroyed the bridge of boats. Below Rouen the passage of the Seine was too difficult to be attempted; and the English army was therefore led along the left bank by Vernon and Mantes, to Poissy,—a march of more than sixty miles. The bridge here was partially destroyed. The position of the English was now one of extreme peril. They were separated by two great rivers, the Seine and the Somme, from their Flemish auxiliaries; and Philip was collecting a great force as he proceeded towards Paris in a parallel march on the right bank of the Seine. There was no course but that of fronting the danger. Part of Edward's host marched on to St. Germains, and even to Neuilly. The English repaired the bridge at Poissy, and Edward crossed the Seine, while Philip, at St. Denis, was preparing to resist an attack upon Paris. The course of the English was now direct by Beauvais, on to the Somme, through Poix. But Philip had made a rapid march upon Amiens, detachments of his men-at-arms having preceded him along the right bank of the Somme, guarding every ford, and breaking down every bridge. The main body of his army was gradually shutting up the invaders in the nook between the Somme and the sea. Edward had reached Airaines; and he had sent out his marshals with three thousand archers and men-at-arms to find some passage. At Pecquigny they were boldly met, and again at Pont de Remy, and could accomplish nothing. The English marched out of Airaines in the morning, and the French entered the town at noon. At Oisemont, where Edward next took up his quarters, prisoners of the country were brought in. One of these, "a varlet called Gobyn Agace," told the king of a passage a little above Abbeville, hard in the bottom with white stones, thence called Blanchetaque. Here the river was tidal; and Agace said, that when the flood was gone the stream was so low that it might be passed without danger. The next morning, Friday, the 25th of August, Gobyn Agace led the host to the ford. But a great company of horse and foot, to the number of twelve thousand, had been gathered under the command of a Norman baron, sir Godemar du Fay, on the right bank of the river. The French and English struggled in the ford; and the Genoese

of Philip's army did great trouble with their cross-bows; but the archers of Edward shot so wholly together that at length the way was cleared, and sir Godemar du Fay was discomfited and fled. The king having crossed, he thanked God for his army's escape from their great peril; and dismissed Gobyn Agace with a present of a hundred nobles and a horse. The army then marched on, and lodged in the fields near Cressy. The king of France heard that the afternoon flood had come in at Blanchetaque; and so he rested that night at Abbeville.

The village of Cressy is in the valley of the little river the Maye; and behind it the ground gently rises into a broad ridge, whose elevation commands the country through which the French army would advance from above or below Abbeville. Here Edward halted, and said, "Let us take here some plot of ground, for we will go no further till we have seen our enemies." The next morning the king rose betimes, and heard mass with the prince, his son. Then he commanded all the men to draw near the field which he had appointed. He caused a park, or enclosure, to be made by the wood-side, behind his host; and there all the horses and carriages were brought, for every man was to fight on foot. The English army was formed in three battalions, the first being under the nominal command of the prince of Wales, who had with him Warwick and Chandos, and other valiant knights. It consisted of eight hundred men-at-arms, two thousand archers, and a thousand Welsh. The second battalion had eight hundred men-at-arms and twelve hundred archers. The third battalion, of seven hundred men-at-arms and two thousand archers, occupied the summit of the hill, under the command of the king. At nine o'clock of the morning of the 26th of August, this little army, having eaten and drunk, lay down, each man on the earth, with his bow and his sallet (helmet) beside him; and patiently waited the coming of an enemy ten times their number.

On the same Saturday, the French king and his host, who had crossed the Somme by the bridge of Abbeville, marched betimes out of that town. When they were approaching towards the English, the command was given to halt; but the horsemen in the rear continued to press forward, and those in front, resolved to have the glory of a victory, rode in advance till they saw the battalions of Edward on the high ground, and then suddenly turning back threw the unmanageable multitude into confusion. The Genoese archers, fifteen thousand in number, according to Froissart, weary of their long march on foot, were unwilling to fight that day; but the king of France became excited amidst the tumult about him, and commanded them to begin the battle. There was a partial eclipse of the sun, and then a storm of rain and thunder. At five o'clock in the evening, when the sun again shone out, "it was right in the Frenchmen's eyes, and on the Englishmen's backs." The English archers stirred not from their position. At whatever point the French came on they saw "a great hedge before them." Every time the English yeomen drew their bowstrings, the terrible shafts slew horse and men. The earl of Alençon and the earl of Flanders led their men in some order to skirt the archers, and they joined battle with the prince of Wales's battalion. The king of France tried to reach them when he saw their banners, but there was the great hedge of archers

to interrupt his progress. King Edward, says Froissart, stood "on a little windmill hill" with his reserve. There, when the battle was at its hottest, a knight came, and said that Warwick, and Oxford, and the prince of Wales desired aid from him and his men. But the king refused to send aid so long as his son was alive, desiring that the prince should be suffered that day to win his spurs. Before that autumn sun was set the work was done. The king of Bohemia was killed; and Alençon, and the count of Flanders; Aumarle, and Loraine, and Louis of Blois, and Auxerre, and St. Pol. Before even-song time the French king had not threescore men about him. And then John of Hainault took the king's horse by the bridle, and led him away. Philip rode through the night to Amiens.

On the Sunday morning there was a heavy fog; and an English detachment of five hundred lances and two thousand archers went out to scour the country. They fell in with two separate French forces, which they almost annihilated. The heralds of the English went over the great battle field, and reported that they had found the bodies of eleven princes, eighty bannerets, twelve hundred knights, and thirty thousand inferior persons. On Monday the king departed for Montreuil; and on Thursday the 31st his army sat down before Calais, to commence the memorable siege, which lasted till the August of 1347.

The absence of King Edward in France presented a favourable opportunity to the Scots for a hostile demonstration against England of a formidable character. In the beginning of October, David II. entered Cumberland; took the fortress called "the Pyle of Lyddell;" and went on into the bishopric of Durham, slaughtering and plundering. But an English army had assembled at Auckland, under the great Norman barons and the military prelates, with which army was Queen Philippa. At Nevill's Cross the armies met. The battle was won by the English archers. David fought with great bravery, and was at last taken prisoner by John Coupland, a squire of Northumberland. He was conducted to London, and lodged in the Tower.

Three days before the festival of All Saints, queen Philippa joined her lord at Calais. King Edward was conducting his operations by the slow but certain process of blockade. The French king was approaching with a great host to raise the siege. At the Whitsuntide of 1347, king Philip hoisted the oriflamme, and led a hundred and fifty thousand men to Whitsand. The approach to Calais by the coast was a dangerous undertaking; for a large fleet, with archers in every vessel, was ready to guard the shore. The other road through the marshes was secured by strong defences, especially at the bridge at Neuillet. For six weeks Philip remained inactive, having sent a cartel to Edward to come forth and fight; and he then took his way to Amiens, and gave every man leave to depart. The governor of Calais immediately hung out the flag of England, and asked to capitulate. The garrison had suffered every extremity of misery, having eaten their horses and their dogs. All hope of relief was gone. Edward demanded that they should surrender at discretion. They refused. The king then required that six chief burgesses of the town should yield themselves purely to his will. Six volunteers were then given up to Edward, who commanded their heads to be struck off. But upon Queen Philippa's

earnest entreaty, the king saying he could deny her nothing, they were taken through the host in safety, and were set at liberty.

After the surrender of Calais, an armistice was entered into between the rival kings. Edward returned to England in October. The victory of Cressy had produced no actual result beyond the acquisition of Calais; but the character of the king and the character of the nation were elevated. The yeoman had taken his proper position side by side with the knight. The military spirit was the pervading influence of this reign, to which belongs the golden period of the days of chivalry. After the battle of Cressy, Edward established the Order of the Garter.

In this reign there were three terrible visitations of pestilence. The first and the greatest lasted from the 31st of May to the 29th of September, 1349. According to a register of the Abbey of Gloucester, this Black Plague, as it was called, left scarcely a third part of the population remaining. This is probably an exaggeration. But the effects of this plague are to be traced in a precept issued by the king on the 1st December, 1349, forbidding emigration to any but merchants, notaries, and messengers; and in the "Statute of Labourers," an arbitrary act regulating the rate of wages, and confining the labourer to one locality.

Philip of Valois, who had held a troublesome possession of the throne of France for twenty-two years, died in August, 1350. Edward had proposed to resign his pretensions to the French crown, on the condition that he should receive the absolute sovereignty of the provinces in France which had been held as fiefs by preceding English kings. Philip rejected this offer; John, his son and successor, consented to it. After several years of negotiation, the French procurators refused to agree to the terms which their king had promised. In 1355, prince Edward led an army from the walls of Bordeaux; ravaged the country to the foot of the Pyrenees; and, taking a northward course, laid in ashes cities and towns, and filled a fertile land with desolation, which had been unvisited by war for a hundred years. Whilst his son was ravaging on the banks of the Garonne, king Edward was leading an army from Calais to the Somme. The want of provisions drove him back after a march of ten days. Meanwhile the Scots had surprised Berwick; and the king hastened home. In the depth of winter he marched into Scotland, having re-taken Berwick, and he carried havoc through the Lothians. Again the want of provisions drove him back.

In July, 1356, prince Edward, now known as the Black Prince, marched out of Bordeaux, upon a second expedition of waste and pillage. Ascending the Garonne as high as Agen, he turned to the provinces of Querci, Limousin, and Auvergne. The little army was now in the very centre of France. King John was advancing from Chartres to drive back the marauders; and he crossed the Loire, at Blois, marching on towards Poitiers. Prince Edward was in a hostile country, and he could gain no knowledge of the line upon which the French were moving. He resolved, however, upon retreat. On the 17th of September, being Saturday, the van of prince Edward's small band fell in with the rear of king John's army, and there was a skirmish. The French king entered into the city of Poitiers. Edward took up his quarters in a strong place, amongst hedges, vines, and

bushes. He lined the hedges and banks with archers, by a road on which four horsemen only could ride. On the Monday morning, the 19th of September, the French marshals approached with their battalions, and their horsemen entered this road. At the first flight of the deadly shafts of the English archers, the horses rushed back, and flung out, and fell upon their riders. Then the Gascon men-at-arms went in amongst the press, and slew the knights and squires. The French also, who were behind, recoiled back, and came on the division of the duke of Normandy; and the men took their horses and fled, when they saw the dreaded archers coming down a little hill, on their flank and rear. Leaping on their horses, the reserve of men-at-arms of England now advanced. Onward the little army went into the thick of their enemies. The French fled from those fields of Beauvoir and Maupertuis, even to the gates of Poitiers. The king, and his young son, Philip, yielded to sir Dennis of Morbecque. That night the prince of Wales made a supper in his lodging to the French king, and to the great lords that were prisoners; and himself served the king "as humbly as he could." On the day after the battle, the prince of Wales marched with his royal prisoner to Bordeaux, the great bulk of captive knights having been admitted to easy ransom. On the 24th of May, 1357, the Black Prince returned to London in a triumphal procession, with his royal prisoner. In the pageant the captive was shown to the people as an honoured guest; whilst the winner of the great field of Poitiers rode humbly beside him. King John was lodged in the Savoy, a pleasant palace belonging to the duke of Lancaster, king Edward's son; and in the winter following was removed to Windsor with his son Philip.

During the captivity of John, the government of the dauphin, Charles, was harassed by contending factions; and the kingdom was in a condition little short of anarchy. On the 21st of May, 1358, commenced that insurrection of the peasants, which was called the Jacquerie, from the nickname which the poor French villan bore of Jacques Bonhomme. About a hundred villagers assembled in Beauvoisin, and, without any leader, marched forward, vowing destruction on the nobles and knights of France. Their numbers were soon increased to a hundred thousand. All the peaceful population, whether of the towns or hamlets, and the women and children of the châteaux and the farms, fled before them. The highways were covered with the bodies of their victims; and the wolves came out from the woods to follow their murderous track. At last a body of knights who were returning from a crusade against the pagans of Prussia, attacked the insurgent peasantry, who, to the number of nine thousand, had been admitted into the city of Meaux, and slew them till they were weary. Seven thousand perished on that day, and they never rallied again.

John settled with Edward the conditions of a peace, to take place upon the expiration of the truce. But the regency of France rejected the hard terms which their captive monarch had agreed to. Edward again invaded France in the autumn of 1359, with a more powerful army than he had ever before assembled; and at the end of March he was encamped before Paris. The fatigues of his winter campaign had greatly reduced his num-

bers; and now, beleaguering a city which was too strong for assault, he was in want of provisions, and was compelled to retire. Negotiations were set on foot, and the great peace of Bretigny was concluded on the 8th of May. The king of England resigned his pretensions to the crown of France, and to the territories of Normandy, Anjou, and Maine. He restored all the conquered places, with the exception of Guisnes and Calais. He was content to be lord of Aquitaine, retaining Gascony, Poitou, and other dependencies, in full sovereignty. The prince of Wales, with the title of prince of Aquitaine, was appointed to the possession and government of these provinces. Three million crowns of gold were to be paid in six years for the ransom of king John. The captive king was set at liberty before the end of the year. But peace with England brought no tranquillity to France. The country was now ravaged by bands of discharged soldiers, the Free Companions, who during a twenty years' war had been fighting in separate bands under their own captains. Amidst these distractions, king John went back to his wasted country. But in 1363, when the treaty of Bretigny was not faithfully kept by the French, the chivalrous John voluntarily returned to England, leaving France under the government of the dauphin. He died in 1364, at the Savoy; and the dauphin became king of France, as Charles V.

In 1366, Peter I., king of Castile and Leon, was driven from his throne by his half-brother, Henry, assisted by a strong band of Free Companions under the command of the great adventurer, Du Guesclin. The imprisonment and supposed murder of his wife, Blanche of Bourbon, provoked the hostility of Charles of France against Peter. The dethroned king had previously made an alliance with Edward III., and he now fled to the court of the prince of Wales at Bourdeaux. In 1367, the Black Prince led a great army of English, Gascons, and Normans from Bordeaux; and entering Navarre, by the pass of Roncesvalles, met the army of Henry in Castile, near the right bank of the Ebro. The battle of Najara was a complete victory, in which the Black Prince displayed the resources of a great commander even more remarkably than in his previous successes. The faithless Peter, when he had been restored, refused to abide by his promise of paying the cost of the war. Edward's army was reduced to the utmost misery by the want of provisions; and the prince had contracted a fatal malady which in a few years terminated his career of glory. He hastily returned to Gascony. The ingrate king was in six months hurled from his throne, and murdered by his half-brother. The greatest trophy of this campaign was the capture of Du Guesclin.

The prince of Wales had imposed a heavy tax upon the people of Gascony, to meet the expenses of the Spanish campaign. The great lords carried their complaints to the throne of Charles V. The French king summoned the prince of Aquitaine to answer the complaint, assuming the position of his feudal lord. The prince said he would come with sixty thousand lances. The great war was now renewed. Edward III. reassumed the title of king of France. But the government of the English was a yoke of which the Gascon nobles and people were impatient. Many of the fighting men went over to the banner of France. The French king adopted a bold policy, and assembled a fleet at Harfleur for the

invasion of England; and Philip of Burgundy was to be its commander. The duke of Lancaster landed with a great army, and marched through the northern provinces. In 1370, the French entered Gascony. The Black Prince took the field, and the royal princes of Anjou and Berri retired before him. Limoges had been betrayed to these dukes by the inhabitants; and during a month's siege Edward, sick almost to death, was carried in a litter from one point to another of the attack. The capital of Limousin was at length taken by storm. Three thousand men, women, and children were butchered in cold blood. A few knights, resolved to battle to the last, placed their backs against a wall, and long fought against superior numbers. These prince Edward ordered to be received to ransom.

The Black Prince, in broken health, came back to England; and by opposing his father's government regained the popularity which he had lost in Gascony. After the death, in 1369, of king Edward's queen, Philippa, the expiring passions of dotage had thrown the conqueror of France under the dominion of a mistress, Alice Ferrars. To her influence, and that of her creatures, the eldest son of the king was naturally opposed. John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, succeeded his brother in the government of Gascony. Du Guesclin was now at the head of a daring band, which harassed the English in every possible way, and one by one took many of their strong places. A truce was concluded in 1374, which lasted till 1377. The possessions which had been surrendered by the treaty of Bretigny were all lost, with the exception of Bordeaux, Bayonne, and Calais. In 1376 the great prince of Wales died. His son, Richard of Bordeaux, then ten years of age, was presented to the houses of parliament as the successor to all the rights of his father. But the influence of the duke of Lancaster was all-powerful.

Edward III. died on the 21st of June, 1377. He had completed the fiftieth or jubilee year of his reign in February of that year, when he published a general amnesty for all offences.

CHAPTER IX.

DURING the half-century in which Edward III. sate upon the throne, the ecclesiastical hierarchy had reached its height. But amidst external indications of a power which it might be supposed would never die, there was a growing conviction that this house was built upon the sand. In 1356, Wycliffe began his career as an ecclesiastical reformer. In 1365, he strenuously supported the resistance of parliament to the pope's demand for the arrears of the tribute known as "Peter's Pence." In the last year of Edward III., Wycliffe was cited for heresy. His cause was taken up by John of Gaunt. This great duke of Lancaster was suspected of designs on the crown, and there was ill-concealed jealousy of him. When Edward III. was within a few hours of his last mortal agony, a deputation of the citizens of London came to his grandson, Richard, and, offering their

support of his right to the crown, invited him to take up his residence in the Tower. On the 22nd of June the boy-king made his triumphal entry into London, and, on the 16th of July, was crowned at Westminster. The duke of Lancaster probably expected to be sole regent; but a temporary council was appointed, in which he took no part. A parliament met in October, when, at the request of the Commons, the Lords, in the royal name, appointed nine persons to be a permanent council of the king; and it was resolved that, during Richard's minority, the appointment of all the chief officers of the crown should be with the parliament.

In this and immediately succeeding parliaments, the state of the nation was declared to be alarming. The truce with France had recently expired: and not an hour was lost by Charles V. to renew hostilities in the way most offensive to the English. Commerce was interrupted; the sea-ports were burnt and ravaged; the Isle of Wight was plundered. To meet the expenses of a foreign armament, and of naval and land forces to protect the kingdom, a subsidy was granted. But two citizens of London, William Walworth and John Philpot, were sworn in parliament to be treasurers of the same, and strictly to apply the produce of the taxes to the support of the war. All the foreign enterprises of the English were futile and disastrous; and their cost produced general discontent. In addition to heavy duties on wool and leather, a capitation tax was granted in 1379. In principle this was an income tax, touching every person. The next year a poll tax was granted, mainly for the support of a fruitless expedition to assist De Montfort, the duke of Brittany, against France. The pressure of the poll tax upon the humblest portion of the community, and the brutal manner in which it was enforced by the king's collector at Dartford, were the main causes, according to the chroniclers, of the revolt headed by Wat the Tyler. But the materials for this revolt had been long accumulating. The old feudal relations of society might be deemed nearly at an end, and the system of villanage was tottering to its fall.

This revolt was no sudden tumult of an isolated body of men, for it extended from the coast of Kent to the Humber, and was organised in a remarkable manner by correspondence in letters which bore the signatures of Jack Milner, Jack Carter, Jack Trueman, and John Ball. Gathering large numbers of adherents from various parts, a large body, under the leadership of Wat the Tyler, at length reached Blackheath. Some of the band had compelled the mayor and aldermen of Canterbury to swear fidelity to their cause, and many of the citizens had joined them in their march. As this rude army of a hundred thousand men approached London, there was, necessarily, universal consternation. On the night of the 12th of June, Southwark and Lambeth witnessed the demolition of the houses of the Marshalsea and of the King's Bench, and the sack of the palace of the archbishop of Canterbury. Out of Southwark they passed over London Bridge into the city on the following morning. They demolished Newgate, and burnt the duke of Lancaster's palace of the Savoy, and also the Temple. With the usual prejudice against foreigners, they butchered the Flemish artisans, wherever they were found. On the 14th

of June, when Tower-hill was filled with this multitude, a herald made proclamation that the king would meet them at Mile-end. They moved off; and young Richard rode out of the Tower gates with a few followers, who were unarmed. He received the petition which the insurgents had drawn up. They demanded the abolition of slavery; the reduction of the rent of land to fourpence an acre; free liberty to buy and sell in all markets and fairs; and a general pardon for offences. These demands were agreed to by the king. Charters were drawn up to the effect of the petition, for every parish and township. They were sealed the next morning; and the great body, chiefly the men of Essex and Hertfordshire, retired, bearing the king's banner. But the Kentish Tyler remained in arms, with a body of the insurgents. He led his men into the Tower. They murdered the archbishop and other dignified persons, and drove the king's mother out of her lodgings. On the 17th, the king rode into Smithfield. The leader of the Kentish men refused the charters which were offered to him. When he saw the king coming he halted his followers, and rode up to meet the youth. During their parley, Tyler put his hand upon his dagger, and touched the king's bridle. Walworth, the Lord Mayor of London, immediately stabbed him. The insurgents, when they saw their leader fall, bent their bows; but Richard galloped up to the astonished band, and exclaimed, "Tyler was a traitor—I will be your leader." They followed him to the fields of Islington, where a considerable force of citizens and others hastened to protect their king. There, the insurgents fell on their knees and implored his mercy. Richard commanded them to return to their homes; but would allow no attack to be made upon them by the forces which were gathering around him. In the eastern counties the insurrection was put down by Henry Spenser, known as the fighting bishop of Norwich. In a fortnight the charters were revoked by the king, and then followed, in every county, trials and executions to an enormous extent.

After the insurrection had been quelled, the king submitted to the parliament whether it would not be expedient to abolish the state of slavery altogether. With one accord, the interested lords of the soil replied, that they never would consent to be deprived of the services of their bondmen. At the same period, a synod of divines was called, in which many of Wycliffe's opinions were censured as heretical, erroneous, and of dangerous tendency. The prelates then procured an Act to be passed by the Lords for the imprisonment of Wycliffe's followers. The great reformer petitioned against this Act; and the Commons represented that it had been passed without their consent. It was immediately repealed. Wycliffe died in 1384, but his preaching never died. He had translated the Scriptures into the English language; and the texts of the Bible were in every mouth, as they were re-echoed in the sermons of his preachers, in churches and open places. It has been said that, of this generation, one-third of the English people became Lollards, as the followers of Wycliffe were now termed. In the reign of Edward III. there had been a legislative resistance to the claim of the pope to appoint to English benefices. Under Richard II. the court of Rome came to an open rupture with England upon the ques-

tion; and the defiant attitude of the country at last triumphed over this attempt at papal usurpation.

In 1382, Richard married Anne of Bohemia, a prudent and amiable princess, who restrained many of the impulses of his levity and fitful passions. But he surrounded himself with favourite ministers, who evidently fomented the jealousy which he constantly felt of his uncles. The war with France was feebly conducted previous to 1384, when John of Gaunt concluded a short truce, in which Scotland was comprehended. But the Scots refused to desist from warfare, and the duke led an army across the border, burning towns and cutting down forests. On his return to England he was again assailed by suspicions of disloyalty. A Carmelite friar put into the hands of Richard a paper, professing to disclose a conspiracy to deprive him of his crown, and give the kingdom to his uncle. Lancaster maintained his innocence, and demanded that the slanderer should be committed to safe custody. Sir John Holland, the king's half-brother, undertook the charge; and the next day the friar was found dead—strangled, it was said, by his knightly keeper. The young king now began to exhibit that dissimulation which subsequently he was too ready to exercise. He professed his complete satisfaction; and Lancaster went abroad to obtain a prolongation of the truce with France. Preparations were made to arrest him on his return; but he secured himself in his castle of Pontefract. The storm blew over for a time. France had sent men-at-arms into Scotland, under the command of Sir John de Vienne, and had advanced a large sum of money to induce the Scots to invade England. The united armies had marched towards Newcastle, when they learned that king Richard was coming with a great force. They then retreated. But while Richard advanced into Scotland, took Edinburgh, and proceeded towards Aberdeen, the French and Scots entered Cumberland and Westmoreland, burning and plundering on every side. The duke of Lancaster advised a return to the borders, to cut off the retreat of the Scots and the French. But the young king's favourite, De la Pole, filled his mind with the suspicion of treachery, and Richard refused to march into Cumberland with his uncle. He returned with his army to England through Northumberland. The campaign of 1385 terminated without any trial of strength in battle. When the ill-assorted allies returned to Edinburgh, the Scots required to be paid the expenses of the campaign; and they kept the French admiral in pledge till their demands were satisfied. On his return from this expedition, the parliament ratified the honours which Richard had conferred on his favourites. Michael de la Pole was created earl of Suffolk, and Robert de Vere earl of Oxford. To neutralise the jealousy of his own relations, his uncles were created dukes of York and Gloucester; Henry, the son of the duke of Lancaster, was made earl of Derby; and Edward, the son of the duke of York, earl of Rutland. At the same time Roger, earl of March, was declared presumptive heir to the throne. He was the grandson of Lionel, the second son of Edward III., who died in 1368; and whose daughter, Philippa, married Mortimer, earl of March.

In 1386 the dreaded duke of Lancaster left England to assert his claim to the crown of Castile, in right of his second wife, Constantia, daughter

of Peter the Cruel. In the absence of Lancaster, enormous preparations were made by France for the invasion of England. The insurrections of Flanders had been put down; and in September, 1386, a larger fleet was collected than had ever before been seen in Christendom. In the port of Sluys were twelve hundred and eighty-seven vessels. Another fleet was assembled at Tréguier, in Brittany. The young king of France set out from Paris with great pomp, and joined the duke of Burgundy at Arras. He reached Sluys, and was ready to sail. But his uncle, the duke de Berri, still lingered at Paris. The vast army was eating up everything. The weather was becoming cold and stormy. When, at length, the duke de Berri arrived, he found the season too far advanced for the attempt, and the great enterprise was postponed till the next year. The next year came, and the invasion was again postponed. The leaders quarrelled; and, instead of England being subject to invasion, the French coast was assailed, and the French and Flemish fleets destroyed, from Brest to Sluys.

In the time of Edward III. the Commons had acquired an integral share in the government, and during the reign of his weak grandson their power was more signally displayed than at any previous period. In 1386, in spite of the king's opposition, they impeached the earl of Suffolk. They then petitioned the king to appoint a Commission of Regency for one year, with very large powers; the most formidable of which was that those who advised a revocation of their authority should incur the penalties of treason. Richard unwillingly complied. "The king," says Hume, "was in reality dethroned; the aristocracy was rendered supreme." In the summer of 1387, Richard made progresses in Cheshire and Yorkshire, and received marks of popular favour. In August he held a council at Nottingham, consisting of the archbishop of York; De Vere, now created duke of Ireland; the earl of Suffolk; the chief justice Tresilian; and Sir Nicholas Brember, lord mayor of London. The judges were summoned to this council, and the king procured from them, under menace, as the majority afterwards asserted, a declaration that the commission to which he had reluctantly assented was illegal; with other assertions tending to the upholding of his unlimited prerogative. Of these opinions, given under an obligation of secrecy, the duke of Gloucester was soon apprised. On the 10th of November, nine days before the Commission was to expire, Richard entered London, and was received with acclamations. Sir Nicholas Brember had influenced the voice of the citizens. On the next day it was known that an army of forty thousand men was advancing to the capital, under the command of the duke of Gloucester, and the earls of Arundel and Nottingham, the constable, admiral, and mareschal of England. The earls of Derby and Warwick joined them the next day. These noblemen, lords appellants as they were called, on the 17th of November, accused of treason before the king at Westminster those five of his obnoxious counsellors who had assembled at Nottingham. The earl of Suffolk fled to France; the archbishop of York eventually found refuge in Flanders; De Vere raised an army by authority of royal letters; but was defeated at Radcot Bridge, and escaped to Ireland. The other two who were denounced by the appellants,—Tresilian, the chief justice, and Sir

Nicholas Brember,—were executed as traitors. For about a year the government appears to have been in the hands of the parliamentary council.

Lord Henry Percy had been appointed by the council to keep the frontier of Northumberland against the Scots. In 1388, a large Scottish army crossed the Tyne, and went on to Durham, but soon retreated. At Newcastle they were encountered by the younger Percies, with their host; their father, the earl of Northumberland, keeping the pass of Alnwick. The leaders appear to have met as if at a tournament. After the skirmish, the Scots, the next day, marched to Otterbourne, about thirty miles from Newcastle. Then, on the 10th of August, was fought the famous battle upon which was founded the ballad of "Chevy Chase." Douglas was killed on one side, and Percy and his brother taken prisoners on the other, the victory being to the Scots. Douglas was buried at Melrose. Percy was soon ransomed.

At a great council in May, 1389, the king suddenly asked the duke of Gloucester—"How old am I?" His uncle replied, "Your highness is in your twenty-second year." Upon this Richard declared his opinion that he was old enough to manage his own affairs. There was no resistance, and he dismissed the chancellor and the treasurer. Gloucester retired into the country. Lancaster returned to England. The struggle of parties seemed to be at an end. A truce was concluded with France, which, several times renewed, lasted through this reign, and Scotland was included in the pacification. William of Wykeham was appointed chancellor, although he had been one of the council of 1388; and the duke of York, and the earl of Derby, although active in the proceedings of that year, regained their influence under the king.

In 1394, Richard went to Ireland with a large army. Four of the principal kings of Ireland came to Dublin, and submitted themselves to him without constraint. In the same year the "good queen Anne" died; and in 1396 the king resolved upon an intimate alliance with France, by seeking in marriage Isabella, the daughter of Charles VI., a child of eight years old. A magnificent embassy was sent to Paris, and the French court was willing to secure a pacification through this alliance. The marriage was celebrated at Calais, on the 4th of November.

In January, 1397, a parliament was called. On the 1st of February, the Commons desired a conference with the king's officers; when, amongst other matters, they asked for a bill for avoiding the extravagant expenses of the king's household. Richard was indignant, and demanded the name of the member who had introduced the bill, and thus dared to interfere with his prerogative. It was Sir Thomas Haxey, a clergyman. On the 3rd of February, the Commons came most humbly before the king, and declared that they only intended to request him to consider the matter himself, and make what regulations he should think proper. Two days afterwards a law was made, that whoever moved, or should move, the Commons of parliament, or any others, to make remedy or reformation of any kind appertaining to the king's person, rule, or royalty, should be held for a traitor. Under this ex-post-facto law, Haxey was condemned to die; but his life was spared, and he was subsequently pardoned.

With consummate duplicity, Richard, on the 10th of July, 1397, had the earl of Warwick to dine with him, and the same evening Warwick was arrested and sent to Tintagel Castle, in Cornwall. The archbishop of Canterbury was solicited to bring his brother, the earl of Arundel, to a conference with the king. The earl was seized at this conference, and was hurried away to Carisbrook Castle, Richard having promised, upon oath, that he should not be injured in person or property. Then the king went to Gloucester's castle of Plashy, and begged his uncle to ride with him to London. An ambush had been prepared for the duke, who was arrested on the road in the king's name. Gloucester was hurried to a barge in the Thames, and then into a ship, and the next night was in safe keeping at Calais. By constraint or artifice, Gloucester's nearest relatives were made to put their seals to an instrument appealing him, with Arundel and Warwick, of treason. On the 17th of September, Richard met his subservient parliament. The assembly, according to an anonymous authority, was surrounded by the king's troops. The Commons impeached the archbishop of Canterbury of high treason, and he was banished for life. The earl of Arundel was condemned, and beheaded. The earl of Warwick was condemned, but his life was spared. A writ was issued on the 21st of September to the earl-marshal, governor of Calais, commanding him to bring his prisoner, the duke of Gloucester, before the king in parliament. On the 24th a letter was read from the earl-marshal, who wrote that he could not produce the duke, for that he had died in the king's prison. No inquiry was made; no surprise expressed. Lancaster and York, his brothers—Derby, his nephew—appear to have yielded without resistance. Derby was created duke of Hereford; and Nottingham duke of Norfolk. The Commission granted to the duke of Gloucester and others, ten years before, was repealed by statute. The king gave a general pardon for all offences in consideration of a subsidy having been granted him for life; and swept away the small remaining power of the Lords and Commons, by nominating certain nobles and commoners to legislate upon "all petitions and matters contained in the same, as they shall think best by their good advice and discretion." Nothing further could be desired to make Richard the king absolute.

Hereford and Norfolk were the only two remaining of the lords appellant. Hereford made a statement by which Norfolk was seriously compromised, and Norfolk, in a solemn assembly before the king, called Henry of Lancaster a liar and false traitor. The dispute was referred to a Court of Chivalry. Hereford would not withdraw his statement. Norfolk persisted in his peremptory denial. Wager of battle could alone determine the quarrel; and the judgment of God was to be appealed to in the lists of Coventry. On the 16th of September, the king, surrounded by nobles, and guarded by thousands of men in harness, sat on an elevated stage. The two dukes entered the lists. But the king suddenly cast down his warder, and forbade them to fight that day. The dangerous combatants were each banished, Hereford for ten years, Norfolk for life. The popular demeanour of Hereford had won the hearts of the Londoners, and of the people generally. Thousands waited on him weeping when he rode out of London John of Gaunt, the duke of Lancaster, did not sur-

vive the banishment of his son more than three months. At his death, Richard seized upon the property of that powerful house; decreeing that the banishment of Hereford had rendered him incapable of succeeding by attorney to the estates of his father, and revoking the letters patent which had been granted to enable the son to claim livery of his inheritance should his father die during the period of his banishment. Richard now appears to have pursued the most reckless course of extravagance and injustice. The common people complained;—the nobles showed their displeasure by ominous avoidance of the regal pageantries.

At the beginning of the year 1399, Henry of Lancaster was at the court of France. He sought in marriage the widowed daughter of the duke de Berri; Mary de Bohun, the mother of Henry of Monmouth, and of five other children, being dead; and his pretensions were favourably received. The king of England grew jealous of his cousin's influence, and sent the earl of Salisbury to hinder the marriage, denouncing Henry as a traitor. The marriage was postponed. At this juncture the banished Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, arrived in Paris, disguised as a pilgrim-monk. He brought the intelligence that Richard was gone to Ireland, leaving nobles and commons alike discontented. The duke and the ex-prelate united their fortunes. They passed together into Brittany; hired three small vessels; and with no further aid than that of the son of the late earl of Arundel, and a few men-at-arms and servants, sailed from Vannes, and landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, on the 4th of July.

In the spring of 1399, Richard had suddenly determined to go to Ireland, to avenge the loss of the earl of March, who had been surprised and slain by a party of the natives. After a fruitless attempt to subjugate the Irish chieftain, MacMore, he was living at Dublin in great magnificence, when the news arrived that Henry of Lancaster was in England; the people in insurrection; towns and castles in the hands of the invader. A council was held, and the earl of Salisbury was despatched to raise the Welsh. He landed at Conway; and soon collected a considerable force. Richard, irresolute, remained eighteen days longer at Dublin. When the duke of York had knowledge of the landing of Henry at Ravenspur, he assembled the retainers of the crown, and raised a numerous force. But he found a general disaffection, instead of a willingness to oppose the duke of Lancaster. Three members of the committee of parliament, who had been most obnoxious to the people—the earl of Wiltshire, Bussy, and Green—fled to Bristol. York led his doubtful army westward. The road to London was open from the north. Lancaster, when he arrived at the capital, had sixty thousand followers. He marched rapidly into the west; and at Berkeley met the duke of York. The interview ended in the regent espousing his cause. Together they marched to Bristol, the castle of which was surrendered to the duke of York. The next morning the earl of Wiltshire, Bussy, and Green, were executed without a trial. York remained at Bristol. Henry marched on to Chester. Richard, meanwhile, had landed somewhere in Wales. But the troops which he brought with him quickly abandoned him. The army which the earl of Salisbury had raised, had dispersed, there being "no tidings of the king." With a few followers Richard wandered from castle to castle;

and at length found a resting-place at Conway. There he was secured by the earl of Northumberland, who took him as a prisoner to Flint Castle, where Lancaster came the next day.

The captive king and his enemy reached London on the 1st of September. As they went on the people shouted, "Long live the duke of Lancaster." Richard was lodged in the Tower. Henry had told a deputation of Londoners, who demanded the head of the king, that he should be judged by the parliament. Writs had been issued in Richard's name to summon a parliament, which met on the 30th of September, in Westminster Hall. The throne was empty. The duke of Lancaster sat in his place as a peer. On the previous day Richard had subscribed a deed of resignation of the crown. This was now read; and each member expressed aloud his acceptance of it, amidst the shouts of the multitude. The articles of impeachment—thirty-three in number—were next read, and the act of deposition was solemnly pronounced by eight commissioners. Henry then approached the throne, and laid claim to the realm of England, which "was on the point to be undone for default of government, and undoing of the good laws," because he was descended "by right line of the blood, coming from the good lord king Henry Third." Henry of Lancaster was then led by the archbishops of Canterbury and York to the royal chair of state, "all the people wonderfully shouting for joy."

The duke of Lancaster's eldest son, Henry of Monmouth, then eleven years old, was with Richard in Ireland, and was there knighted by the king. Humphrey, the only son of the duke of Gloucester, was also there. Upon the news of Henry's landing they were both shut up in the castle of Trym. Henry was released, to become prince of Wales. Humphrey died before he reached England. Eleanor Bohun, his desolate mother, sank under her accumulated sorrows, four days after her husband's avenger ascended the throne. At the time of Richard's deposition the next in the line of inheritance, as the grandson of Edward III., was Edmund Mortimer, the son of Roger, earl of March. When Roger Mortimer, in 1385, was declared presumptive heir to the throne, John of Gaunt asserted that his own son was the true heir, as descended from Edmund Crouchback, the eldest son of Henry III., who was set aside on account of his deformity. This claim would have stood Henry of Lancaster in little avail, had he not been known as a man of vigour and ability; at the head of a powerful army; supported by the chief nobles; the favourite of the people; whilst the earl of March was a child of ten years of age.

The Lords in parliament determined that Richard, late king of England, should be adjudged to perpetual imprisonment, in safe and secret ward. The lords who had appealed Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick of treason, lost the honours and the lands which Richard had bestowed on them. But they escaped all other punishment. Violent as this parliament was, it wisely sought to restrain future violence. It limited treason to the offences enumerated in the Act of Edward III. It forbade any delegation of the powers of parliament to a committee. It tried to restrain the quarrels of great nobles, by forbidding any person, except the king, to give liveries to his retainers. In less than three months, in the

beginning of January, a confederacy of nobles determined to attempt the restoration of Richard, and to drive Henry from power. Windsor castle was surprised, but the plot had become known to the vigilant king, and he was in London, levying an army. The conspirators marched to the west, proclaiming King Richard. At Cirencester, they were attacked in their quarters by the burghers; and the earls of Kent and Salisbury were seized and beheaded. The citizens of Bristol, in the same way, secured and executed lord Lumley and lord Despenser. Huntingdon was put to death by the tenants of the duke of Gloucester at Plashy. The popular attachment to Henry was thus signally manifested. There were a few executions under the legal judgment of the courts of law. Before the expiration of a month it was stated that the late king had died at Pontefract. The body was conveyed to London, and there shown, with the face exposed. The obsequies of the deposed king were performed in St. Paul's, Henry being present; and the corpse was subsequently interred at Langley.

For years Henry had to struggle against two popular beliefs. The first, and the most natural, was, that he had put Richard to death. The other, the most embarrassing to Henry, was, that Richard had escaped from Pontefract, and was living in Scotland. For several years there were proclamations against those who spread this rumour, and some were punished by death for the offence. This belief gradually passed away from the popular mind.

During the latter years of the reign of Richard, however distasteful his rule might have been in England, there was a strong attachment to him in Wales. The revolution of 1399 was obnoxious to the Welsh borderers, and various strong measures were enacted in consequence of their ravages in the countries joining upon the marches of Wales. The country was soon in insurrection, and the Welsh found a leader in Owen Glendower, one of the most remarkable men of the period. This great-grandson of the famous Llewellyn was educated at one of the Inns of Court in London, and possessed an amount of knowledge which made him regarded as a necromancer by his simple countrymen. His property was contiguous to that of Lord Grey de Ruthyn; and the Anglo-Norman baron claimed and seized some portion of it. Glendower petitioned the parliament of 1400 for redress. His petition was dismissed by the peers. He took arms; made lord Grey his prisoner; and wasted his barony. The private feud became a national revolt. Owen Glendower, by the general voice of the people, was declared prince of Wales. Before the rebellion had attained any very extensive organisation, Harry Percy (Hotspur) and Prince Henry, then in his fourteenth year, were engaged in different parts of the country against the insurgents. In 1402, Sir Edmund Mortimer, uncle to the young earl of March, went against Glendower; and, his army being utterly routed in Radnorshire, he was taken prisoner. The king now determined to go in person, "to check the insolencies and malice of Owen Glendower and other rebels." His expedition was fruitless. The sagacious Welshman defied all the power of England in his mountain fastnesses. In the succeeding winter his prisoner, Edmund Mortimer, became his friend and ally. Henry had refused to ransom Mortimer, who consoled himself by marrying the great Welsh chieftain's daughter.

Henry IV. came to the throne with almost the unanimous support of the

ecclesiastical hierarchy. Archbishop Arundel was his great upholder; and this primate made Henry his instrument for the destruction of those who had assailed the corruptions of the Church. Henry's father had been a supporter of Wycliffe. The son of John of Gaunt was to be the persecutor of Wycliffe's followers. In the first year of his reign was passed the statute "De heretico comburendo," by which heretics were to be burnt upon the sole sentence of the ecclesiastical courts. The first victim was William Salter, a London clergyman, who was burnt on the 12th of February, 1401. In 1410 the Commons prayed Henry that the statute against the Lollards might be repealed, or even mitigated. He replied, that he wished one more severe had been passed; and to show how practical was his intolerance, he immediately signed a warrant for the burning of John Badby, a Lollard. The Commons deeply resented the temper of the king, and refused to grant a subsidy to be levied yearly without their renewed assent.

France and Scotland refused to recognise Henry as the sovereign of England. Their truces, they maintained, were with Richard, and not with an usurper. With France the king was anxiously desirous of peace. Isabella was conducted back to Calais with ceremonies almost as magnificent as those which had attended her marriage five years before. But Henry, straitened in his finances, did not send back with her the dower which Richard had received. The duke of Orleans was for commencing hostilities against Henry. The duke of Burgundy was more cautious. He attacked Bordeaux, and other parts of Gascony, which were still retained by the English government. But the people clung to the English rule. In 1400, Henry invaded Scotland. He marched to Edinburgh; and left the usual mark of feudal royalty by burning the city. In 1402, the Scots invaded England, whilst Henry was chasing Glendower in the land of the ancient Britons. The Scottish earl of March, who had abjured his allegiance to his own sovereign, had defeated the invading Scots at Hepburn-moor. The earl of Douglas came with a great army to revenge the loss. They advanced beyond the Tyne, devastating and plundering with more than usual fierceness and rapacity. But the earl of Northumberland, his son Harry Percy, and the earl of March, had collected a large force in their rear, and awaited their return near Wooller. On Holyrood-day, the 14th of September, the Scots took up a strong position on Homildon-hill. The English men-at-arms in this battle drew not a sword. The victory was won by the terrible archers alone. Douglas and many nobles and knights were made prisoners; amongst whom was Murdoc Stewart, the son and heir of the duke of Albany, the regent of Scotland.

The Percies had incurred great expenses in their resistance to the Scots; and the government of Henry had been unable to reimburse them. They probably saw in Henry's financial embarrassments a symptom of the weakness of his government, and believed that the revolt of Glendower would enable them, in conjunction with him, to establish a government in which they should have a more supreme power than under the rule of the politic Lancaster. They managed their plans with such caution, that whilst the king was marching towards the north, with an army, to aid them against the Scots, Hotspur was marching through Lancashire and Cheshire, proclaiming that Richard

was alive. At Burton-upon-Trent, Henry heard the news of the revolt. The prince of Wales was on the Welsh borders, and joined his forces to those of his father before the army of Henry entered Shrewsbury, on the 20th of July. Hotspur had been joined by Douglas and his Scots; and by his uncle, the earl of Worcester, with a body of Cheshire archers. Glendower was on his march from Carmarthenshire; but the rapid movement of Henry to the west brought the royal troops in the presence of the northern army before the Welsh chieftain could unite his forces with those of his confederates. Under the walls of Shrewsbury lay the insurgents. They retired a short distance to Hateley Field, about three miles from Shrewsbury. This is a plain of no large extent, with a gentle range of hills rising towards the Welsh border. The Northumberland archers, who had done such terrible execution at Homildon-hill, now drew their bowstrings against their English brothers. The troops of Henry recoiled before their slaughtering arrows, and before the charge which Percy and Douglas led. The prince of Wales was wounded by an arrow in the face; but the valiant youth continued to fight where the battle was strongest. For three hours the field was contested with obstinacy. Hotspur at length fell. His death struck a panic terror into the hearts of his brave followers. The struggling Welsh, who had joined the battle, fled to the woods and hills. The gallant Douglas was taken prisoner, and few or none of his Scots escaped alive. On that Hateley Field, where about fourteen thousand men were engaged on each side, one half were killed or wounded. The earl of Worcester, the baron of Kenderton, and Sir Richard Vernon, were amongst the prisoners delivered to the king. They were executed as traitors at the market-cross of Shrewsbury. The earl of Northumberland was marching his retainers through Durham when he received the news of the result of the battle. He hurried back to his castle of Warkworth, and disbanded his men. The earl was commanded to appear before the king at York. Henry was too politic to be unnecessarily severe; and the elder Percy escaped, even without a forfeiture.

In 1404, Glendower had so successfully asserted his power that the French government concluded a treaty with him as "Owen, prince of Wales." On the 11th of March, 1405, Henry of Monmouth obtained a considerable victory over the Welsh at Grosmont. But this success had no decisive result. The king was again about to enter the principality with a large force, when a new revolt broke out in the north of England. The earl of Northumberland, the earl of Nottingham, lord Bardolph, and Scrope, archbishop of York, confederated to place the earl of March on the throne. The earl of Westmoreland entrapped two of the chief of the northern confederates into his hands—Scrope and Nottingham. The archbishop and the earl were beheaded. Northumberland and Bardolph escaped to Scotland. The execution of the archbishop was an offence against the Church, and the pope issued a temporary sentence of excommunication against all who had been concerned in his death. That sentence was afterwards withdrawn. After the execution of Scrope and Nottingham, Henry successfully besieged Prudhoe and Warkworth, the castles of the earl of Northumberland; and took Berwick, which had been delivered by Northumberland to the Scots. The unhappy Percy and Lord Bardolph

wandered about for two years, endeavouring to organise resistance to Henry's consolidating power. In 1407 there was some discontent in England, through the king's demand for subsidies; and Percy and Bardolph then ventured into Northumberland, raised their tenantry, and risked a battle with the sheriff of Yorkshire, Sir Thomas Rokeby, at Bramham Moor, near Tadcaster. Northumberland closed his unhappy career by falling in battle; and Bardolph, after being taken prisoner, died of his wounds.

During the reign of the insane king, Charles VI., the kingdom of France was a prey to the rival factions of the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy. In 1407 Orleans, the brother of the king, was murdered by his cousin of Burgundy, who justified the deed, and became master of the state. The young duke of Orleans, who had been married to Isabella, the widow of Richard II., who died in 1409, took as a second wife the daughter of the count of Armagnac. This count became the chief of the Orleanists, who thenceforward were called the Armagnacs. The young duke of Orleans demanded justice for the death of his father. The duke of Burgundy solicited aid from the king of England, who sent him eight hundred men-at-arms and a thousand bowmen. This assistance turned the scale in favour of Burgundy. But in 1412 the Armagnacs offered better terms to Henry, by agreeing to acknowledge him as duke of Aquitaine. The two factions at last agreed upon a peace. But Henry sent an army into Normandy under his second son, the duke of Clarence, who ravaged Maine and Anjou, and finally retired to Gascony, having received a large payment as the cost of his expedition.

Henry IV. died on the 12th of March, 1413, in his forty-seventh year.

Henry of Monmouth appears to have had considerable authority during the life-time of his father. Henry IV. had been for some time in failing health, and the son was naturally at hand to assist in the public service. In 1410 he was made captain of Calais, and president of the council. He was proclaimed king on the 21st of March, 1413, and was crowned at Westminster on the 9th of April, being then in the twenty-fifth year of his age. A parliament having been summoned by writ, met at Westminster on the 15th of May. The king met his Lords and Commons with an aspect of love and conciliation. He restored the son of Henry Percy to his family inheritance, and he liberated the earl of March from prison.

In the first year of Henry V. the prelates resolved to take measures against one of the most powerful supporters of the Lollards, Sir John Oldcastle, called lord Cobham. He had been the private friend of the king when prince of Wales, and Henry tried to induce him to recant. Oldcastle was inflexible; and the king then caused him to be arrested. On the 25th of September the undaunted knight was brought before the synod, and there pleaded his cause with vigour and ability. He was condemned as a heretic, and was handed over to the secular power. The king granted his ancient friend a respite of fifty days from the fiery penalty which awaited him; and during that period Oldcastle escaped from his prison in the Tower. Rumours now went forth of a fearful plot to destroy all religion and law in England; and in the overthrow of king, lords, and clergy, to make all property in common. It was stated that in the fields of St. Giles's twenty-five thou-

sand insurgents were to meet, under the command of Sir John Oldcastle. At midnight on the 7th of January, 1414, the king went forth from the city gates with a mighty array, to encounter this army of desperate rebels. He found about eighty persons. Others were surprised near Hornsey. Many of these unfortunate people were immediately executed; and Sir Roger Acton, a friend of Oldcastle, also suffered on the 10th of February. Within a few months a pardon was proclaimed to all the Lollards for the conspiracy, excepting Oldcastle and eleven others. Still prosecutions went on; and it is remarkable that the king pardoned many so prosecuted after they had been convicted. It was three years before the vengeance of the Church fell on Oldcastle. He was taken in 1418, while Henry was in France; and was burnt, under the declaration of the archbishop and his provincial synod that he was an incorrigible heretic.

Within a year from his accession Henry suddenly put in a claim to the crown of France, in renewal of the old claim of Edward III. Upon the rejection of this claim the king of England made the most unreasonable demands, under the threat that if they were not acceded to he would take arms to enforce his right to that crown. The French government made great concessions, and agreed to marry Catherine, the youngest daughter of Charles VI., to Henry, with a large dower. The English king, however, was not satisfied, and on the 16th of April, 1415, he announced at a great council his determination to recover "his inheritance."

On the 18th of June Henry set out from Westminster, having appointed his brother, the duke of Bedford, to be lieutenant of the kingdom during his absence. Whilst the king was at Southampton, before starting, a conspiracy against him was discovered, which, according to some accounts, was instigated by the French court. The conspirators were, the king's cousin, Richard, earl of Cambridge, brother to the duke of York (Rutland); lord Scrope, who was Henry's familiar friend; and Sir Thomas Grey of Heton. A jury was summoned for their trial by the sheriff of Southampton, who found Cambridge and Grey guilty of treason, and Scrope of having concealed the knowledge of their purposes. Cambridge and Scrope claimed to be tried by their peers. By the lords then at Southampton, who formed a court for their trial, they were convicted; and they suffered death on the 5th of August. Grey had been previously executed.

The truce with France expired on the 2nd of August. On the 13th Henry landed without resistance at Harfleur, and on the 17th moved to the siege of the town. We now hear of guns as well as of engines in an English siege. Two attempts were made to undermine the town of Harfleur; but there were counter-mines; and the miners met and fought underground. The siege went on with various fortune; but the besieged showed no symptom of surrender. Disease now began to make frightful ravages in the English camp. On the 15th of September died Richard Courtenay, bishop of Norwich; and on the 18th the earl of Suffolk. The garrison, however, agreed to surrender on the 22nd of September, if they were not previously relieved. No relief came, and Harfleur was yielded up on that 22nd of September, with great ceremony. The siege had lasted thirty-six days. On the 23rd, Henry entered the town, and went barefoot to the church of St. Martin, to offer a solemn thanksgiving for his success.

The bulk of the inhabitants—women, children, and poor—were compelled to depart, but without any indignity; and the principal burghers, with many knights and gentlemen, were allowed to leave the place, making oath to surrender themselves at Calais in the following November. On the 5th of October, the king held a council. He was strongly urged to return, with the remnant of his force, to England by sea. The success at Harfleur had been bought at a terrible cost. Besides a large number killed in the siege, a much greater number of the army had died of dysentery in that district of overflowing marshes. Five thousand more were so sick that they were unable to proceed. Many had deserted. The king made the desperate resolve of marching to Calais. On the 8th of October the little army went forth from Harfleur, with eight days' provisions. Henry published a proclamation, "that no one, under pain of death, should burn, lay waste, or take anything, excepting victuals and necessaries." The line of march was, at no great distance from the coast, towards the Somme. On Sunday, the 13th, they reached Abbeville. The bridges over the Somme were all destroyed, and the broad marshes added to the difficulty of finding a ford. The slender stock of provisions was now becoming exhausted. After a march of seven days they passed Amiens, and slept that night at the village of Boves. On the 17th of October they reached a plain near Corby. Here the king executed a soldier who had stolen the pix out of a church. Here, too, he gave the famous order that each archer should provide himself with a stake, sharpened at each end, to plant in the ground when about to be attacked by cavalry. On the 18th, a ford was discovered near Neale, and, with great difficulty and danger, the whole army crossed.

On the 10th of September the king of France took the Oriflamme at St. Denis, and departed for Normandy. He was soon surrounded by princes and great lords, with their men-at-arms. As Henry marched onward by Peronne the roads were found trodden "as if the French had gone before him in many thousands." On the 24th the English army arrived at Blangy, in perfect discipline. A branch of the Canche, the Ternoise, was here crossed without difficulty. The French army was on the rising ground about a league distant. From Blangy there is a gentle ascent towards the village of Maisoncelles. The plain of Agincourt is a considerable tableland about a mile from Maisoncelles. The route to Calais lay through this plain. The village of Agincourt is covered by a wood towards the plain. Opposite Agincourt is another village, Tramecourt, also covered by a wood. At dawn on the 25th of October, king Henry drew up his men upon the open ground near Maisoncelles. His little band was formed in one line, the men-at-arms in the centre, with wings on the left and right, the archers being posted between the wings, with their stakes fixed before them. A party that went into the village of Agincourt found no armed men there. Another party of archers were concealed in the village of Tramecourt. The French army was in three lines, completely covering the route to Calais, between the two woods of Agincourt and Tramecourt. The advanced guard of about eight thousand knights and esquires, and five thousand five hundred archers and cross-bow men, was composed of the greater part of the French nobility. The main body was crowded in

prodigious numbers, the lines, according to the lowest estimate, being twenty men in depth. The most probable estimate of the French numbers is that they were ten times as many as the English. The two armies passed several hours without a movement on either side. At length the English began to advance. The archers went boldly on to meet the mailed chivalry. Onward rushed the thousands of horsemen to break the line of the hardy yeomen. The sharpened stakes were planted in the earth; and the archers shrank not from the charge. The arrows again flew; and the horses, becoming unmanageable from their wounds, the knights were driven back upon the van, which they threw into confusion. The king now advanced with his main body. A deadly conflict ensued. The archers threw away their bows, and fought with sword and bill. The second French line was soon reached; and here again the contest became more a slaughter than a battle. The enormous numbers of the French were the chief cause of their destruction. Their heavy armour was an incumbrance instead of a defence. The rear division, after the overthrow of the first and second division, took to flight. In three hours this terrible fight was over. Few were left alive for ransom. In a momentary alarm Henry ordered a massacre of all the prisoners. He stopped the carnage when he found that the danger was imaginary. On the part of the English, the duke of York and the earl of Oxford were slain, with some hundreds of inferior degree. Of the chivalry of France, the flower perished. Seven of the princes of the blood and eight thousand gentlemen of France fell in that field of carnage. Henry slept on the night of the 25th of October at Maisoncelles. The next day, he, with the duke of Orleans and many other noble prisoners, went his unmolested way to Calais.

CHAPTER X.

The great victory of Agincourt was publicly known in London on the 29th of October. Henry remained at Calais till the 17th November. When the king's ship sailed into the port of Dover, the people rushed into the sea, and bore their hero to the shore. He entered London in solemn procession on the 23rd of November.

The war was carried on in Normandy; and the French made descents on the English shores of the Channel. Harfleur was besieged in June, 1416; and the English garrison was reduced to the greatest distress, when it was relieved from blockade by the capture of the large carracks and other vessels that kept the mouth of the Seine. Meanwhile Henry had secured the alliance of the duke of Burgundy. The feuds of the Burgundians and the Armagnacs were as violent as ever, and were accompanied by the most intolerable oppression of the people by the reigning faction under the constable, Armagnac. The duke of Orleans, the real head of this party, was shut up in the castle of Pontefract, solacing his long captivity in England by the composition of verses which entitle him to rank amongst the best French poets of his age. The insane king passed his life in fatuous indif-

forence to all around him; and the court of the queen exhibited a licentious profusion, the more disgusting from its contrast with the universal wretchedness.

On the 23rd of July, 1417, the king of England again embarked with a mighty army at Southampton. It was more numerous and more powerfully equipped than the force which, two years before, had landed in Normandy; consisting of forty thousand men, with miners and ordnance. At this crisis, the duke of Burgundy was marching upon Paris, resolved upon the extermination of the faction which held the government. Henry landed at Tonque, near Harfleur; and shortly after went on to besiege Caen, which city was taken by assault on the 4th of September. Many other fortresses in Normandy speedily submitted; and Henry went into winter quarters. The French government, distracted with the movements of the duke of Burgundy, made no effectual resistance to the English. Henry continued to secure one fortress after another; and, holding his court at Caen, confiscated the estates of Norman lords, and bestowed them upon his English followers.

The summer of 1418 was a terrible season for France. The duke of Burgundy had retreated from before Paris in the previous year; for his partisans in the city had been expelled, and the count of Armagnac had the young dauphin, Charles, in his hands, as well as the unhappy king. The queen had been deprived of her power, as regent, and had been sent as a prisoner to Tours. Suddenly the duke of Burgundy appeared before Tours; delivered the queen from captivity; and received from her the appointment of governor-general of the kingdom. At the end of May there was a fearful massacre of the Armagnacs by an infuriated Paris mob; and many of them were held as prisoners. On the 12th of June, there was a cry that the terrible duke was at the gates; but the people shouted for Burgundy; and, breaking open the prisons and private houses where the Armagnacs were confined, massacred fifteen hundred victims in one morning. Amongst them was the count of Armagnac. On the 14th of July the queen and the duke of Burgundy entered Paris in triumph.

The rule of Henry in Lower Normandy, which he had nearly conquered, was mild and conciliating. He abolished the odious tax on salt, and set a limit to illegal exactions. But the people of Rouen, into which city large numbers of armed men had been thrown under the command of chiefs who had retired before Henry, resolved to resist the progress of the invader. The English invested the city on the 30th of June. Henry set about the reduction of the place upon a system far more efficacious than any sudden assault. On the land side he dug deep ditches; and he fortified his lines with towers and artillery. The land approach was completely blockaded. The islands of the Seine above Rouen were filled by him with troops. The stream was barricaded with iron chains; and immediately above the town he formed a bridge of boats manned with archers. He soon compelled the surrender of the castle on the hill of St. Catherine. Below Rouen he commanded the navigation of the Seine by his armed vessels; and the mouth of the river was guarded by a powerful fleet. For twenty weeks the devoted people beheld the gradual approach of famine. The population consisted of a hundred and fifty thousand souls. At last

the garrison surrendered on the 19th of January, 1419, and the soldiers marched forth without arms, engaging not to serve against the king for one year.

There were two authorities in France, who refused to unite in repulsing their common enemy. The dauphin held a court and parliament at Poitiers; the duke of Burgundy ruled at Paris. In the mean time Henry continued to advance towards the capital. A truce was at length concluded by him with the duke of Burgundy; and it was agreed that the king of France and the king of England should have a meeting. In July, 1419, the queen, the princess Katherine, and the duke of Burgundy, came, without the king, to Meulan, on the Seine; and here Henry met them, with great state on either side. Although the English king professed himself anxious for an alliance with a lady so fair and gracious as the princess, he demanded the complete execution of the treaty of Bretigny. The negotiations were again broken off. The dauphin and the duke of Burgundy now made some show of reconciliation; and within a week after the conference at Meulan, they agreed to terms of union. With the same boldness as he displayed when met by divided councils, Henry marched on towards Paris.

On the 23rd of July, the king, the queen, and the duke of Burgundy went to the capital, which was completely undefended. On the 29th, news came that the English had taken Pontoise. The court removed from Paris, to which the troops of Henry were rapidly approaching. The dauphin solicited another interview with the duke of Burgundy, on matters of importance to the welfare of the kingdom. The place appointed was the bridge of Montereau. The dauphin was in a sort of lodge in the centre of the bridge when the duke advanced. They had each taken oaths pledging the safety of the other. The duke of Burgundy had left his attendants a little behind him; and as he bent his knee to the dauphin, he was struck down and quickly murdered; the servants of the duke being immediately surrounded by a large body of armed men. The dauphin gave out that the duke offered insult and violence to him; but there can be no doubt that the treacherous murder was premeditated, and the mode of accomplishment resolved upon. The heir of the crown of France was at this time seventeen years of age.

Philip, the son of the murdered duke of Burgundy, was married to a daughter of the king of France. He, immediately on the death of his father, sought an alliance with Henry of England. The terms of a treaty were arranged; which was finally concluded at Troyes, on the 21st of May, 1420. The king of England was to receive the hand of the Princess Katherine; to be immediately regent of the kingdom; and to be recognised as successor to the crown on the death of Charles VI. When the terms of the treaty were announced to the parliament and other authorities of Paris, the highest eulogium was pronounced upon the king of England as a lover of peace and justice, a protector of the poor, a defender of the Church. The people were encouraged by these statements to hope for some happy termination of their miseries. The marriage of Henry with the princess of France was celebrated at Troyes, on the 2nd of June.

The bridal month of Henry and his fair queen was passed in besieging Sens and Montereau, and Villeneuve. When these were taken, Melun was

besieged for four months. After its surrender on the 18th of November, the kings of France and England made a triumphant entry into Paris; and the three estates of the kingdom gave a solemn approval of the treaty of Troyes. At the beginning of 1421 King Henry held a parliament at Rouen. Immediately after, Henry and his queen went to England; and on the 23rd of February, Katherine was crowned at Westminster.

The peace of Troyes was approved by the English parliament, and the Commons granted a subsidy to continue the war. But the first statute of this parliament shows that the laurels which Henry acquired were obtained at the price of the depopulation of the country; and, even in this season of popular excitement, there was a petition complaining of the intolerable burden of the war.

The king and his queen were making a progress through the kingdom, and had arrived at York, when news came which speedily called back Henry to France. He had left his brother, the duke of Clarence, as his lieutenant in Normandy. Anjou, which recognised the authority of the dauphin, was invaded by the duke; and at Beaujé, on the 22nd of March, he was surprised in his work of wasting the country by a great force of Anjevins, aided by several thousand Scottish auxiliaries under the earl of Buchan, the second son of the regent of Scotland. The duke was slain; and the greater number of his vanguard were killed or taken prisoners. The English archers, however, came up, and drove the French and Scots from the field. Henry set sail from Dover, and landed at Calais on the 12th of June. He was accompanied by the young king of Scotland, who had been sixteen years a captive in Windsor Castle. Many Scottish knights also joined Henry, whose force consisted of four thousand men-at-arms, and twenty-four thousand archers.

After several minor successes, King Henry, at the earnest entreaty of the people of Paris, undertook the siege of the city of Meaux, about thirty miles from the capital. The commander of the place, known as the Bastard of Vaurus, was a devoted adherent of the count of Armagnac, in revenge for whose death he carried on a partisan warfare with a ferocity of which even those times of bloodshed furnished few examples. Henry undertook to subdue this brigand. But Meaux was a place of remarkable strength; and it was seven months before it was wholly taken. In this siege Henry lost several of his best captains, amongst whom were the earl of Worcester and lord Clifford; and his men were swept away by an epidemic sickness. At last the garrison was starved out; and the commander was decapitated. By the surrender of Meaux the English became masters of the greater part of France to the north of the Loire. The queen of Henry had borne him a son, and she came back to France, with her infant, to join her husband in Paris. There was a short season of festivity at the Whitsuntide of 1422; and then the king set out to raise the siege of Caen. He had for some time been labouring under a disease, which he bore up against with the same iron will that made him front every danger and difficulty of warfare. At Corbeil he became too ill to proceed; and his brother, the duke of Bedford, took the command of the army, in concert with the duke of Burgundy. Henry was carried back on a litter to the Bois de Vincennes. It soon became evident that his malady, what-

ever it might be, was beyond the medical skill of those days to arrest or cure. The English who surrounded the bed of the dying man saw the same composure which he had always shown in the battle-field. He commended his child to the care of his brother, the duke of Bedford, desiring the earl of Warwick to be his tutor. His brother of Gloucester he wished to be guardian of England. He advised that the regency of France should be offered to the duke of Burgundy; but in the event of his refusal to the duke of Bedford. Above all, he urged that no peace should be concluded with the dauphin, unless Normandy were ceded in absolute sovereignty to the English crown.

Henry V. died on the 31st of August, 1422, in the tenth year of his reign, the thirty-fourth of his age. The devoted attachment to him of the English in France was expressed in funeral solemnities more than usually significant of real sorrow. A fleet waited to convey the body and the mourners to Dover, and all that remained of the warrior and statesman was finally deposited in Westminster Abbey.

Henry V. was undoubtedly a prince of eminent talents, with a zealous though erring sense of religious obligation. His negotiations show that his real policy towards France was to recover what had been lost after the treaty of Bretigny; and that his demand of the French crown would have been soon abandoned had not the distractions of France offered an irresistible temptation to his enthusiastic ambition. His bravery, fortitude, and perseverance won the admiration of the English people; and his career, though misdirected by the lust of conquest, was not without its national benefit. From his time there was no dream in Europe that the English might be subjugated.

When the death of Henry V. became known in London, some of the leading peers assembled, and issued writs for a new parliament. Gloucester claimed to be regent according to the desire of his brother; but the lords resisted that claim, saying that the king could not grant governance of the land to any person except while he lived; and Gloucester was only allowed to be chief of the council, in the absence of the duke of Bedford, with the name of protector and defender.

In less than two months after the death of Henry V., Charles VI., king of France, also died. At the funeral solemnities at St. Denis, the herald cried aloud, "Long life to Henry, king of France and England, our sovereign lord." There were now two kings in France—an infant in Paris, with a regent who governed north of the Loire; and the dauphin, alike the object of party hatred and party adulation, who was crowned at Poitiers as Charles VII.; and who ruled or influenced most of the provinces south of the Loire. Brittany at first remained neutral in this great quarrel. Burgundy was with the English.

The more important of the early contests between the regent Bedford, and Charles VII., were the battle of Crevant, in 1423, where the earl of Salisbury signally defeated the earl of Buchan, commanding an allied army of French and Scots; and the battle of Verneuil, where Bedford utterly routed the French army. The duke of Bedford married a sister of the duke of Burgundy; and he negotiated a marriage between another sister of that duke, and the duke of Brittany. But these friendships were soon

endangered by the rash passions of the duke of Gloucester. Jacqueline of Hainault was the sovereign lady of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Hainault. She was first married to the eldest son of Charles VI. of France, who died whilst dauphin; and she was then wedded to the duke of Brabant, kinsman to the duke of Burgundy. Eloping from her husband she went to England; and obtaining a divorce from the anti-pope married the duke of Gloucester, who claimed her large territorial possessions, and landed five thousand men at Calais to support his claim. Hainault became the seat of a new war. The dukes of Burgundy and Bedford endeavoured to reconcile the disputants; but Gloucester was obstinate, and bitterly quarrelled with Burgundy. In spite of the joint remonstrances of Bedford at Paris, and the parliament in England, he led an army into Holland; and the English in France began to take the side of their rash countryman. The question was finally settled by the pope declaring the marriage of Gloucester void; and he eventually consoled himself by marrying Eleanor Cobham, a lady of humble rank and spotted reputation. From that time, the duke of Burgundy cooled towards the English alliance. Gloucester, when he returned to England, engaged in a fierce quarrel with his uncle, Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, and chancellor, who was one of the illegitimate brothers of Henry IV. On an October night of 1426, Gloucester sent for the mayor of London, and directed him to have the city strictly watched. The next morning Beaufort came from his palace in Southwark, with archers and men-at-arms, and assaulted by shot and missiles the gate of London-bridge, which was closed against him. The citizens were supporters of Gloucester. In the dread of civil war, the duke of Bedford came over to England; and a parliament was held at Leicester, where the members were ordered to appear without arms. Gloucester exhibited articles of accusation against the bishop, the principal of which were, that he wanted to seize the young king's person, and that he sought to kill the protector and excite a rebellion. A reconciliation was enforced by arbitrators. Beaufort resigned the chancellorship, and went abroad. The pope bestowed on him the red hat.

In accordance with the will of his dying father, the boy Henry, when six years old, was placed under the tutelage of the earl of Warwick. This companion in arms of Henry V. was fitted to train his son to all knightly qualities, and thus to form a character the very opposite to that of Henry VI. His appointment as tutor to the king was made under the authority of the Council; and he was to instruct his pupil in all things worthy to be known, nurturing him in the love and fear of his Creator, and in hatred of all vice. Warwick held this office till the king was sixteen; and he applied to the Council for powers, which were granted, to hold the pupil under the strictest discipline, even after he had been crowned king in 1429.

In 1427, the forces of the duke of Bedford sustained a severe defeat, and were compelled to raise the siege of Montargis. But the cause of Charles VII. was little advanced by this partial good fortune. His adherents were quarrelling amongst themselves. Many of the nobles who had supported him now deserted a prince whose treasurer declared he had only four crowns in his coffer. Nearly all the fortresses on the right bank of

the Loire had been surrendered without defence. The people were enduring famine and disease. The English were approaching to besiege Orleans. If that city fell, the provinces beyond the Loire would be open to them. The inhabitants prepared for its defence with unwonted zeal. They destroyed their suburbs, that their enemy might have no lodgment; and they erected strong forts, particularly that of the Tournelles, which, defending the bridge, secured the communication of the city with the left bank of the Loire. On the 12th of September, 1428, the earl of Salisbury pitched his camp to the south of Orleans, and within a week commenced an attack upon the bulwark of the Tournelles, which was finally taken. The inhabitants then raised another bulwark on an isle of the river, and cannonaded the English camp. Dunois and La Hire, the bravest of the French chivalry, arrived with reinforcements. The English lost their best commander, Salisbury. The duke of Suffolk now succeeded to the command; and the siege was pursued with a perseverance as remarkable as the defence. The great extent of Orleans prevented its complete blockade; and supplies were, from time to time, thrown in for the relief of the besieged. Reinforcements, too, continued to arrive. To meet the necessities of the besieging army, the duke of Bedford had dispatched an immense convoy with provisions from Paris. It was determined to cut off this supply. The convoy, under the command of Sir John Fastolf, was attacked, on the 12th of February, 1429, by a detachment from the garrison of Orleans, and by a body of French and Scots commanded by the count of Clermont. The attack was ill-devised; and was commenced without a proper concert amongst the French leaders. Their force of eight thousand men was defeated by fifteen hundred English. This was called the battle of Herrings, vast quantities of this lenten food forming part of the supplies.

The line of English forts round Orleans was gradually extending, and the fall of the city seemed inevitable. Bedford and Burgundy quarrelled about the expected prey, and Burgundy withdrew his troops, and left the English to continue the siege alone.

In the hamlet of Domrémy, near Vaucouleurs, dwelt a little cultivator, named Jacques d'Arc, with his wife Isabel. They had a daughter, Joan, who was remarkable for her early piety. Her talents were considerable; but she had received no education. Joan's enthusiastic nature was stimulated by the united impulses of religion and patriotism; and in her solitary meditations she began to see visions and to hear voices. From time to time she told what she had seen and heard. "My voices have instructed me"—"My voices have commanded me," were her expressions. Before 1429, Joan was entirely persuaded that she had a power given her to restore the kingdom to Charles VII. Her pretensions were at last listened to by some of her neighbours, and, escorted by two gentlemen, she set off for the court. She forwarded a letter, which she dictated, to Charles, and at length received permission to proceed to Chinon. Here she arrived after eleven days' travel. Her fame had gone before her. At last she overcame the difficulties of approaching the king. From that moment when she publicly announced her mission at the court of Charles, many things which she most probably did through her own shrewd sense

were accounted miraculous. Every ostensible precaution, however, appears to have been taken to prevent imposture. Her honest life was fully proved; and in the conviction of her sanctity, learned doctors, prudent counsellors, and bold warriors, agreed that the Maid should be confided in. A suit of armour was prepared for her; and she indicated where a sword could be found, behind the altar of a church, at Fierbois. At the head of a large force, she set out for Orleans, having authority for its command over the best knights of France.

An hour after sunset on the 29th of April, Jeanne d'Arc rode into Orleans mounted on a white horse, her standard, on which was a figure of the Redeemer, being borne before her. The next day a herald from the Maid presented himself at the English camp. Another herald, from the commander of the French, declared that if the messenger of Joan received any harm, it should be visited upon the English prisoners. The soldiers of Suffolk and Talbot looked on in terror and amazement, when, on a tower facing the Tournelles, a form appeared in shining armour, and bade them depart if they would avoid misery and shame. William Glasdale, the commander of the Tournelles, reviled the maiden, and told her to go back to her cows. "Your men will be driven to retreat," she exclaimed, "but you will not live to fly with them." The French waited for succours from other garrisons, before they attempted any great operations against the besiegers. When these succours were at hand, Joan rode forth with her banner, at the head of the French knights and soldiers, followed by the people of the town. The besiegers looked on with wonder; but there was no resistance. When she returned at night, she threw herself exhausted on a bed. Awakened by a noise, she cried out, "My arms! my horse!" She rushed into the street, mounted with her banner, and rode alone to the spot where she heard the clamour. A rash sortie had been made; and the assailants were driven back. When they saw the white horse and the banner of the Maid, they shouted for joy, and followed her out of the gate into the besiegers' lines. After an engagement of three hours, the English fort was taken and set on fire. Joan had fought with the courage and address of the most accomplished knight. The terror of the English after this sortie from the Burgundy gate became more universal. The next day the Maid and the chiefs crossed the Loire in a boat, and led an attack upon a fortification on the left bank. Joan was slightly wounded, and passed the night in the field. When she returned into Orleans, she told the chiefs that she had much to do on the morrow. Without any concert with the French leaders she rose early in the morning, and went forth with a tumultuous crowd to the Burgundy gate. It was shut against her egress. The governor was compelled to open it, and she rode out, followed by soldiers and a great multitude. Their counsel being thus rejected, the French knights, with their men-at-arms, reluctantly followed. But their prudence was soon laid aside in the din of battle. The river had been crossed by Joan, and she had commenced an assault on the Tournelles, the great fort held to be impregnable. The artillery from its walls thinned the ranks of the assailants; but the wonderful Maid was always ready with her rallying cry. She was the first to mount the rampart by a ladder. An arrow struck her, and she fell into

the ditch. She was carried off; and after a few natural tears drew the shaft out of her shoulder, and knelt in prayer. The attack had lasted four hours, and nothing had been gained. The retreat was sounded. Joan implored Dunois not to move. Her standard-bearer had remained near the spot whence the Maid was borne away. The lord of Daubon, who was against a retreat, took the standard, and with another, descended into the ditch; and waving the well-known sign of victory, the French rallied round him. Seeing what was taking place, Joan went forward to claim her standard. The English, who had seen her borne off wounded, felt a new alarm. The French advanced again to the attack of the fort. From the other bank the people of Orleans were storming the Tournelles. The English were now between two assaults. Thus surrounded, the soldiers, with Glasdale, their commander, were retreating into the main defence upon a wooden bridge, when a cannon-ball struck it, and the commander and his men fell into the stream, and were drowned. The prophetic words of the Maid, when Glasdale reviled her, were accomplished. There was now no chance of resistance to the impassioned assaults of the French. The English threw down their arms, and were slaughtered, drowned, or taken prisoners, to the number of seven thousand. No aid came from the panic-stricken camp; and the Maiden passed over the repaired bridge into the city, amidst the shouts of the multitude, whilst every steeple sent forth its peals of gratulating bells, and at every church Te Deum was sung on that night of victory. The next morning, Sunday the 8th of May, the English marched out from their forts at break of day, and formed in order of battle to the north and west of the city. Their standards were displayed; the trumpets sounded; but they turned their faces from Orleans. The siege was at an end. It is not necessary to assign any miraculous powers to Jeanne d'Arc in accounting for her wonderful success. She honestly believed herself inspired by Heaven, and she infused into others that belief. An enthusiast herself, she filled a dispirited soldiery and a despairing people with enthusiasm. The great secret of her success was the boldness of her attacks, when military science reposed upon its cautious strategy.

On the 11th of June the duke of Alençon, and the chiefs who had defended Orleans, arrived before Jargeau, which Suffolk occupied. The English earl had come out with his garrison to offer battle. The French had arrived in haste, but they were driven back. But at the command of the Maid they returned to the attack, and Suffolk retired within his walls. The bombardment of the town continued for three days; when a breach having been made, Joan led the assault. Jargeau fell, and Suffolk was a prisoner. On the 18th of June was fought the battle of Patay. The English fled from the terrible banner that had been first seen at Orleans; and the lords Talbot and Scales were made prisoners. The hasty retreat of Fastolf brought upon him the undeserved imputation of cowardice; and when he came to the duke of Bedford, at Corbeil, he was deprived of the riband of the garter.

At this juncture, the duke of Bedford secured the doubtful co-operation of the duke of Burgundy; and the cardinal Beaufort, who had raised an army in England for a crusade against the heretics of Bohemia, turned over

his troops to the regent of France, to war against the Armagnacs, and to make new efforts against the enchantments which had given them power to resist the long triumphant bravery of the English. They took the field with new hopes. Onward went the Maid, upon her resolved design that Charles VII. should be crowned at Rheims. On the 28th of June, twelve thousand Frenchmen marched out of Gien, to traverse a country whose towns and fortresses were held by English and Burgundians. They reached Troyes, and encamped before the town. After six days of inactivity, Joan advised an assault. The famous standard was displayed, and the terrified garrison surrendered the place. The French army went on, and took Châlons without resistance. After some delay, the gates of Rheims were opened, and on the 17th July, Charles was crowned in its ancient church. There were few nobles present. The Maiden stood with her standard before the altar. The expense of the coronation amounted only to twenty-four Parisian livres. Charles then went on towards Paris, receiving the submission of many towns on his march. Joan thought her mission accomplished; and earnestly desired to return to her father and mother, to keep their herds and flocks. Her counsels now became vacillating. Sometimes Charles retreated and sometimes marched forward. Bedford had sent him a challenge to meet in the open field, couched in the most opprobrious terms; and he was moving rapidly to bring the French to an engagement. The two armies suddenly met at Senlis; and for three days a battle was vainly expected. Each army then took its own way,—Bedford for Normandy, which had been entered by a hostile force under the constable Richemont. Charles marched on to Paris. On the 12th of September an assault was made at the Faubourg St. Honoré. The intrepid Joan, though she had lost confidence in her miraculous voices, displayed her wonted courage. She scaled the walls; but was wounded, and fell into the fosse. Crawling out from the heaps of dead and dying, she again waved her standard. The old confidence in her powers had deserted the French; and the attack was repulsed. Charles retreated to the Loire. The succeeding winter was passed by the king at Bourges. In the spring the army moved to the relief of Compiègne, which was besieged by the duke of Burgundy. Joan got into the town, and the same day headed a sortie. She was taken prisoner, and was carried to the Burgundian quarters.

For four months Joan was confined in the castle of Beaurevoir, near Cambray. She was a prisoner of war to the Burgundians. She was finally delivered to the English in their city of Rouen. The university of Paris urged her trial before an ecclesiastical tribunal; and at length letters patent were issued in the name of Henry VI., in which it was stated that, in accordance with the public opinion, and at the especial request of the bishop of Beauvais and the university of Paris, she was to be given up to the bishop, to be examined and proceeded against under his authority. She was subjected for several months to the most searching interrogatories. At fifteen examinations she was never disconcerted, but answered every question with perfect frankness. Heresy and schism, meriting the punishment of fire, were declared to be found against her. The university of Paris ratified the articles of accusation. On a public scaffold at Rouen the

sentence of condemnation was read to her by the bishop of Beauvais. Her courage deserted her; and she expressed her contrition and submission. Her sentence of burning at the stake was then to be commuted to perpetual imprisonment. She was taken back to prison, but after two days her confidence returned; and she re-affirmed her belief that her voices came from God; and that, not understanding what the adjuration was she had been called upon to sign, she had signed in the fear of being burnt. In the old market-place of Rouen a pile of wood was built up; and round it a scaffold was erected, where prelates and nobles might sit to behold the death of the heroic girl. There sat cardinal Beaufort and the bishop of Beauvais. Joan was dragged to the pile; the fatal cap of the Inquisition, with the words "hérétique, relapse, apostate, idolâtre," was placed on her head; the fire was kindled. Her last word was "Jesus."

On the 17th of December, 1430, Henry VI. made his public entry into Paris, and was crowned at Notre Dame. He returned to England in February, 1431; and rode into London, amidst as profuse and laboured pageantry as had welcomed his father from Agincourt. Whilst these follies were enacted in England, Harfleur was recaptured by the French. The alliance of the duke of Burgundy was fast slipping away. Every year added to the strength of the national party in France. At every conference for peace the demands of Charles VII. became enlarged. At the congress of Arras in 1435, the French would only agree to cede Normandy and Guienne, to be held as fiefs, all other possessions and all claim to the crown being surrendered. The conditions were refused, and the duke of Burgundy abandoned the English alliance, and made a separate treaty with Charles VII. The duke of Bedford, who had steadily upheld the will of his heroic brother, died at this critical period. Paris was retaken by Charles in 1436; and the English were expelled. Successes in Normandy, under the duke of York and Talbot, only prolonged the final issue. After twenty-five years' captivity the duke of Orleans was released from his prison in the Tower of London. The war continued a few years longer; and then a truce. Henry was married to Margaret of Anjou in 1445; and one of the conditions of the marriage and the consequent truce was the surrender of Anjou and Maine. Normandy was soon conquered, when Maine, the key to its possession, was gone. Gascony yielded to the French in 1451; and after the last of the great English captains, the dreaded Talbot, fell at Castillon in 1458, Bordeaux was taken.

In 1440, on the Tuesday before Midsummer, a priest called sir Richard Wyche, a vicar of Essex, was burnt on Tower-hill for heresy. In the same year, in July, two clergymen, Roger Bolingbroke, and Thomas Southwell, a canon of St. Stephen's chapel, were accused of treason, upon the charge, that at the request of the duchess of Gloucester, they had made an image of wax like the king, which they placed before the fire, and as it consumed the king would pine and die. Bolingbroke was a man of science, distinguished in his pursuit of astronomical studies. The duchess of Gloucester had fled to sanctuary. Bolingbroke was examined before the king's council, according to an interesting chronicle, written before 1471, confessed that he wrought his necromancy "at the stirring of the said dame Eleanor to know what should fall of her, and to what estate

she should come." This "necromancy" was evidently, from this description, the usual process of that age, and of much later times. They were casting the nativity of the duchess. Dame Eleanor was then cited to appear before certain bishops of the king's, and others, in St. Stephen's chapel, on the 22nd day of July. Bolingbroke and Southwell were indicted as principals of treason, and the duchess as accessory. The duchess was brought before an ecclesiastical commission in October, when she submitted herself to the correction of the bishops; and on the 9th of November she was condemned to perform all the humiliations of penance in the streets of London on three several days. She was confined at Calais and the Isle of Man for the remainder of her life. Bolingbroke was tried at Guildhall for high treason, and executed with the accustomed cruelties. Southwell died in the Tower before the time appointed for his trial. That the whole affair was an infamous conspiracy for political purposes there can be little doubt.

The great ecclesiastics were at this period the moving power of the government. In 1445, Margaret of Anjou was crowned queen of England. The duke of Suffolk, who had negotiated the marriage, now came to strengthen the party of Beaufort in the government. The duke of Gloucester was the only man who stood in the way of the absolute power of the queen and of the favourite. A parliament was called to be held at Cambridge, at the beginning of 1447; but the place of meeting was afterwards changed to Bury St. Edmunds. There was a secret order issued for armed men to be attendant there on the king. The duke of Gloucester was in his place as peer on the 10th of February, when the usual formalities were gone through. On the 11th he was arrested by the high constable of England, and his attendants were seized and sent to different prisons. They were only thirty-two in number, for he came without the large retinues which the great had generally in their train when danger was apprehended. At the end of seventeen days, Humphrey of Gloucester was found dead in his bed. His death was accomplished, there can be little doubt, by secret murder. His great adversary, Henry Beaufort, died six weeks after him, at the age of eighty years.

CHAPTER XI.

RICHARD, duke of York, the son of Richard, earl of Cambridge, and of Anne, the sister of Edmund Mortimer, was about five years old when his father was beheaded in 1415. Upon the death of Edmund Mortimer, in 1424, he was the representative of the posterity of two sons of Edward III. —of Lionel, the third son, and of Edmund, the fifth son. In 1425, he succeeded to the titles and possessions of his uncles, Edward, duke of York, and Edmund, earl of March, having been relieved from the corruption of blood consequent upon the alleged treason of his father. He was employed in high offices in France, until 1444, when he was recalled, and the peace was concluded which destroyed the power of the English. In 1449, York

was sent as lieutenant of Ireland, to quell a rebellion there. His firmness, justice, and moderation won the favour of the Irish people.

The duke of Suffolk had become the real ruler of England as the head of the queen's party. He is described by contemporary historians as crafty, avaricious, and despotic; surrounding the king with his own creatures, and irritating the people by inordinate exactions. Insurrections took place in various parts of the country, of which the alleged object was the punishment of the obnoxious favourite of the queen. The Commons appear to have proceeded against this powerful minister in the same spirit of determined animosity. In January, 1450, they requested his committal to the Tower, and subsequently exhibited a bill of impeachment against him. On the 17th of March he was brought before the king at Westminster, many lords being present; and there, denying the truth of the charges against him, he knelt down and submitted himself to the king's rule and governance, to do with him according to his pleasure. The result of this concerted scheme was the banishment of Suffolk for five years; in this way avoiding the impeachment of the Commons. The duke hastened from London; and thus escaped the popular fury in the capital. He remained in Suffolk till the end of April; and then sailed from Ipswich. On the 2nd of May, a large vessel of war came in sight of the duke's ship; and upon a summons of the commander, the duke went on board her. He was there arraigned upon the impeachments, and found guilty. He was then taken into the boat, and beheaded with a rusty sword, by the lowest of the ship's company.

In the holiday week of Whitsuntide, 1450, there was an encampment on Blackheath of many thousand Kentish men, who had gathered together to demand redress of grievances. Their leader was John Cade, "naming himself John Mortimer." This assembly kept the field for several weeks; and the city of London, at that time, was friendly towards them. Their pretensions were set forth in fifteen articles, addressed to the king and parliament. A considerable force was raised to disperse the insurgents, but they retreated to Sevenoaks; and there, on the 27th June, defeated a detachment that had been sent against them, killing the commander, sir Humphrey Stafford. Their success appears to have alarmed the king's council; and Lord Say, the most obnoxious of the ministers, was sent to the Tower. Henry himself removed to Kenilworth. Two days after Cade resumed his camp at Blackheath, the king's forces having dispersed. On the 1st of July the insurgents entered Southwark, and on the 2nd the gates of the city were opened to them. On the 3rd the mayor and justices were sitting at Guildhall. Cade commanded that lord Say should be brought from the Tower, and arraigned before this court; but the nobleman demanded to be judged by his peers. The insurgents seized him, and at the Standard, in Cheap, struck off his head. At last the citizens resolved to defend London Bridge against Cade's further entrance into the city. During the whole night of Sunday, the 5th of July, assisted by soldiers from the Tower, they fought against the insurgents upon the bridge. A truce was at last agreed upon; and the men of Kent and their captain withdrew, upon a promise from the archbishop of Canterbury of a general pardon. A proclamation was, however, issued, offering the

reward of a thousand marks for the apprehension of Cade, alive or dead. He was finally taken by the sheriff of Kent, and being mortally wounded, died on the way to London. His head was exposed on London Bridge, and the four quarters of his body at Blackheath, Norwich, Salisbury, and Gloucester.

The spirit of revolt was widely spread in England in this year. The insurrections extended to Essex, Sussex, and Wiltshire, as well as Kent. The disasters of the English in France appear to have caused much of the popular hatred of the party in power. The loss of the French provinces, moreover, threw many needy adventurers upon their own country, and contributed to the discontents of the kingdom. All these circumstances enhanced the popularity of the duke of York, with whose house the rebels associated the name of their leader, Mortimer. The governor of Normandy, the duke of Somerset, to whom the more recent losses in France were attributed, now arrived in England, and took the management of affairs. The Commons petitioned the king to send him to the Tower, but he was soon released. In February, 1452, the duke of York took up arms for the overthrow of Somerset. He advanced towards London with his forces; and after much negotiation, Somerset was ordered into custody. York then disbanded his army, and went to Henry's tent unarmed. As he left the king he was arrested; and would probably have been executed had the wishes of Somerset and the queen wholly prevailed. York finally swore fealty to the reigning sovereign, and retired to Wigmore, one of his castles.

In October 1453, King Henry became totally incapacitated for taking any share in that government of which he had long been only the nominal head. He remained at Windsor for many months, in a condition of total unconsciousness. In the same month his only son was born at Westminster.

From a letter written at this time we learn that, although Somerset was under arrest, his influence was still powerful, and the efforts of his party unremitting. His supporters were arming all their servants and retainers. In the meantime, the duke of York, and his eldest son, the earl of March, were coming to London, with Salisbury, Warwick, Richmond, and Pembroke, and a fellowship of good men.

In the parliament which met on the 14th of February, to which the great nobles had come with such overwhelming array, the proceedings were conducted in a peaceful and constitutional spirit. A deputation of peers was appointed to wait upon the king at Windsor, and inform him of the death of Cardinal Kempe, his chancellor, and of other important matters. At three several interviews, the peers were satisfied of the king's incapacity. They then elected the duke of York to be "protector and defender of the realm of England during the king's pleasure." The duke held this office till the beginning of 1455, during which period Somerset remained in confinement. But in February of that year it was announced that the king was recovered. Henry had begun to amend on Christmas-day. The protectorate of York was necessarily superseded; and he was also removed from his important office of captain of Calais. Somerset was released. York retired to his estates in the north; but in the spring

he marched towards London. The king left Westminster, on the 20th of May, with Somerset and other nobles, and reached St. Albans, with a force of about two thousand men, on the 22nd. On the same day York encamped in the fields near the town, with three thousand men. The professions of loyalty to the king which York had always employed were still observed. The Yorkists sent to demand that Edmund, duke of Somerset, "enemy to all the realm," should be given up to them. The king replied that by advice of his council he would not deliver him. The king's forces were within the town, which was defended by strong barriers. The defences were again and again assaulted by the Yorkists; but they were driven back. At length Warwick brought up a strong force on the east side; and broke down the barriers and the slight houses, and entered St. Peter's Street, where the royal banner was erected. The Lancastrian leaders, Somerset, Northumberland, and Clifford, at length were slain. Henry, as he stood beside his banner, was wounded in the neck with an arrow. Buckingham and Sudeley were also wounded. The number slain in this battle was very small; it was chiefly important in the quality of the leaders who fell on the side of the Lancastrians. The king sought shelter in the house of a tanner; and there York waited upon him, exhibiting profound respect, and conducted him next day to London. The fall of Somerset did not, however, restore confidence. The parliament met in July; and a general pardon was declared by statute for all those who had taken arms. In the summons to this parliament there was no attempt on the part of the Yorkists to exclude their rival peers. There were the same names as in the previous parliament, with the exception of those who had fallen on the 22nd of May. The majority of the Lords were Lancastrian. The house of York had its chief supporters amongst the Commons; who may be held to have represented the popular feeling. After a prorogation to November, the Commons proposed that "if the king hereafter could not attend to the protection of the country, an able person should be appointed protector." They urged this upon the peers a second and a third time; and then the king "by the advice and assent of his lords spiritual and temporal," named "the duke of York to be protector and defender of this land." In this appointment the rights of the son of Henry were especially cared for. It was long after the beginning of these contentions that the people became familiar with the notion that the actual occupancy of the throne was to be disturbed by the claims of the house of York.

There was a partial recovery of the king's health at the beginning of 1456; and on the 25th of February the duke of York's commission was superseded, and he retired with his adherents to the privacy of his own estates. During two years the great quarrel was suspended. At this period the defence of the kingdom appears to have been utterly neglected. The coasts of the Channel were ravaged by French and Breton cruisers in 1457; and the eastern coast was equally insecure. In 1458 King Henry summoned the great nobles to a meeting in London, and what the city chronicler calls "a dissimuled unity and concord" was accomplished. In the following November, "fell a great debate between Richard, earl of Warwick, and them of the king's house, insomuch that they would

have slain the earl." * He escaped to his barge, and departed for Calais. His appointment as captain of Calais was superseded by a writ of privy seal, in favour of "the young duke of Somerset." Warwick refused to resign, saying that he was appointed by authority of parliament.† On the 23rd of September, 1459, Salisbury, the father of Warwick, defeated lord Audley, at the battle of Blore Heath, in Staffordshire. Salisbury and Warwick then joined the duke of York near Ludlow; and they issued a proclamation, in which they still maintained that they were in arms to reform the government, but not to overthrow it. The king's army advanced by rapid marches; and on the 13th of October met the Yorkists, with a greatly superior force. York was deserted by a large body of his soldiers; and he immediately disbanded his army, and fled to Ireland. At a parliament held at Coventry on the 20th of November, the Yorkist lords who had not surrendered were declared traitors, and their possessions were confiscated. Salisbury and the young earl of March escaped with Warwick to his stronghold of Calais, which he kept against all attacks during the spring of 1460. At Midsummer a large force under Warwick passed over from Calais, and landed in Kent. As this army advanced towards London its numbers were so greatly increased, that Warwick entered the capital with forty thousand men. They then marched into the midland counties. On the 10th of July the two armies met near Northampton. The royal forces occupied an intrenched position; but the Yorkists under Warwick, Faulconbridge, and Edward, earl of March, broke into the Lancastrian camp, and the king's army was utterly routed. The queen and her son fled. Warwick and Edward bowed before Henry, and professed to hold him in all reverence. The victorious Yorkists marched to London; when the Tower was surrendered to them, and its governor, lord Scales, was inhumanly slaughtered in his escape. There was a change of ministry; and the duke of York was sent for from Ireland. The parliament assembled on the 7th of October. On the 9th the duke of York was in London. On the 16th he entered Westminster in royal array; and claimed the throne. There was a deliberate investigation of his genealogical title, which, upon the principle of direct succession, could not be disputed. But the lords resolved upon a compromise—that Henry should retain the crown for the rest of his life, and that the duke of York and his heirs should succeed to it after Henry's death. The queen was in the north, surrounded by some of the most powerful of the Lancastrian lords. Her proud spirit would yield to no compromise. In the confidence of success York left London; and spent his Christmas in his castle of Sandal, in Yorkshire. He had a small army in the neighbourhood, when Somerset advanced with eighteen thousand men to invest the castle. Edward was at Shrewsbury. York went forth from his castle to oppose a force treble the amount of his own. He was suddenly attacked and totally defeated, on the 31st of December, 1460. The duke and his second son, Edmund, earl of Rutland, a youth of seventeen years, were both slain. The victory of Wakefield was followed up by the successful party with merciless executions. Salisbury and other Yorkists were beheaded at Pomfret on the

* English Chronicle, p. 78. † Ibid.

first day of 1461. In another month the tide of success was turned; and Edward, now duke of York, defeated the earl of Pembroke at Mortimer's Cross, and followed up his victory by the same course of executions as those of Wakefield. After that triumph, Queen Margaret had advanced towards London from the north with a great and lawless force. On Shrove Tuesday, the 17th of February, they reached the neighbourhood of St. Albans. Warwick marched out of the city, carrying with him poor King Henry. At Barnard's Heath, near St. Albans, Warwick was utterly routed. Henry was left on the field, and now fell into the hands of the queen. Whilst the army of the north was intent on plundering St. Albans and the country round, Edward, duke of York, whose forces had formed a junction with those of Warwick, marched boldly into London, on the 28th of February, as if the battle of St. Albans had been a victory for his party, instead of a signal defeat. In an assembly of the peers, prelates, and citizens, on the 3rd of March, Edward demanded the crown. It was resolved at this council, that Henry, by joining the forces of the queen, had set aside the award of the preceding October, and forfeited the throne of which he had been granted the life-occupancy. On the 4th of March there was a procession to St. Paul's, a speech from the throne, a solemn recognition before the great altar of the Abbey at Westminster, and Edward IV. was king. Norfolk was gone to his country to raise his men. Warwick marched out of London northward on the 6th of March. A great force of foot followed him on the 10th. On the 12th Edward himself took the same northward course. At Ferrybridge, the advanced columns of the Yorkists were defeated in a skirmish. On the 29th of March the main bodies of the two armies were in view of each other, at Towton, about eight miles from York. The army of the Lancastrians, which consisted principally of the hardy Northmen and Borderers, has been computed at sixty thousand. Edward's army amounted to nearly fifty thousand. The support of the people to the Yorkist cause was manifest in the banners of the towns that had gathered round Edward in his march of sixteen days. On the eve of Palm Sunday began the cruel battle of Towton at four o'clock, when the armies joined. Through all that night, amidst a fall of snow, these fierce men madly fought till the afternoon of the next day. Then, thirty-three thousand men lay dead on the field of battle. The triumph of the Yorkists was complete. On the day after the battle, the earls of Devonshire and Wiltshire, with many others, were beheaded. The queen and the hunted king fled into Scotland.

Edward IV. was crowned at Westminster, on the 29th of June, 1461, by Thomas Bourchier, archbishop of Canterbury. His brother George was then created duke of Clarence, and his brother Richard, duke of Gloucester. The parliament met on the 4th of November. It was a parliament wholly in the interests of the new dynasty. Henry VI., his queen, and their son, Lancastrian dukes, earls, knights, and esquires were attainted. Some abandoned Henry, and made submission to Edward. Those who were faithful had to endure exile and misery. In 1462, Queen Margaret raised an army of adventurers in France, and landed on the northern coast in October. The energetic king was soon at the head of a great force. Margaret escaped to Berwick, which had been

surrendered to the Scots in the previous year. A portion of her partisans had however taken the strong fortresses of Bamborough, Alnwick, and Dunstanburgh. Warwick arrived to besiege these castles; and Bamborough and Dunstanburgh were surrendered by the duke of Somerset and sir Richard Percy, on condition that they should recover their rank and their estates upon swearing fealty to Edward. Alnwick capitulated. The attainders of Somerset and Percy were repealed by the parliament, and their lands restored. Deserted thus by two of her chief supporters, Margaret sought safety in her father's territory of Lorraine. To this date, probably belongs the romantic story of the outlaw, who helped the queen and her son, then about eleven years old, to escape from their pursuers.

In 1464, Margaret was again in Scotland. Percy and Somerset had gone over to their old friends, and were at the head of a large force of Scots and exiled English; and they again obtained the command of the three castles which had been yielded to Edward in 1462. Lord Montacute, the brother of Warwick, the warder of the east marches, went promptly against the force which Percy and Somerset had collected. On the 25th of April a battle was fought at Hedgeley Moor, near Wooller, where Percy was killed. On the 15th of May, Montacute encountered the army of the queen near Hexham. In that decisive victory of Edward's commander the inconstant or treacherous Somerset was taken prisoner, and instantly beheaded. Executions, attainders, imprisonments followed. The estates of Percy were granted to Montacute, who became earl of Northumberland. The English government concluded at this time of success a truce for fifteen years with Scotland, in which it was stipulated that the Lancastrians should receive neither shelter nor aid from the Scots.

The same energy which made Edward IV. eminently brave and daring in war became wild licentiousness in a time of peace. His expenses were unbounded. He gave away the forfeited possessions of his enemies with a rash liberality, and he resorted to very dangerous devices for the supply of his own extravagance. In 1464 he adopted the "shallow and imprudent artifice of lowering the standard"* of the current coin. But his frank and genial humour with all sorts of men stood him in the place of many nobler qualities. At the Michaelmas of 1464, Edward avowed his marriage with Elizabeth, the daughter of sir Richard Woodville, and of Jacquetta, duchess of Bedford, and the widow of sir John Grey, a Lancastrian, who was killed at the second battle of St. Alban's. She had two sons by her first husband. On the 26th of May, 1465, Elizabeth was solemnly crowned at Westminster. This marriage was a politic step towards the extinction of the quarrel between the adherents of the two houses. It was in accordance with that just principle which had previously dictated the proclamation of a general amnesty to all who would submit to the new government. But the honours and riches which were indiscreetly showered upon the queen's family provoked a bitter animosity. Warwick now became estranged from Edward. The king desired to marry his sister to Charles, the heir of Burgundy. Warwick was the avowed enemy of Charles, and he intrigued

* John Stuart Mill.

with Louis of France to prevent the match. In 1468, however, the negotiations for the marriage with Charles, now the reigning duke, were completed; and the princess Margaret was conducted through the streets of London by Warwick, on her way to embark for Flanders. She was married near Bruges on the 3rd of July.

On the 11th of June, 1469, George, duke of Clarence, then in his twenty-first year, was married at Calais to Isabel, the daughter of the earl of Warwick. Edward had been decidedly opposed to this marriage. Richard Neville had become earl of Warwick in 1449, through his marriage into the great Warwick family. He was nearly related to the house of York. His personal character, his immense wealth, and his high connections, made him in some respects more powerful than the king himself. He was captain of Calais, and of Dover, Warden of the Scottish Marches, Lord Chamberlain, and Lord Steward.

Within a fortnight after the marriage of Clarence, there was an insurrection in Yorkshire, in which the name of Warwick was freely used. The insurgents demanded that the Woodvilles should be removed from power. They defeated the king's army under the earl of Pembroke at Edgecote near Banbury; and the earl of Rivers, the queen's father, and sir John Woodville, her brother, who were taken prisoners, were beheaded at Coventry in the following September. William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, also perished on the scaffold. The dreaded earl now arrived in England, with Clarence, and with Neville, archbishop of York. There appears little doubt, however the fact is disputed by some writers, that they obtained possession of the person of Edward at Honiley, near Warwick, and that he was imprisoned in Middleham Castle. But there was a premature rising on the Scottish borders for the restoration of King Henry. Warwick now hastened to put down that insurrection. He had destined the throne for his son-in-law Clarence, and this demonstration was inconsistent with his plans. Edward regained his liberty; and again there was reconciliation. In the spring of 1470, the people of Lincolnshire were in arms against the government, and Warwick and Clarence accepted the king's commission to put down the rebels. The king, by his rapidity of movement, threw himself upon the insurgents before his false brother and cousin had joined. He defeated them at Stamford, their cry being "A Clarence! a Clarence! a Warwick!" The leaders were beheaded. They confessed that the duke and the earl were the partners and the chief promoters of their treason. The victory was followed up by Edward, who pursued the forces of Warwick into Yorkshire. They turned to the west and south; and the king moving rapidly after them, the earl and the duke got on shipboard at Dartmouth with many followers, and sailed for Calais. On the 31st of March they were proclaimed by Edward as traitors. The officer to whom Warwick had entrusted Calais refused to admit his captain; and the fugitives were compelled to sail for Normandy, and finally landed at Harfleur. They proceeded to the court of Louis at Amboise. Through the influence of the wily king, Margaret of Anjou and her great enemy Richard Neville were reconciled. Prince Edward, the son of Henry VI., was to marry the daughter of Warwick. Henry VI. was to be restored. Edward was not wholly blind to the machinations of his enemies. He

contrived to make his brother comprehend that the part which he had taken was fatal to the house of York, and Clarence promised that he would be faithful to Edward's interest, and would desert his present friends upon the first occasion. At last, on the 13th of September, 1470, Warwick and Clarence landed at Dartmouth. Henry VI. was proclaimed; and as the small army of the earl advanced into the country, it was swelled by prodigious numbers of people who gathered under the standard of the all-powerful king-maker. Edward had led his army northward to suppress a pretended rebellion in Northumberland, which was got up as a snare. His quarters were at Doncaster; where six thousand men, at the prompting of Montacute, the brother of Warwick, threw away the badge of the White Rose, and shouted, "God bless King Henry." Edward was in a fortified house; but he saw resistance to the approaching army of Warwick would now be fruitless. He threw himself upon a horse, and on the 3rd of October was on ship-board at Lynn. The deliverance of Henry from his captivity was accomplished on the 6th of October, immediately after the entry of the Lancastrian army into London. In the parliament held at the beginning of 1471, the attainders of the Lancastrians were all removed; the Yorkists were attainted; and the crown was settled on Henry and his son Edward, and in failure of issue upon the duke of Clarence. Warwick and Clarence were appointed Protectors of the realm during the minority of prince Edward. The earl of Worcester, Constable of England, was beheaded immediately upon the establishment of the Lancastrian authority. No other death on the scaffold is recorded. The country appears to have quickly settled down into tranquillity; and the knights and esquires to have changed their party with wonderful celerity. Edward had in the train of himself and his brother Richard, followers to the number of seven or eight hundred; but, says Comines, "sure so poor a company were never seen before." His brigs were chased by the Easterlings, shipmen of the Hanse Towns, who were a piratical race; and he ran his vessels ashore on the coast of Holland. He was well-treated by the governor; and obtained a place of refuge at the Hague. Edward's brother-in-law, the duke of Burgundy, apprehended the great earl's vengeance if he protected the outcast, and showed hostility to the house of Lancaster. He, however, at last gave his relative some secret succour, and Edward contrived to gather two thousand Englishmen under the White Rose banner. On the 2nd of March, 1471, there was a little fleet in the harbour of Flushing, and Edward the exile went on board one of the ships. On the 11th the little fleet sailed to the coast of Norfolk. They were exposed to a furious storm for two days and nights, which scattered the vessels, so that the leaders were forced to land separately. Edward, with his usual intrepidity, went ashore, with a very few followers, at Ravenspur. Richard accomplished a landing four miles from Ravenspur; and Rivers at a distance of fourteen miles. There was no force at hand to resist them; and the separated leaders at last joined; and marched on, setting forth that Edward came to ask only for the inheritance of his father, the dukedom of York. They proceeded without the slightest molestation. On the 29th of March, Edward rested before Coventry, having received some accession of force on his march. Warwick was in the walled city, with six or seven thousand men. The deadly enemies

were negotiating for three days, without avail; and then Edward marched to the town of Warwick, "where he was received as king, and so made his proclamation from that time forward." Clarence now joined Edward with four thousand men. On the 6th of April the Yorkist army moved to Northampton, and keeping its straight course for the capital, on the 9th was at St. Alban's. Neville, the archbishop of York, assembled a force of six or seven thousand men in London, and tried to rouse the popular sympathy in favour of King Henry, but in vain. There was no resistance. The archbishop obtained a conditional promise of pardon; and on the 11th, when Edward entered the city, and rode straight to Paul's, the prelate there delivered King Henry to his great enemy. The next day was Good Friday. On the Saturday Edward led his army out of London; for Warwick had rapidly followed him in his march, and had halted at Barnet. On that Easter eve, the 13th of April, the advanced guard of the Yorkists encountered the outposts of the Lancastrians, and drove them out of the town of Barnet. Warwick's main force was encamped upon the high ground about half a mile beyond. In the dimness of nightfall, Edward's army marched up the steep hill upon which the town is built. The morning came, but the obscurity did not vanish. In a thick mist, English against English fought for three hours—madly, blindly—the left wing of the Yorkists, under Hastings, beaten and flying, whilst the king was rushing on in the centre, unconscious of the discomfiture—the right wing under Gloucester, successfully attacking Warwick, whose men, as Oxford returned from his pursuit of Hastings' flying Yorkists, mistook him for an enemy, and received him with a terrible discharge of arrows. All became confusion. Warwick and his brother Montacute fell fighting on foot. Edward was completely master of the field, where seven thousand Lancastrians fell. On the afternoon of that Easter Day, the king marched back to London, and rode straight to Paul's; and there was thanksgiving and gratulation, and the poor dethroned Henry, who had been led out to Barnet, was led back to the Tower.

Queen Margaret had gathered a large army of foreigners and exiles; and she landed at Weymouth, on the very day that Warwick had fallen at Barnet. There soon collected round the queen, Somerset and Devonshire, and other staunch friends. Undaunted by the fall of Warwick, they marched on, gathering the men of Devonshire and Cornwall as they proceeded, and took up a strong position at Tewkesbury. Edward had followed them, by forced marches, finding little provision on his way, and on the 3rd of May was within three miles of them. The armies met on Saturday the 4th of May. Strong in their position, the Lancastrians repulsed the attacking army; but Somerset boldly led his men into the open field by bye-paths, and fiercely attacked Edward's flank. He was unsupported by lord Wenlock, who was to have followed him. The king and his brother Richard pursued their advantage with their wonted impetuosity; and the unfortunate remnant of the Red Rose were put to flight. According to Polydore Vergil, prince Edward, the son of Henry VI., was brought before Edward IV. soon after the battle, and there cruelly murdered by the king's two brothers, and his friend, lord Hastings. Other accounts say that the prince was slain in the field. The victory of Tewkes-

bury was followed by the executions of the duke of Somerset and other Lancastrian leaders, who were dragged from the sanctuary of the abbey of Tewkesbury, and condemned to death by the duke of Gloucester and the duke of Norfolk. This is the first time that we find Richard of Gloucester a conspicuous personage in our historical relations. He was now under twenty years of age. From one account he was "little of stature, ill-featured of limbs, crook-backed, his left shoulder much higher than his right, hard-favoured of visage." Another account says, "that he was of bodily shape comely enough, only of low stature."

On the 11th, queen Margaret was brought to Edward at Coventry, and went on to London in the train of the victor. The movements of the king were quickened by the news of an attack upon London by William Falconbridge, who had kept the Channel as admiral by Warwick's appointment. Being bravely repulsed by the armed citizens, Falconbridge retired to Blackheath, and afterwards to Sandwich, which he fortified. Edward arrived in London, with thirty thousand men, on the 21st of May. On the 22nd, he was on his march towards Canterbury, accompanied by his brother Richard, who, within a few days, received the submission of Falconbridge. On the 21st of May, the duke of Gloucester rested in the Tower of London. That same night king Henry died. Fabyan writes, "of the death of this prince [Henry VI.] divers tales were told: but the most common fame went that he was sticked with a dagger by the hands of the duke of Gloucester."* The circumstance that Richard was in the Tower on that one night when he rested in London, is a slight foundation upon which to build the charge of the murder of Henry.

The great earl of Warwick's two daughters were the heiresses of his enormous possessions, which Clarence had no inclination to divide with any other. He concealed Anne, the younger sister, from the pursuit of Gloucester, who was her suitor. Gloucester contrived to outwit his brother, and married Anne. In 1474, the parliament divided the great fortune of Warwick between the two royal brothers, leaving the widow of Warwick a very wretched provision.

On the 20th of June, 1475, Edward sailed from Sandwich with fifteen hundred men-at-arms, fifteen thousand archers, and a great number of foot soldiers and artillery. He was bent on a new conquest of the provinces which had been lost during the minority of Henry VI. The parliament had voted supplies with profuse liberality. The duke of Brittany and the duke of Burgundy had promised their assistance, but the latter gave the English a cold welcome at Peronne. Louis of France sent a servant disguised as a herald to the camp of the English king. Louis himself had no heralds, as other princes had. The mock herald was well received at the English camp, and he played his part so well, that a negotiation was opened through commissioners. The wily Louis feasted the English at Amiens; sent Edward three hundred cart-loads of the best wines of France; and bribed his nobles without stint. The two kings met at Pecquigny, and there a peace was sworn between them, upon the conditions, of present and future money payments; of a marriage between

* Chronicle, p. 662.

the son of Louis and a daughter of Edward; and the release of Margaret of Anjou. Richard of Gloucester was the only one of the greater nobles in the train of Edward who evinced displeasure at these negotiations, in which the king of France had cajoled and degraded the English. Edward came home to an indignant people with a disappointed army. His soldiers compensated themselves for the loss of plunder in France by pillaging their own countrymen. The king went in person with the judges to try the offenders, and hung every one without mercy who was apprehended for the least theft.

The duke of Clarence lost his wife by poison, and Charles the Rash, duke of Burgundy, perished in 1477. That same year the king of Scotland proposed that Clarence should marry his sister, and that his brother, the duke of Albany, should marry the duchess of Burgundy. King Edward undertook to feel the dispositions of the persons interested. He found that the ambitious Clarence desired to wed the only daughter and heir of Charles of Burgundy, in which desire he was seconded by the widowed duchess, her step-mother. Edward resolutely opposed this scheme, and the brothers became enemies. At this time two of Clarence's dependants were accused of having designed by magic the death of the king and prince, and they were tried and executed. Clarence asserted their innocence before the council; and was immediately arrested by the king, and committed to the Tower, on the 16th of January, 1478. The obsequious peers found the imprudent prince guilty, and sentence of death was pronounced upon him. On the 7th of February, the Commons, by their speaker, demanded the execution of the sentence; and within ten days it was announced that the duke had died in the Tower. The suspicion that the duke of Gloucester was implicated in the condemnation of Clarence rests upon no evidence whatever.

Edward's daughter Cecily was engaged to the son and heir of the king of Scotland. James III. was of a contemplative and indolent nature, and he fell into the hands of favourites. The duke of Albany and the earl of Mar, the brothers of James, at last took the lead in the management of affairs, but soon excited the suspicion of the king that they aspired to the royal authority. Mar was put to death. Albany escaped to France. At this juncture James III. and Edward IV. quarrelled. The marriage treaty was broken off; and in 1480 there was war between England and Scotland. The duke of Gloucester, who was Warden of the Marches, commanded the English forces. The turbulent Scottish nobles seized their king. Albany and Gloucester marched to Edinburgh; and the rebellion and the war with England were ended, by Albany swearing to be a true and faithful subject, and Gloucester obtaining the strong post of Berwick, which ever after remained an English possession. In 1483, Louis of France broke off the contract which he had made with the king of England for the marriage of the Dauphin and the Lady Cecily. He saw a more advantageous union for his son in the daughter of Mary of Burgundy. Edward was furious, and immediately determined for war. But he was now enfeebled in mind and body by long indulgence in every excess. A serious illness succeeded a slight ailment, and he died on the 9th of April, 1483, in the forty-second year of his age.

At the death of his father, Edward, prince of Wales, was twelve years and a half old. He was residing in considerable state at Ludlow Castle, with a council, amongst whom were his maternal uncle, earl Rivers; his half-brother, sir Richard Grey; sir Thomas Vaughan, sir William Stanley, sir Richard Croft, and sir Richard Hawte. The bishop of Worcester, John Alcock, the president of his council, was the prince's preceptor. The queen's relations and friends were those who exclusively surrounded the heir to the throne.

Gloucester was in the north at the time of his brother's death. He went to London with a large number of his followers, with the alleged purpose of assisting at the coronation, which had been fixed for the 4th of May. On the 24th of April Edward V. left Ludlow, with Rivers, Vaughan, and Grey. They travelled on until they reached Northampton. There Gloucester and Buckingham arrived the same day; but the king had gone forward to Stony-Stratford, Rivers remaining at Northampton. The dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham passed the evening of the 29th of April in social companionship with Rivers. The next morning they surrounded him in his inn, and arrested him. They then rode on to Stony-Stratford, where they found the king and his company just ready to go forward. The dukes arrested lord Grey and sir Thomas Vaughan, and brought the king back to Northampton. When this news reached London the queen took refuge in the sanctuary of Westminster with her second son. At a meeting of the council, Hastings maintained that Gloucester and Buckingham had commanded the arrests, not for the king's jeopardy but for their own safety. On the 4th of May, Edward the Fifth publicly entered the city. The peers took the oath of fealty to the young king. At a great council of prelates, nobles, and citizens, Gloucester was appointed protector. Those of the prince of Wales's court who had been previously arrested—Rivers, Vaughan, Grey and Hawte—were kept prisoners at various castles, and were eventually beheaded at Pomfret. Buckingham received immediate rewards for his services. Appointments were heaped upon all who were in the interest of the protector.

Lord Hastings, the attached friend of Edward IV., had gone along with Gloucester and Buckingham in the arrest of the queen's kindred and friends. On Friday, the 13th of June, many lords were assembled in the Tower, arranging the solemnity of the coronation. At nine o'clock the protector entered. After talking a little while, he begged the lords to spare him, and left them. In about an hour he returned "all changed with a wonderful sour angry countenance, knitting the brows, frowning and fretting, and gnawing on his lips, and so sat him down in his place."* The protector after a while, asked what they were worthy to have that compassed his destruction; and Hastings replied that they deserved to be punished as heinous traitors. At a signal from the protector, one without the chamber cried treason. Immediately the room was filled with armed men. Hastings and other nobles were arrested. "Then were they all quickly bestowed in divers chambers, except the lord chamberlain [Hastings], whom the protector bade speed and shrive him apace, 'for, by St. Paul,' quoth he, 'I will

* More, p. 70.

not to dinner till I see thy head off.'" The unfortunate chamberlain was almost immediately beheaded on the green beside the chapel within the Tower. Richard pretended to the citizens and others that Hastings and the other lords were in a conspiracy against him and the duke of Buckingham.

The general council of the realm was held at the Tower. The protector had a special council at Crosby-place, where he kept his household. On the 16th of June, the duke of York was removed from his mother's protection in the sanctuary at Westminster. The archbishop of Canterbury pledged himself for the boy's safety.

The opening of parliament had been fixed for the 25th of June. But a supersedeas was received by the sheriffs of York on the 21st. There was some kind of assembly on the 25th, in which a bill was presented, claiming the crown for Richard, as his father's heir, in consequence of a pre-contract of matrimony having been made by Edward IV. with dame Eleanor Butler, daughter of the earl of Shrewsbury, by which his children became illegitimate. Comines says that the bishop of Bath "discovered to the duke of Gloucester" that he had married King Edward IV. to a beautiful young lady, which marriage had taken place before the king's marriage with Lady Elizabeth Woodville.

On the 26th of June Richard sat down in the marble chair of Westminster Hall as King of England. On the 6th of July he was crowned at Westminster, with his queen. A great number of dukes, earls, lords and knights were present at this ceremony, which was conducted with the usual magnificence.

The "Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London"—the register-book of that fraternity—has this simple and impressive entry, under the date of the first year of Richard III. "And the two sons of King Edward were put to silence."* Fabyan says "the common fame went that King Richard had within the Tower put unto secret death the two sons of his brother." Comines speaks of Richard as one "who had caused the two sons of King Edward, his brother, to be put to death." The historian of Croyland, another contemporary writer, says that it was set abroad that the two sons of Edward IV. were deceased, but by what manner of violence was unknown. Bacon relates that when Henry VII. desired to prove the alleged imposture of Perkin Warbeck, by establishing the fact of the murder of the two princes, he committed sir James Tyrrel and John Deighton to the Tower. These two, the only survivors of four persons supposed to be implicated in the murder of the young princes, agreed in a tale to the effect that, on the warrant of Richard, sir James Tyrrel repaired to the Tower, where his two servants, Miles Forrest and John Deighton, executed the murder, by smothering the princes in their beds; that their bodies were buried under the stairs; but afterwards removed to some other place, which could not be known. Bacon derived this circumstantial story from the "History of King Richard III.," attributed to sir Thomas More, but if written by him, compiled from the statements of Cardinal Morton, one of those who were arrested with Hastings. Before the publication of More's

* Published by the Camden Society, 1852, p. 23.

history, in 1543, the narratives of the death of these princes were of a character far more vague. In 1674, on making a new staircase into the chapel of the White Tower, some bones were found under the old staircase, whose proportions "were answerable to the ages of the royal youths."

CHAPTER XII.

THE character of Richard III. was an extraordinary mixture of hateful and amiable qualities. He released the estates of Hastings from forfeiture, in favour of his widow and children. He secured her jointure to the widow of Rivers, and bestowed a pension on lady Oxford, whose husband was in prison. He moved about amongst the people as though he had no sense of having committed wrongs which would make him obnoxious; going a progress to Reading, Oxford, Gloucester, Tewkesbury, Worcester, Warwick, Coventry, Leicester, Nottingham, York. At the great city of the north, Richard and his queen were again crowned in the minster. During the progress, he administered justice against offenders, and "heard the complaints of poor folks." All seemed to promise a reign of peace and security, however disturbed were its beginnings. But troubles suddenly sprung up in various parts of the country. Buckingham, who had been the chief instrument of placing Richard on the throne, now concerted with Morton a general insurrection against the rule of his former friend. They put themselves in communication with the earl of Richmond, who had been in Brittany during the reign of Edward IV. Margaret, countess of Richmond, the mother of the young earl, was the great granddaughter of John of Gaunt, and so was Margaret, countess of Stafford, the mother of Buckingham. But the father of Richmond's mother was the elder branch. Her husband was Henry, earl of Richmond, who was the son of Owen Tudor, a gentleman of Wales, whom Catherine, the widow of Henry V., had married. The Croyland Chronicle says, that a rising was about to take place for the release of the princes, when it was reported that they were dead; and that then the conspirators turned to Richmond as the object of their enterprise. Early chronicles and modern histories detail with much minuteness the negotiations which preceded the outbreak; involving communications between the countess of Richmond and the duke of Buckingham; plots between the countess and the widow of king Edward; the heads of the conspiracy going about in England inciting the commonalty to revolt; and, finally, the earl of Richmond sailing with five thousand Breton soldiers, and attempting a landing in Dorsetshire, simultaneously with the proclamation of himself as the coming king in Devonshire, Wiltshire, Kent, Berkshire, and Wales. The revolt was soon quelled by the energetic king. On the 23rd of October he issued a proclamation from Leicester, offering high rewards for the apprehension

of Buckingham and other conspirators. He marched with a considerable army to Salisbury, the junction of Buckingham's forces with the foreign troops of Richmond being expected to be attempted in the south-western counties. Buckingham moved boldly out from Brecon "with a great power of wild Welshmen." He experienced a series of disasters, which ended in his discomfiture. For ten days the Severn was overflowing the whole country through continual rains. The Welshmen, without victual or wages, deserted him. The duke was compelled to fly. The terrible Richard had appointed a vice-constable of England, to supersede the power of Buckingham as constable; and he used the great seal to arm his new officer, sir Thomas Ashton, with authority to judge all traitors, "without the noise and formality of trial, and without regard to any appeal whatsoever to proceed to execution." Under this commission, Buckingham, who had been betrayed by one of his servants, was executed at Salisbury on the 2nd of November: the other confederates dispersed. The chiefs fled to the continent; some of inferior note were taken and put to death. Richmond, whose fleet had been scattered by a storm, thought it prudent to return without any attempt to land. In Brittany he and the marquis of Dorset, son of Elizabeth Woodville, met to devise new plans; and there, in the cathedral of Vannes, on the following Christmas-day, they pledged themselves to another attempt, and Richmond swore to marry Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward IV., if he should obtain the crown.

Richard and his advisers appear to have partially comprehended the spirit of their time, and to have endeavoured to discharge their duty to the people by wise legislation and impartial justice. The parliament, which was held at Westminster on the 23rd of January, 1484, confirmed Richard's title, by passing an Act for the settlement of the crown upon him and his issue; in which the illegitimacy of the children of Edward IV. was affirmed. But this parliament did something more. Fifteen statutes were passed "for protecting the liberty of the subject, and putting down abuses in the administration of justice."*

The relict of Edward IV. still remained with her daughters in sanctuary. But on the 1st of March, 1484, the king, in the presence of lords spiritual and temporal, and the mayor and aldermen of London, made oath *verbo regio*, upon the holy Evangelists, that if Elizabeth, Cecile, Anne, Katherine, and Bridget, the daughters of dame Elizabeth Grey, would come out of the sanctuary, and be guided by him, he would answer for their maintenance and safety. This family accordingly came out of their place of refuge, and submitted themselves to the guidance of the king. In the next month, Richard's son Edward, the only child of his marriage with the daughter of Warwick, died at Middleham Castle. The king declared his nephew, John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, his heir. He now applied himself to counteract the schemes of Richmond, by negotiating with the duke of Brittany to deliver him up. Richmond suddenly fled from Vannes with a few servants, and succeeded in entering France, where he claimed the protection of Charles VIII. Adherents gradually flocked to him. The king spent the year in active preparation for the possible invasion. He

* Lord Campbell, "Lives of the Chancellors," vol. i., p. 404.

kept his Christmas at Westminster with great splendour; and it was remarked that his niece Elizabeth was dressed in robes of the same fashion and colour as those of his queen. Upon this the rumour went that as the queen was in ill-health he contemplated marriage with his niece. On the 16th of March, 1485, the queen died, and on the 11th of April, before the mayor and citizens of London, Richard solemnly disavowed the intention which had been imputed to him. Elizabeth was removed to Sheriff Hutton Castle, where her cousin, the earl of Warwick, the son of the duke of Clarence, was kept in a sort of honourable captivity. The marquis of Dorset now attempted to return to England. He was detained by the king of France, who gave assistance to the project of Richmond; and the preparations for invasion went forward. Richard appears to have somewhat too much despised his adversary. He was in London from the beginning of the year till the middle of May. There had been no parliament to grant him a subsidy; and he, by a solemn legislative act, had declared against "Benevolences." He was too straitened for money to make large warlike preparations.

Henry of Richmond set sail from Harfleur on the 1st of August, and landed at Milford Haven on the 7th. Comines regarded Richmond as without money, without power, without reputation, and without right; and he describes the three thousand Normans that were furnished to the earl by the king of France, as "the loosest and most profligate persons in all that country." But Richmond had better support than this. There was a systematic organisation of the Lancastrian party in England. The Welsh were ready to follow Richmond, who came with a genealogy from Cadwallader and king Arthur up to the Trojan Brute. Stanley, who could command many followers in Cheshire and Lancashire, and Northumberland, the great lord of the border country, were nominally for the king, and employed their authority as his accredited officers. The day of battle showed how dexterously they had been won over to betray him. Richard had no sure means of being informed of the movements of his enemy; and he had no great military force at his command. He took up a position at Nottingham, as the centre of the kingdom. But the landing of Richmond in Wales was a surprise. On the 16th, the king's firm friends in York despatched their officer to him to know whether they should send him aid; and four hundred men were accordingly ordered to march on the 19th. On Sunday, the 20th of August, Richard marched from Nottingham to Leicester, at the head of his troops, riding on a white horse, in full armour, and a crown on his helmet. On the 21st he moved to the abbey of Mirivall, near Bosworth, and encamped on a rising ground called Anbeame or Amyon Hill. Richmond had crossed the Severn at Shrewsbury; had a conference at Stafford with sir William Stanley, when it was agreed that the Stanleys should move towards Richard's camp, as if for his support; and on the 21st he reached Atherstone, by Tamworth. On the morning of the 22nd both armies advanced to Redmoor. When the battle began, Richard found the Stanleys opposed to him, and Northumberland stirring not a foot to his aid. No strategy could now be of avail. It was of little consequence that Richmond "had never set a squadron in the field." The men whom Richard had loaded with benefits deserted

him in the hour of his need, with a treachery that proclaimed that the knell of chivalry was rung. The courage of his race sustained him to the end. He made a desperate onset upon that part of the battle-field where Henry was, after having maintained an unequal conflict for two hours, with the aid of those who remained faithful to him. But sir William Stanley with three thousand men coming to the rescue of Henry, king Richard's men all fled, and he "was killed, fighting manfully in the thickest press of his enemies."*

With Richard, the last of the Plantagenets, expired the political system under which England had been governed by that house for more than three centuries. The feudal chain which bound the lord to the king, and the vassal to the lord, had long been impaired in many of its links. With the next dynasty the feudal system came practically to an end.

During the period of the Wars of the Roses, the condition of society appears to have undergone very slight change; for in whatever regarded the civil administration of the country, there was no revolutionary action connected with the sudden changes in the supreme power. Comines says of this period, "the calamities and misfortunes of the war fall only upon the soldiers, and especially the nobility." The nation was in the meantime really prospering in an increase of material wealth, though the want of money—the instrument of exchange—was grievously felt from the peer to the huckster. The great bulk of the people, those of small substance, had passed out of the servile condition into the free, and had become so numerous that they were the real constituencies of the country. A forty-shilling freeholder was then a person of some importance. The wealth acquired in commerce was now, in some instances, very large. In apparel this period was most luxurious. The successive Statutes of Apparel are evidences of the vain attempt to maintain by outward appearance those distinctions of rank which were fast passing away. The esquire was beginning to tread upon the heels of the knight. The qualification for knighthood was forty pounds a-year; and so many had reached that point of opulence, that some would rather fine to the king than receive a dignity grown common.

There was no standing army in England at this period. Ireland and the borders of Wales and Scotland were defended by contract. Upon emergencies, forces were raised by the king's letters under the privy seal, commanding the attendance of persons named, with armed men, in number according to their degree. For an expedition against France, or a struggle against the reigning house at home, an army could be got together when the means of paying the adventurous spirits of the land were forthcoming.

The land-lord had now tenants who held leases, instead of being bound to the soil by feudal service as villans. The man who farmed the land had now salaried servants,—partly paid in money and partly in food and lodging, or wholly paid in money,—instead of thralls with the collar on their necks. In 1463 we have the first corn-law, based upon the principle which kept all classes comparatively unprosperous in England for four

* Polydore Vergil.

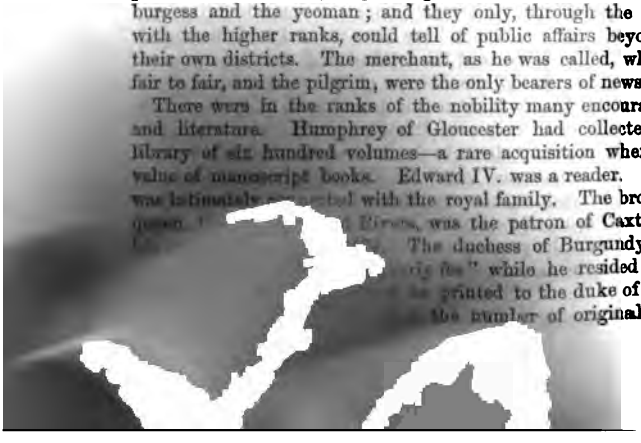
hundred years. When wheat was six shillings and eightpence the quarter, importation was forbidden. When the cultivator wanted to obtain the best price for his wool, that legislation which was always protecting one class against another class, to the injury of both classes, ordained that the exportation of wool should be hampered with restrictions. Thus it was that the landowners were constantly complaining of the want of money. Their revenues were derived from rents, and the rents were ill paid, because, amongst other causes, such as the want of knowledge and the want of capital, the delusion of protection was set up, to keep all industry at the same low level from age to age. One of the most remarkable features of society in this period is the constant litigation. This is some proof that the law was righteously administered. Though there is evidence of payments to the jury "for their expenses and labour, and for a breakfast after they had delivered their verdict." * Though the age of private feud was not wholly passed away, we may infer from various circumstances, that in these times, which have been too hastily considered as a period of anarchy, there was no remarkable insecurity of life and goods. The private letters of the period detail no outrages which might not have occurred in the most settled condition of society.

From a statute of 1495, regulating wages, we learn that from the middle of March to the middle of September, every labourer and artificer was to be at his work before five o'clock in the morning, and he was to depart not till between seven and eight o'clock in the evening. In this season, he was to have half an hour for breakfast, an hour for dinner, and half an hour for his "nonemete;" and from the middle of May to the middle of August he was to have half an hour for sleep in the day. From September to March, he was to be at his work "in the springing of the day, and depart not till night of the same day." But this difference of the hours of labour in summer and winter was taken into account in wages. All the various handicrafts took their regulations from their guilds. The clothiers alone were regulated by statute. In that fifteenth century there were no factories. Every manufacture was carried on at the homes of the workmen in the several branches. In 1423 a law was passed forbidding the masons to assemble in their "general chapiters," because through these assemblies "the good course and effect of the Statutes of Labourers" was openly violated. The masons resisted this interference. It was a building age in England; and the land would not have been covered with improved domestic structures, if the rewards of the artificer had not been proportioned to the demand for his skill, in despite of the attempt to regiment all labour. Most of the houses built at this period were of timber; and it appears that in some cases they were framed upon the spot where the wood was felled. In populous districts the demand for building timber was great; and this circumstance added largely to the revenues of the tenants-in-fee. The necessities, however, of the landed proprietors often compelled them to sell at a great reduction of price. The furniture of the houses of the esquire and the yeoman was exceedingly scanty. Beds were rarely used except by the most wealthy. Common utensils were trans-

* Roberts' "Southern Counties," p. 2.

mitted from generation to generation. Wives had a life interest in "stuff of household," which was bequeathed to descend, after the decease of the wife, article by article to relatives and friends. The riches so handed down are such as a pottle pot and a quart pot, a pair of tongs, and a pair of bellows. Running over wills of this period we find an equal scantiness of apparel. Articles of clothing were carefully treasured up; and bequeathed by testators. Although the government was always regulating the price of materials of apparel, it prevented the only practical regulation, by utterly prohibiting the importation of woollen cloth, caps, hats, gloves, girdles, wrought leather, shoes. If in the home manufacture any cheapening process was discovered, it was put down, upon the principle that what abridges labour is a public evil.

In almost every house of the nobility and higher gentry at this period there was a chaplain. In a very large number of parishes there was a curate. The incumbent, in too many instances, was a pluralist. The chaplains and working curates were very indifferently paid. That this class of men would cherish a rooted dislike of the full-fed monk, and of the mendicant friar who contrived to have a sufficient share of the goods of the world, was inevitable. But the severities against those who spoke out against the corruptions of the Church had shut the mouths even of the boldest. To be pointed at as a heretic was even more fatal than to be suspected as a traitor. Meanwhile the parish priests laboured diligently, as many of the brethren of the monastic orders also laboured, and the presiding influence of religion is to be traced wherever the individual mind displays itself. The Wills of the period afford unquestionable evidence of the constant presence of the spiritual advisers in the once busy man's "chair-days." There was an undoubting confidence in the prayers of the priesthood. Rome, and its spiritual power, were still ever present to the popular mind. Whatever may have been the errors of the Church of the fifteenth century, we may justly conclude that at the bottom of the teaching of its priests was a solid foundation of zeal and charity; and that in many of the concerns of life they were the kind instructors and faithful friends of the great body of the people, out of whose ranks the real working ministers for the most part proceeded. The friar and the parson were the only superior persons that mixed intimately with the burgess and the yeoman; and they only, through the same intercourse with the higher ranks, could tell of public affairs beyond the range of their own districts. The merchant, as he was called, who travelled from fair to fair, and the pilgrim, were the only bearers of news.



There were in the ranks of the nobility many encouragers of learning and literature. Humphrey of Gloucester had collected a magnificent library of six hundred volumes—a rare acquisition when we regard the value of manuscript books. Edward IV. was a reader. Our first printer was intimately connected with the royal family. The brother of Edward's queen, [illegible] was the patron of Caxton, who brought [illegible] The duchess of Burgundy, King Edward's [illegible] while he resided at Bruges. He [illegible] granted to the duke of Clarence. It is [illegible] the number of original writers was very

few, the king and his court lent a willing aid to the great discovery which was to make knowledge a common property. The statutes of Richard III. were, for the first time enacted in the English tongue; and they were also the first laws of the land which were ever printed. The commercial acts of this reign were not marked by any advance beyond the principle of protection, except in one striking instance—books were to come into the land as freely as the light from heaven. Richard and his counsellors stood upon the threshold of a new state of society; and this encouragement of transcribers, printers, and sellers of books, showed that they understood what was one of the characteristics of their time.

When Richard III. fell covered with wounds, lord Stanley took the crown, which was found amongst the spoil in the field, and set it on the earl of Richmond's head, and the people shouted, "King Henry! King Henry!" In the evening, the camp of Richmond, now King Henry VII., was removed to Leicester; and, two days after, the conqueror went forward to London. The new king was placed in a dilemma. Relying upon the title to be obtained by the marriage with the lady Elizabeth to which he was sworn, he would only have been a king by courtesy. And there were even at that time rumours which were likely to interfere with the title of the lady Elizabeth. As to his own title, as the representative of the house of Lancaster, "he knew it was a title condemned by parliament, and generally prejudged in the common opinion of the realm." As to the third title, that of conqueror, he felt that it would provoke terror, and that even William I. forbore to use that claim in the beginning. He put on the name and state of a king, therefore, without proclaiming any title, in the first instance; and thus, the needy adventurer of August, 1485, was crowned king of England and France, on the 30th of October. The parliament would not accept the vain pretension of an hereditary title, nor the insolent one of a title by conquest. The desire for tranquillity and a peaceful succession was paramount; and a title was made for Henry VII. as king *de facto*. The parliament at the same time prayed the king that he would be pleased to espouse the lady Elizabeth, daughter of king Edward IV. Henry expressed his willingness to comply with the request; and the marriage took place on the following 18th of January. Henry, however, showed no alacrity in performing the oath which he had taken at Vannes, and the public honour of the queen's coronation was deferred till late in the year 1487.

The new king was essentially different in character from any one of the Plantagenet race. The spirit of the feudal ages had no longer a representative. But Henry VII. brought to the throne a character which was eminently fitted to the requirements of a new state of society; and England was in a great degree fortunate to have passed under the rule of a king who would not retard the progress of improvement by clinging to the worn-out systems of the middle ages.

Edward, earl of Warwick, the son of the duke of Clarence, had been placed by Edward IV. at the Castle of Sheriff Hutton, from the time of his father's death in 1478. The first exercise of authority by Henry was to remove him to the Tower, out of whose dreary walls he never passed. The chief adherents of Richard III. had been attainted; and Henry

revoked, on his own authority, all grants of the crown made since 1454-5. The temper of the king towards the Yorkists produced an injudicious rising in 1486, under lord Lovel and Thomas and Humphrey Stafford. This was soon quelled.

Love for the house of York was still the prevailing feeling in Ireland. In the spring of 1487, a youth presented himself to the earl of Kildare, the lord deputy, at Dublin, and stated that he was the earl of Warwick, who had escaped from his confinement in the Tower. He was accompanied by a priest of the name of Simons. Either his pretensions were implicitly believed by Kildare, or he was a party to the scheme, which had evidently been promoted by persons of influence, probably as a feeler of public opinion. The earl of Lincoln and lord Lovel, with two thousand troops, under an experienced captain, Martin Swartz, set sail from Flanders in March, and landing at Dublin, the pupil of Simons the priest was proclaimed king as Edward VI. Lincoln and Lovel then landed on the Lancashire coast, encamped near Ulverstone, and marched through Yorkshire towards Newark. Very few joined them. The number of the insurgents, and their foreign auxiliaries, amounted to eight thousand men. At Stoke-upon-Trent, on the 4th of June, the vanguard of Henry's army, under the earl of Oxford, was attacked by this ill-appointed force. The cavalry of the earl of Oxford soon obtained a victory, in which one-half of the insurgents were slaughtered. The earl of Lincoln, lords Thomas and Maurice Fitzgerald, sir Thomas Broughton, and the brave Martin Swartz, fell in the field. Lord Lovel escaped. The pretended earl of Warwick and Simons the priest were captured. The youth, who was named Lambert Simnel, was taken into a mean office in Henry's kitchen. The priest was committed to prison, and was never more heard of. It is related, that in consequence of this attempt to set up a representative of the house of York, the queen-dowager was shut up in the nunnery of Bermondsey, and all her lands and estates were taken from her. Recent investigations have been held to render this alleged persecution of the widow of Edward IV. more than doubtful. But, though all the chroniclers who wrote at this time had a bias towards Henry VII., they all agree as to his severities towards the mother of his queen, his prejudice against the queen herself, and his unrelenting hostility to the great body of the supporters of the house of York. Two other results of the insurrection were the public exhibition of the real earl of Warwick to the people, in a procession from the Tower to St. Paul's; and a more considerate treatment of the queen, who now appeared with proper state on public occasions.

King Henry pursued a cautious and almost timid policy in his foreign relations. During the minority of Charles VIII., a quarrel had arisen between the governments of Brittany and France, and war was declared against Brittany. Henry VII. had the strongest obligations of gratitude to the duke of that country, who had sheltered him in his period of exile and poverty. The English king was appealed to for assistance by both parties in the contest. He would declare for neither, but offered himself as a mediator. Charles VIII. was now of an age to act for himself; and he carried war into Brittany, and besieged the duke in his capital of Rennes. Henry, meanwhile, had been employed in his natural vocation of

state-craft; promising assistance to the friend of his adversity, but never rendering it; asking his parliament for means to resist the dangerous aggrandisement of France; and, having obtained a grant of two-fifteenths, concluding an armistice with Charles. By the end of 1488, when Francis of Brittany had died, his country was overrun by the French. Henry now promised an English army to the orphan princess Anne, to serve in her cause for six months. At the same time he contrived to let Charles understand that this force should act only on the defensive. The French king therefore avoided any engagement with the English, and at the end of six months the little army returned home. The English people were indignant at having been made to grant an aid of seventy-five thousand pounds for this mockery of war, and an insurrection broke out in the northern counties. The revolted people murdered the earl of Northumberland, who had enforced the payment of the subsidy. As a general movement, the insurrection was soon suppressed by the earl of Surrey. In 1490, the king again went to parliament for aid to carry on the pretended war, and he further extorted money under the system of "benevolences," which had been annulled by the parliament of Richard. Henry was again at his favourite work of diplomacy; entering into alliances with Ferdinand of Spain, who aimed at the restitution of Rousillon; and with Maximilian, king of the Romans, who wanted the princess Anne and the duchy of Brittany. All that Henry sought was to get money wherever he could. Maximilian was the most open of these royal schemers. He gave manful assistance to the oppressed Bretons, and the princess entered into a contract of marriage with him. Charles of France now put forward his pretensions to the hand of the lady, which were supported by the emphatic presence of a French army; and the princess, who resisted till resistance was no longer possible, was forced into a marriage which she hated, and into the conclusion of a treaty which placed the province, so long independent, under the French dominion. In October, 1491, Henry proclaimed his intention of punishing the French king. He again obtained a large grant from his faithful Lords and Commons. At length, in October of the next year, he landed at Calais with a well appointed army, and invested Boulogne with twenty-five thousand infantry and sixteen hundred cavalry. But, for three months previous to this costly parade, the wily king had been negotiating a peace with Charles of France. Within a week after his landing, Henry called a council, and laid before them a rough draft of a treaty offered by France, which his subservient ministers advised him to sign. There was another document, a private one, by which Charles was to pay a hundred and forty-nine thousand pounds to the money-making king of England. The advisers of Henry were handsomely bribed, as well as their master.

About the beginning of 1492 a young man arrived at Cork, who claimed to be the second son of Edward IV. The earl of Desmond, who had been warmly attached to the house of York, declared in favour of this supposed representative of that house; and the earl of Kildare offered him some assistance. The citizens became enthusiastic in his behalf. But the young man remained only a short time in Ireland, and then passed over to France, where he was acknowledged as the rightful heir to the English throne, and surrounded with a guard of honour, and other demonstrations

of confidence and respect. When Henry had concluded the pacification with Charles, the French king commanded this guest to leave his dominions. The supposed Richard of York proceeded to Flanders, where he claimed the protection of Margaret, duchess of Burgundy, the sister of Edward IV. This princess welcomed him, as he says himself in a letter to the queen of Spain, "with all piety and honour; out of regard also to her, the most serene king of the Romans, and his son, the archduke of Austria, and the duke of Saxony, my dearest cousins, as likewise the kings of Denmark and Scotland, who sent to me their envoys, for the purpose of friendship and alliance. The great nobles of the kingdom of England did the same." At the time when the so-styled "Richard Plantagenet" wrote this letter from Dendermonde, a town belonging to the archduke of Austria, Henry had despatched an embassy to the archduke as sovereign of Burgundy, to demand the surrender of him who called himself Richard of York, or his expulsion from the territory of the archduke, maintaining that the sons of Edward were murdered in the Tower by their uncle; and declaring that Margaret of Burgundy was the instigator of this plot against the king of England. It was returned for answer, that the archduke would render no aid to the adventurer, but that he could not control the duchess Margaret, who, on the lands which she held as her dower, was wholly independent. Henry, by way of revenge, strictly prohibited all intercourse between England and Flanders, and removed the mart of English cloth from Antwerp. The pretensions of the adventurer in Flanders gradually found powerful but secret supporters in England. Towards the end of 1494, lord Fitzwalter, sir Simon Mountford, sir Thomas Thwaites, Robert Ratcliffe, and others, were arrested on a charge of high treason, and were proved to have corresponded with the friends of Richard abroad. All received sentence of death; and Mountford, Thwaites, and Ratcliffe were at once executed. On the 7th of January, sir William Stanley, who had saved the life of the earl of Richmond on Bosworth Field, was accused of favouring the pretensions of "Richard." He was beheaded, and Henry took possession of his enormous wealth.

Henry chose to deal with clemency towards those in Ireland who had supported the adventurer. He reversed the attainder of the earl of Kildare; pardoned the earl of Desmond; and only excepted from his mercy Lord Barry and John Water. In the middle of July, 1495, a bold effort was made by "Richard" to land at Deal, with a portion of his foreign troops. The inhabitants repulsed the invaders, and made prisoners of a hundred and sixty-nine, all of whom Henry caused to be hanged. Their young leader returned to his protectress, after an ineffectual attempt to besiege Waterford. But, early in 1496, Henry concluded a commercial treaty with Philip, the archduke, to which an article was annexed that the rebels of either prince should be expelled from their territories, if required. In a few months, the young man, driven out from the Burgundian provinces, was dwelling in honour at the court of James IV., in Scotland, having arrived there with a considerable military force. James IV. treated him in every respect as the real duke of York; and gave the most absolute proof of his conviction of the truth of his pretensions by bestowing upon him in marriage his own kinswoman, Lady Catherine Gordon. It appears

that the men and money with which the self-styled duke of York was supplied came from Maximilian, king of the Romans, and not from the duchess of Burgundy. The employment of spies was an established principle of the government of Henry. He had his men, too, ready for bold acts of violence as well as treachery. One of his most devoted instruments was Ramsay, Lord Bothwell, who, having been proscribed in 1488, was in England in 1491, and was in the intimate confidence of Henry, who had bribed him to seize the persons of King James and his brother, and deliver them to the king of England. There was no open war at that time with Scotland. Bothwell had now obtained a licence for his return to the Scottish court. His business was to obtain the best intelligence for Henry; and to perpetrate any atrocity that was within his power, either by corruption or violence. From the letters of this accomplished spy we may judge how difficult must have been the part which the young adventurer had to play at the court of Scotland. Whatever be the contradictory evidence which prevents us yielding an unqualified belief that this was the son of Edward IV., it is manifest that for years he sustained his part, without betraying by a single accident of self-consciousness that he was a deceiver.

The winter was approaching, when James IV. and his adopted ally advanced with an army into England. A proclamation signed R. R. was issued in the name of "the king of England;" which set forth the escape of the son of Edward IV. from the Tower, through the compassion of a certain lord who had been commissioned to kill him; and his residence abroad for eight years. It denounced Henry Tydder as a false usurper of the crown of England; called upon the people to arm in the cause of the true king; and promised rewards to such as should take or distress his mortal enemy. The king of Scotland had come to aid his righteous quarrel, and after the usurper was subdued would return peaceably into his own kingdom. This appeal to the people of England was wholly unsuccessful. Eleven years of almost unbroken peace had enabled them to settle down in the quiet pursuits of industry, under a king essentially pacific. They would fight for their own liberties, but not for a barren title. Moreover, the alliance of the king of Scotland was most unpropitious to the cause he had taken up. James and his friend marched back to Scotland, their army having done much mischief, but having produced no political result.

The invasion of England offered a fit occasion for Henry to demand a large grant from parliament. The people of Cornwall were instigated by one Flammock, an attorney, and by a farrier, to resist the payment of the tax. Sixteen thousand insurgents commenced a progress to London, to demand the punishment of the king's ministers, archbishop Morton and sir Reginald Gray, as the promoters of the tax. Lord Audely placed himself at their head, when they had reached Wells. At Blackheath they encamped. A battle took place on the 22d of June. At the bridge at Deptford they obstinately defended the passage against the king's troops. But the bridge was forced; and they fled in consternation. There was a great slaughter, and many hundred prisoners were taken. Audely was beheaded, and the attorney and the farrier were hanged. Henry treated

the prisoners with a politic mercy, and they returned home. During this insurrection James again crossed the Border and besieged Norham Castle. But he retreated before the earl of Surrey. The ambassador of Ferdinand of Spain now undertook to mediate between James and Henry; and a truce was finally concluded. Henry required that the adventurer, whom he called Perkin Warbeck, should be given up, but without success. The disappointed pretender to the crown of England now quitted the court of James, having received a safe-conduct from his chivalric supporter. He departed from Scotland with four ships, and a small body of followers. Once more he addressed himself to his old friends at Cork, but received no encouragement. He then sailed to the coast of Cornwall; and in September landed at Whitsand Bay. The Cornishmen, still disposed for revolt, flocked to the standard of Richard the Fourth. He seized St. Michael's Mount; and there he left his wife, Catherine, the faithful sharer of his fortunes. The enterprise now began to wear a more serious aspect than at any former period. Before the adventurer had reached Exeter he had six thousand men under his command. After two unsuccessful attacks on Exeter, the insurgents and their leader proceeded to Collumpton, where many of his followers deserted the pretender. On the 25th of September, the king himself writes to one of his nobles: "Cousin, trust for certain that upon Thursday about midnight, Perkin fled from his company at Taunton, and took no leave nor licence of them." The forsaken adventurer rode to the monastery of Beaulieu. Here he demanded sanctuary on the 21st of September. The privileged retreat was quickly surrounded by the king's forces; and in a few days Perkin surrendered, upon a promise that his life should be spared. Henry secured the wife of the captive, and placed her under the protection of his queen. Fabyan briefly relates that, on the 28th of November, "Perkin was brought through the city unto the Tower, and there left as prisoner." The degraded captive is stated to have made a confession, which was then dispersed abroad. It was to the effect that his father was one John Osbeck, who was comptroller of the town of Tournay; that he travelled in various countries under Flemish, Portuguese, and Breton masters; and that landing at Cork, in some of his master's fine silken clothes, the people of the town laid hold of him; and maintained, first, that he was the son of the duke of Clarence; next, that he was the illegitimate son of Richard III.; and lastly, called him duke of York, "and so against my will made me learn English, and taught me what I should do and say." During seven months' imprisonment of Henry's captive, he was not treated with indignity. He was not concealed; but there was little chance that he could have been identified as the real duke of York, who purported to have escaped from the Tower fifteen years before, or ascertained to be an impostor, through casual glances at his person. Elizabeth, the widow of Edward IV., died in the very year when this adventurer first landed at Cork. The queen of Henry VII., and her sisters, probably never saw him. In June, 1498, he escaped, and fled towards the coast. Being re-captured, the Tower became his close prison. He was exhibited, fettered, to the Londoners, and made to read openly his confession.

Edward, earl of Warwick, had been a prisoner in the Tower for fourteen

years. In March, 1499, another pretended earl of Warwick appeared in Kent, and was announced from the pulpit by a friar of the order of St. Augustine. The poor tool, Wulford, was hanged, and the friar was imprisoned. A negotiation was now proceeding to marry Arthur, prince of Wales, to Catherine, the daughter of Ferdinand of Spain. "Ferdinand," says Bacon, "had written to the king in plain terms, that he saw no assurance of his succession as long as the earl of Warwick lived; and that he was loth to send his daughter to troubles and dangers." The suggestion was not thrown away upon such an unprincipled schemer as Henry VII. On the 21st of November, 1499, an indictment was preferred before the Lord High Steward and the Peers against the earl of Warwick for high treason. It set forth that two men, Thomas Astwood, one of Warwick's keepers, and Robert Cleymound, had, in August, conspired with him to make him king. But it was also averred that it was intended to make "Peter Warbeck, of Tournay," king. Two of the keepers were hanged; but Cleymound, who was probably a spy of Henry's, vanished. Upon this tissue of contradictory charges, the two young men were convicted. The earl of Warwick, wholly ignorant of the ways of the world, was induced to plead guilty. His companion in misfortune went through some form of trial, of which there is no record. He was arraigned as a foreigner. The doubtful Plantagenet was executed at Tyburn on the 23rd of November. The earl was beheaded within the Tower on the 28th of the same month.

In 1499, when prince Arthur had reached his twelfth year, he was married to the Spanish princess to whom he had been betrothed since he was four years old. Catherine, who was a year older than her bridegroom, was represented by proxy. In 1501, the princess came to England, and the ceremonials were again gone through at St. Paul's on the 6th of November. In April, 1502, only four months after his marriage, Arthur died. The two kings, who were wonderfully matched in their ability at bargain-making, now negotiated for the marriage of prince Henry, then eleven years of age, with his brother's widow. At last a dispensation was obtained from the pope; and the marriage-contract was completed in 1503, with a solemn ceremonial.

In January, 1502, a treaty had been concluded between England and Scotland, in which a perpetual peace was to be cemented by the marriage of James with the eldest daughter of Henry. The marriage took place by proxy; but, on account of Margaret's youth, her departure to Scotland was deferred till July, 1503. Elizabeth, the queen of Henry VII., died in February of that year. The widower soon sought for an advantageous alliance for himself; and he tried his fortune in three quarters, in each of which there was a prospect of a large marriage portion. There was disappointment in each. Meanwhile the Spanish monarch withheld that part of the portion of Catherine which was promised to be paid upon her marriage with prince Henry; and the English king, to annoy her father, treated the widow of one son and the betrothed of another with a harshness which indisposed her for the completion of her second marriage. At length two instalments of that marriage-portion were extracted from Ferdinand, according to an agreement that they should be paid half-yearly. Henry the Seventh died before the third and

fourth became due. That event took place at Richmond Palace on the 21st of April, 1509.

According to Bacon, Henry is reported to have died worth one million eight hundred thousand pounds. The annual revenue from the royal estates, and the properties which had lapsed to the crown, was estimated at about one hundred and seventy thousand pounds, of which forty thousand was derived from customs. The chief extortions which Henry VII. practised, through two lawyers, Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, were carried on by prosecutions against persons of substance, especially the rich merchants of London, under obsolete laws, in which false witnesses, called promoters, were systematically employed. Henry's great instrument for reducing the pride and power of the nobles was by fine and forfeiture. All retainers were held unlawful, but those who received wages as household servants; and for each retainer a fine of 5*l.* per month was enforced. Henry VII. was frugal, even when he meant to be generous, except in two particulars: "His desire for the acquisition of jewels knew no bounds; and on them alone he spent 110,000*l.*" * In architecture, also, he disbursed large sums. His palace at Richmond, and his chapel at Westminster, were of the most costly of these works. He saw the policy of encouraging navigation and discovery, if such encouragement should be without cost to himself; and in March, 1496, he granted letters-patent to John Cabot and his two sons to sail at their own cost and charges, with five ships, for the discovery of new countries, upon condition that the king should have a fifth of the profits. The great maritime discoveries effected during this reign by Columbus, Dias, Vasco de Gama, and Cabot, gradually influenced the growth of English commerce, although the parsimony which forbad the king directly to support any adventurers, gave little encouragement to the English merchants to embark in the direct trade to the East or the West. The commercial enterprises of the country were also necessarily restricted by its contracted legislation. Although the material wealth of England had been decidedly increasing during the reign of Henry VII., we have abundant evidence that its natural resources were very imperfectly brought into operation. The tillage of the land was so unprofitable that it afforded no return for the employment of capital; and such statutes as that "against bargains grounded in usury," resulted in the wealth of the country being hoarded and unemployed.

During the reign of Henry VII., there was little opportunity afforded to parliament to demand remedy of grievances. There were only seven parliaments called under this king, who was twenty-four years on the throne. In dispensing with subsidies, Henry got rid of the privilege which was the sole check upon prerogative. The Lords and Commons appear to have surrendered the Constitution into the king's keeping when it was enacted that he should have power to reverse and annul all attainders, and pardon all forfeitures, and that his letters-patent should be as valid as acts of parliament. One of the early statutes of this reign was: "An Act giving the Court of Star-Chamber authority to punnyshe divers mysdemeanours." This court was probably useful and necessary in many respects. Its

* "Excerpta Historica," p. 125.

objects were limited to offences by maintenance, liveries, and retainers; untrue returns of sheriffs; taking money by juries; and great riots and unlawful assemblies. Its members were to consist of the chancellor, treasurer, and keeper of the privy seal, with a bishop and temporal lord of the council, and the chief justices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, or two other justices in their absence. But it is easy to see that the establishment of this court by statute was a step towards depriving the subject of the right of being tried by his peers. That Henry wielded this instrument for oppressive purposes we may easily believe.

At the end of the reign of Henry VII., the monastic establishments were at the culminating point of their wealth and luxury. Their profligacy was the subject of papal admonition in 1490. Some acts were passed in this reign which in a degree interrupted the long immunity of the clergy from any interference of the legislature with their course of life. Some attempt was also made against the two great abuses—"benefit of clergy," and the privilege of sanctuary.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE first act of Henry VIII. and his council was the arrest of Sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, the ministers of the extortions of Henry VII. They declared before the council that they had acted according to the commissions with which they were entrusted, and had conformed to precedent and the letter of the law. The charges against them failed. But it was expedient to punish them; and a ridiculous charge of treason against the reigning monarch was got up against them, it being pretended that they conspired to seize the person of Henry on the death of his father, and to assume the functions of government. Empson was convicted on this charge by a jury at Northampton, and Dudley by a jury in London. The parliament passed a bill of attainder against them at the beginning of 1510; and they were executed in the following August. Many of the false witnesses, or promoters, who were employed by these criminal agents of a greater criminal, were also apprehended, and put in the pillory.

Catherine of Aragon remained in England, under the peculiar circumstance of being contracted in marriage to the young king, against which contract he had himself protested. Her doubtful position was, however, soon relieved by the determination of Henry to complete the contract of marriage. They were publicly united by the archbishop of Canterbury on the 7th of June, 1509. Catherine was dressed in white, and wore her hair loose,—the fashion in which maidens were customarily married. Their coronation took place at Westminster on the 24th of June.

Archbishop Warham, the chancellor; bishop Fox, lord privy seal; and Howard, earl of Surrey, lord treasurer, were the king's chief ministers. The parliament of the first year of Henry's reign granted a subsidy of tonnage and poundage, for the defence of the realm and the keeping of the

sea. There were then no circumstances to call for an especial provision beyond this ordinary revenue. But in the third year of his reign King Henry was preparing for war with France and Scotland, and a subsidy was granted of "two whole fifteenths and tenths." From the statute by which this subsidy was granted we gather that the intended war was for the maintenance of the Balance of Power in Europe. In the possible success of Louis of France against Ferdinand of Spain, was to be dreaded "the inestimable loss and damage of this realm." But in 1512, the object of this war was differently defined. It was to be a war for the "reformation of the schismatic demeanour" of the French king against "our holy father the Pope," who had placed France under an interdict, which the said French king "despising, will not thereby reform himself." At the commencement of the reign of Henry VIII., the papal throne had been filled, during six years, by Julius II.,—a pontiff who united the characters of the priest and the warrior. His real policy was to render Italy independent. He had joined with Louis of France, Ferdinand of Spain, and the emperor Maximilian in curbing the power of the Venetians by the League of Cambray, in 1508. He now openly defied Louis by the invasion of the territories of his friend the duke of Ferrara. The French king sent an army from Milan to the support of his ally. Julius retired to Bologna, where in 1510 he was besieged by a French army, but without success. In 1511 that papal city was taken; and Louis took the bold step of calling a General Council "for the reformation of the Church, both in its head and its members." He had the support of his own clergy and of five cardinals. But the pope invited the princes of Christendom to join the "Holy League" for the defence of the Roman Church and the extinction of schism. The impetuous king of England eagerly rushed to enrol himself amongst the supporters of the pope, who gratefully flattered him with the promise that the king of France should no longer be "the most Christian king," and that the orthodox Henry should bear that honoured title.

There were at this time reasonable causes of complaint on both sides between England and Scotland. A famous Scotch privateer, Andrew Barton, with his two brothers, had conducted a naval war against the Portuguese, under letters of marque from James IV. The Bartons had captured some English vessels, and the earl of Surrey fitted out two ships to repress these assaults, which were not the less obnoxious that they were under colour of search for Portuguese goods. In a desperate engagement, the daring privateer was killed. Another cause of difference was Henry's refusal to pay to his sister, the queen of Scotland, the legacy which her father had bequeathed to her. The family alliance, which should have ripened into a national alliance between England and Scotland, was broken; and in May, 1512, James IV. concluded a league with France.

Henry's almoner, Wolsey, was essentially the war-minister at this time. This extraordinary man was born at Ipswich. There is a tradition that his father was a butcher. The son was educated at Oxford, where he took his degree of bachelor of arts at the age of fifteen. He became a priest and a fellow of Magdalen College; and having been tutor to the sons of the marquis of Dorset, received from him the benefice of Lymington, in

1500. He subsequently was appointed one of the chaplains of Henry VII. In the matrimonial speculations of that king after the death of his wife, Wolsey gave a striking proof of energy and discretion; and Henry VII. presented the quick-witted chaplain with the deanery of Lincoln. Henry VIII. found this able man ready for his service when he came to the throne, and he made him one of his council. Wolsey's abilities were so commanding, his services so important, and his adaptation of his counsels to the royal will so politic, that we shall soon recognise him as the most influential of Henry's ministers.

In June, 1512, an English force was sent to Spain, under the marquis of Dorset. These ten thousand Englishmen, who were intended for the conquest of Guienne, remained inactive near Fonterabia, whilst Henry's ally, Ferdinand, was carrying out his own projects in the conquest of Navarre. They returned to England without accomplishing anything. The English fleet under Sir Edward Howard made descents on the coast of Brittany, and committed the usual ravages. There was a naval engagement off Brest, which was called a victory, though the largest ship in the English navy, the Regent, was burnt. In the following spring of 1513, Brest was blockaded. The evil that was inflicted upon the French coasts was naturally retaliated by a similar infliction upon the English coasts. There was a statute passed in 1512 for the especial erection of bulwarks from Plymouth to the Land's-end, and in all other landing-places, which enacted that all inhabitants of the maritime districts should be compelled to work at such bulwarks, with their own instruments, and to receive no compensation for their toil.

Ferdinand of Castile, with his usual adroitness, had concluded a truce with Louis XII. He had possessed himself of Navarre, and the object with which he drew England into a war was accomplished. But Henry, with Maximilian, the emperor, and the pope (now Leo X.), formed a new league against France. Two divisions of an army of twenty-five thousand men had sailed for France in May, under the earl of Shrewsbury and lord Herbert, and were besieging Terouenne, a strong town of France, near the Flemish frontier, when Henry, on the 30th of June, set sail from Dover with the third division. He committed the governance of the realm to his queen, leaving his commands for the execution of the earl of Suffolk, who had remained shut up in the Tower since 1506. For three weeks Henry lingered at Calais, exhibiting his "garment of white cloth of gold, with a red cross," and surrounded by the six hundred archers of his guard, "all in white gaberdines." At length he marched on towards Terouenne, and reached the camp on the 4th of August. On the 12th, Maximilian was to join him. The emperor and his men came all in plain black cloth. Maximilian was a real warrior, and also a judge of human character. He called himself the king's soldier, and he and his men took the wages of England. A body of French cavalry had advanced on the 16th of August for the relief of Tournay. The emperor led his German cavalry and the English mounted archers against this formidable force, far exceeding his own in number. Henry followed with the infantry. At the first shock the French gendarmes, to the number of ten thousand, were seized with some inexplicable panic, and in spite of their practice in war fled before

the charge of Maximilian, leaving their best officers on the field. Amongst the prisoners was the illustrious Bayard. This was called the "Battle of the Spurs." Terouenne was surrendered on the 27th of August. Henry was then invited by the archduchess Margaret to visit her in her court of Lisle. Here he met his wife's nephew, prince Charles of Spain. One more feat was accomplished before the king returned home. Tournay was besieged and capitulated on the 29th of September. After three weeks of the accustomed parade, Henry was again in England on the 24th of November. Wolsey received the rich bishopric of Tournay.

Before Henry left England the circumstances that indicated an approaching war with Scotland were in full operation. On the 22nd of August, James IV. crossed the Tweed with an army of many thousand men, comprising every race and class of the population of Scotland, and commanded by the most powerful of the nobility. This force invested the castle of Norham, and after six days the governor surrendered the place. Three other border fortresses, Wark, Etall, and Ford, successively fell. The earl of Surrey, to whom was entrusted the defence of the English border, was at Pontefract. He set up the standard of St. George at Newcastle; and with a numerous force marched on to Alnwick, which he reached on the 3rd of September. "The king lay upon the side of a high mountain called Flodden, on the edge of Cheviot, where was but one narrow field for any man to ascend up the said hill to him, and at the foot of the hill lay all his ordnance. On the one side of his army was a great marish, and compassed with the hills of Cheviot, so that he lay too strong to be approached of any side, except the English would have temerariously run on his ordnance."* The English commander was an experienced soldier; and he showed his knowledge of strategy by an unexpected and masterly movement. The Till, a branch of the Tweed, lay between the two armies. Surrey had crossed this river on the 8th of September, at a distant point from Flodden; by which manœuvre he deceived James as to his real intentions; but on the morning of the 9th he suddenly re-crossed it, with his van and cannon, at Twissel-bridge, near the junction of the Till with the Tweed, and the remainder of his army passed a ford. The English were marching rapidly to secure the eminence of Branksome, when the Scots descended the heights of Flodden to seize this position, setting fire to their tents. The battle began at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 9th of September. Each of the sons of Surrey commanded a division of the right wing; Surrey himself was in the centre; sir Edward Stanley headed the left wing. The Scottish earls Huntley and Home, who commanded their left wing, attacked the Howards with a vigour that might have decided the battle, had not lord Dacre come to their aid with the reserve of horse. The Scottish right wing, which chiefly consisted of Highlanders, was unable to stand up against the archers of Lancashire. James and Surrey met in close conflict in the centres of their armies. Never was king in the extremity of danger surrounded by more gallant supporters. But though he and his knights were struggling in no unequal strife with Surrey, whose standard was nearly won, the rapid triumph of

* Hall, p. 566.

Stanley over the right wing enabled him to attack the Scottish centre in the rear. James fell within a lance's length of Surrey. None of his division were made prisoners. They all perished with their king. As night came on Surrey drew back his men. Before the dawn the Scots had left the field. The loss of the Scottish army has been computed at ten thousand men; that of the English at about seven thousand. When the king returned, Surrey was created duke of Norfolk, and his son Thomas earl of Surrey. Honours were also bestowed upon other leaders. But the desolation of Scotland had not extinguished the high spirit of the country; and, after a short time, there were inroads made from the Scottish border, as well as from the English, of which the ferocity on either side was equally balanced.

England made great preparations for war against France in the beginning of 1514; but the actual hostilities were confined to ravages on the coast of the Channel. Louis of France was, however, too wise to continue a contest in which his own safety was so imperilled. Henry of England had a sister, Mary, now in her seventeenth year. Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, had won her affections; but, in treating for peace, when the king of France asked her hand, she was consigned to age and decrepitude, instead of to the most gallant of English knights. Mary was crowned queen of France on the 5th of November, 1514. On the 1st of January, King Louis was dead. Charles Brandon was sent to bring the queen from France. She came to England as his wife. At the time of the treaty with France peace was also concluded with Scotland.

From 1515 to 1523 no parliament was summoned. Henry and his minister governed the kingdom at their sole will. Wolsey was declared a cardinal in 1516. He received the Great Seal as chancellor in the same year; and he was nominated papal legate in 1517. The ambitious cardinal was pope in England; but he was also the devoted servant of the crown. The magnificence of this sumptuous churchman would have been scarcely endured by the most jealous of monarchs, had they merely emanated from the ostentation of the courtier and statesman. But Wolsey wielded his great power, and displayed his extraordinary magnificence, not in opposition to the prerogative of the king, or in rivalry with his dignity, but in strict conformity with the desire of Henry to be the faithful son and devoted champion of the Roman Church. The powerful minister and his royal master had a perfect understanding as to the parts which each was to sustain in matters of ecclesiastical controversy. The appointment of Wolsey as the papal legate was concurrent with the time when Luther first challenged the power of the pope to absolve the sinner from the penalties of Divine justice. The spirit of the Lollards was not wholly trodden out in England. The time for effectually suppressing opinions was passed. But Pope Leo was too acute a politician not to secure for himself the services of a man of such commanding influence as Wolsey. The choice was a wise one; for as long as Wolsey was in power, though he was a church-reformer in a limited degree, he maintained the papal supremacy inviolate in England. With a king and a minister whose individual characters would naturally give such a colour to her foreign policy, England found herself, in 1519, essentially involved in the complicated

meshes of continental negotiations. Louis XII. had been succeeded by his son-in-law, Francis, then in his twenty-first year. In 1516, Ferdinand of Spain died, and was succeeded by his grandson, Charles, a youth of sixteen. This young prince had already inherited the Netherlands from his father, the archduke Philip, who died in 1506. Francis and Charles were each extravagantly ambitious, though essentially different in personal character. The first act of the enterprising king of France was to make good his claim to the duchy of Milan. The pope, Leo X., opposed this claim, in conjunction with Ferdinand of Spain, and with the Swiss. Francis rapidly passed the Alps; and having won the great victory of Marignano, entered Milan as conqueror in October, 1515. In 1518, Henry VIII. formed a league with Francis, by which the strictest amity between the two nations was provided for. By a special treaty, the marriage of the dauphin with Mary, the daughter of Henry, was arranged. The possession of Tournay was relinquished by Henry upon a payment to him of six hundred thousand crowns. In 1519, the emperor Maximilian died. Some time before his death he had made an extraordinary offer of resigning the empire to Henry. Henry now sent Richard Pace, an accomplished scholar and able diplomatist, on a secret mission to Germany to sound the electors. But there were two other candidates for the imperial dignity—Francis, king of France, and Charles of Spain. The desire of the king of England, next to that of his own election, was that neither of these rival princes should obtain that accession of power; and in the support of one or the other England shifted sides, with little regard to the dignity of the crown, or the interests of the people. At the commencement of the contest Henry had promised his support to Francis. Towards its end he gave his interest to Charles. Each of these monarchs had bribed the needy electoral princes to an enormous extent. The skilful management of Charles secured his unanimous election.

On the 12th of March, 1520, a solemn instrument was prepared by Wolsey, for the regulation of a meeting between Henry and Francis, before the end of the following May. The place appointed was between the English castle of Guisnes and the French castle of Ardres. The vast preparations went forward day and night, to construct a palace whose principal rooms were to be larger than in any house in England—whose canvas roofs were to be "curiously garnished"—whose walls were to be flourished with "histories." The building approached its completion after two months' labour. On the 25th of May, Henry and his queen arrived at Canterbury, at which city the feast of Pentecost was to be kept. Charles, the emperor elect, was on his passage from Spain to visit his dominions in the Netherlands. He landed, and kept the Whitsuntide at Canterbury with the English king and queen. On the last day of May Charles sailed to Flanders from Sandwich, and Henry from Dover to Calais. On the 7th of June, the two kings met in the valley of Andren. The solemnities of "The Field of the Cloth of Gold," as the place of this meeting came to be called, occupied nearly three weeks. There was tilting with lances, and tourneys on horseback with the broad sword, and fighting on foot at the barriers. The kings were always victorious against all comers. But from the court of the emperor there came no knight to answer the challengers.

On Midsummer-day the gaudy shows were over. The kings separated after an exchange of valuable presents,—Francis to Paris, Henry to Calais. There can be little doubt that at the very time when Henry and Wolsey were arranging a treaty with Francis, and the two kings were interchanging professions of affection, the cardinal was bound to the interests of the emperor, with the full concurrence of his royal master. On the 11th of July Henry met the emperor near Gravelines; and Charles returned with him to Calais. After a visit of three days, the emperor accomplished far more by his profound sagacity than Francis by his generous frankness. Wolsey was propitiated by presents and promises; Henry by a studied deference to his superior wisdom.

In the roll of illustrious names of nobles and knights at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, the name of the duke of Buckingham stands at the head. This nobleman was the son of the duke of Buckingham who had died on the scaffold under Richard III. He is said to have provoked Wolsey's enmity by expressing dissatisfaction with the expense of the great pageantry at Guisnes. But Henry had exhibited jealousy of Buckingham in 1519, when sir William Bulmer had quitted the king's service to enter that of the duke. After eighteen months had passed, Buckingham was suddenly sent for from his castle of Thornbury, to appear in the king's presence. On his way to London, his barge was boarded, and he arrested. His fate was soon determined. On the 13th of May he was indicted before his peers, the duke of Norfolk presiding. Charles Knyvet, a discarded officer of the duke, was the chief witness against him; and deposed to certain words of Buckingham said to himself and lord Abergavenny, which, even if true, could not be fairly wrested into an overt act of treason. However Buckingham was convicted; and Norfolk pronounced the sentence. The duke was beheaded on the 17th of May.

In 1520, the pope issued a bull, denouncing the penalties of excommunication against Martin Luther, unless he should recant certain passages in his writings; and threatening the same penalties against all princes who should neglect to secure the heretic. In January of that year, Luther, for having denied the pontifical supremacy, was expelled from the communion of the Church. The emperor Charles V. was called upon to punish the Reformer; but the elector of Saxony induced the emperor to let the question be tried before a diet of the empire. In April the diet met at Wurms. The Reformer was proof against the threatenings or the persuasions of this assembly, composed of the emperor, the electors of the empire, princes, bishops. He was allowed to depart, with a safe-conduct for twenty-one days. Maurice of Saxony knew the danger which Luther incurred if he went at large. He caused him to be seized and carried to the castle of Wartburg. At the time that the pope's bull against Luther arrived in England, Henry VIII. had entered with his pen into theological controversy. His book on "the Seven Sacraments," against Luther, written in Latin, was published in London in 1521, and in Antwerp in 1522. Luther replied to the king's work in a tone of scurrility which deformed most of the learned controversies of these times. But Henry obtained what he regarded as a great distinction; the pope bestowed upon him by bull, dated the 11th of October, the title of "Defender of the Faith."

In May, 1521, Henry wrote to Lewis of Bavaria, "Delay not a moment to seize and exterminate this Luther, who is a rebel against Christ."

At this time a league was formed between the emperor and the pope against the king of France; and the mediation of England, in the person of Wolsey, was accepted by the princely disputants. But a new cause of quarrel broke out; and then Wolsey decided that the king of France having been the aggressor, the king of England was bound to give his aid to the emperor. A treaty was then concluded against France with Charles and with the pope. But the papal and imperial forces had already driven the French out of Milan. In the hour of his triumph Leo died. Wolsey then aspired to the papal chair. The election, however, fell upon cardinal Adrian, a Belgian, who had been the preceptor of the emperor, and was now his viceroy in Spain. In 1522, war was declared against France, and Wolsey raised the necessary means by forced loans and benevolences from the citizens of London. The chancellor promised in return that he would redress the grievance which the jealousy of the citizens saw in "the great occupying of strangers." This temper of the unreasoning traders and artisans had, four years before, produced fatal results. In 1517 a preacher named Bell had excited the citizens against the aliens in London. On the first of May, Wolsey, as chancellor, sent for the mayor and aldermen, and warned them of a danger which he heard was impending. A council of the city was called in the evening; and the recorder and Sir Thomas More came from the cardinal with a command that every man, with his servants, should be within his house at nine o'clock. The injudicious severity of an alderman led to a tumult. Once roused there was no limit to the popular violence. The affair became an insurrection. The lieutenant of the Tower fired his ordnance upon the city. The earls of Surrey and Shrewsbury came with their armed bands. Three hundred of the rioters were committed to prison; and, after a trial, thirteen were hanged as traitors.

In April, 1523, a parliament met at the Blackfriars. The chancellor left to an inferior dignitary, the bishop of London, the duty of opening the session. Sir Thomas More, who had become one of the king's council, was nominated Speaker. On the 29th of April, Wolsey came to the House of Commons, and demanded a fifth of every man's goods and lands, which would amount to 800,000*l.*, to carry on the war with France. A commission was appointed to reason with the chancellor, and to induce him to beseech the king to be content with a smaller sum. Wolsey refused; and the sturdy Commons debated amongst themselves for fifteen or sixteen days. At last they agreed to two shillings in the pound. The act for this subsidy contains a number of the most stringent clauses for enforcing its assessment by commissioners, and its collection. The enactment touched the great industrious class of the community, down to every person taking even daily or weekly wages, to the yearly value of twenty shillings. After the royal treasury had been thus replenished, the war with France and Scotland was carried on with vigour and ferocity. In 1514, Henry's sister Margaret had married the earl of Angus. But the duke of Albany, brother to James III., being invited by the Scottish parliament to assume the regency, Margaret and her husband fled to England. Her two sons were separated from her. Henry desired that Albany might be banished

from Scotland; he was told that the Scottish parliament would resist any attempt to overthrow the government of their choice. Henry had always his political spies and agents in the Scottish court to sow division. In 1517 Albany went to France; and Margaret having been permitted to reside in Scotland, the contests of faction again broke out. She desired Angus to be regent—a demand which the council resisted. Angus was a faithless husband; and the queen-mother resolved upon a divorce. But Henry effected a hollow reconciliation; and, after the fiercest contests between the factious nobles, Angus became supreme in the conduct of the government. Margaret was again dissatisfied with her husband; and, having sought a divorce in the court of Rome, induced Albany to return to Scotland. It was the object of the English government to raise up impediments in the way of Albany, who was a man of vigour and ability. In 1522 Henry repeated his demand that Albany should be removed from power—with the same result. The borders of the Tweed were then ravaged by the earl of Shrewsbury. Albany raised an army of eighty thousand men; but Lord Dacre, the Warden of the Marches, deceived him into consenting to a month's suspension of hostilities. Albany now returned to France; and the earl of Surrey took the command of the army to invade Scotland. He destroyed Jedburgh, and devastated all Tweedale and March. Albany returned to Scotland, and crossed the English border. But he suddenly retreated before Surrey; and, his two failures having deprived him of his popularity in Scotland, he quitted his native country, for France, and returned no more. Margaret disgraced herself by renewed immoralities; and her husband having become regent, the Scottish court and people were freed from her habitual arrogance and her capricious schemes.

In 1523, Henry sent the duke of Suffolk to invade France. Francis was intent upon recovering his power in Italy; and was advancing with an army to the Alps. By a plan of operations combined with the emperor, the English were to invade France, the Spaniards attack Guienne, and the Germans make an inroad into Burgundy. The operations of the allies were deferred till October. Winter set in with furious rains and intense frost. The troops of England were perishing; and Suffolk, having retreated, disbanded his army, and the enterprise was at an end.

Upon the death of Adrian, Wolsey was again a candidate for the pontificate. His pretensions were supported by the English king; but Giulio de' Medici was elected; and took the title of Clement VII. The new pope supported the emperor, but the Italian people looked with natural dread upon this alliance. The domination of Spain or of France was equally hateful to them. Before the summer of 1524 the French were driven out of Italy. The duke of Bourbon, one of the highest nobles of France, having cause for private dissatisfaction with Francis, had joined the confederacy against his sovereign; and the great Bayard had fallen, fighting against the revolted duke. Francis was resolved to make another effort to regain Milan. He besieged Pavia. After three months of various success, the imperial army came to the relief of the town. Francis had detached a part of his troops to invade Naples. A general battle took place, and Francis, after fighting with the gallantry of the elder chivalry, was take-

prisoner. The emperor was without the necessary finances to follow up his success over the French king, so he concluded an armistice for six months.

The ambition of Henry to be lord of France now revived. He proposed that the emperor and himself should invade that country; that the French dominions should be his, as his lawful inheritance; and that Charles should take the Burgundian provinces. But to accomplish all this was difficult with an empty treasury. The last parliament had been troublesome. A subsidy was therefore demanded without the intervention of parliament; and commissioners were appointed to levy the illegal claim of the sixth part of every man's substance. From the clergy more was demanded. The resistance was universal. The people of Suffolk had begun "to rage and assemble themselves in companies." The duke of Suffolk was for subduing them with the strong hand, and directed that their harness should be taken from them. The people now openly rebelled; and the duke called upon the gentlemen to assist him. But they would not fight against their neighbours. The duke of Norfolk then gathered a great force, and coming to the rebels, inquired into their grievances. Having listened to their complaints, he advised them to disperse, and promised to procure their pardon from the king. The rioters then separated. The despot thus learnt that his absolute rule was to have some limit. With a meanness equal to his rapacity, he affected not to know "that the commissioners were so strait as to demand a sixth of every man's substance." Wolsey took the blame upon himself. Pardons were issued to all the rioters; the commissions were revoked; and the old trick of a voluntary "benevolence" was again resorted to.

In August, 1525, a league with France was completed. The Princess Mary, who had long been contracted to the emperor, had been the object of a matrimonial negotiation both with France and with Scotland. When Charles demanded that the contract should be fulfilled, Henry declined. Charles had no money to give the English king or his profuse minister. A treaty was entered into with France, under the regency of the queen-mother, in which this essential condition of an alliance was amply provided for. Meanwhile, Francis remained in captivity—first in Italy and afterwards in Spain. Negotiations for his release were at length entered into at Madrid, he having, after repeated refusals, consented to restore Burgundy to the emperor. After his release he refused to ratify his engagement for the surrender of Burgundy, to which he had solemnly sworn. The pope dispensed with his oath; and Henry instructed his ambassadors to urge him to violate it. In 1526, the pope entered into a war against the emperor for the independence of Italy. The doctrines of Luther had made considerable progress in Germany; and Clement VII. had stirred up the general hatred of the papal power into a bitter hostility to himself amongst the Germans, by his rupture of an alliance with the emperor. George Frundsberg, a German noble of great influence, had raised an army of sixteen thousand men, with small pay and large promises. In November, 1526, his fierce lance-knights crossed the Alps. Bourbon, now the general of the emperor's armies in Italy, marched from Milan at the head of twenty-five thousand men, in January, 1527. The winter was one of uncommon severity. The troops were wholly unprovided with necessaries,

All the munitions of war were wanting. Spaniards, Italians, Germans, Flemings, starving and blaspheming, marched on for two months with no success but the plunder of the villages on their route. At last Bourbon moved out of Tuscany towards Rome, and, on the 5th of May, encamped before the magnificent capital. On the next day, the Eternal City was assaulted in three separate attacks. The morning was misty; and the army's approach to the suburbs was unperceived. There was a brave resistance of the few who defended the outworks. Bourbon leapt from his horse; and planting a scaling-ladder against the wall, shouted to his men to follow him. A ball from the ramparts terminated his career. His death produced no relaxation in the ardour of his followers. Their prey was before them; and in a few hours the devoted city was in their hands. The pope and his cardinals shut themselves up in the castle of St. Angelo. "The Goths evacuated the city at the end of six days, but Rome remained about nine months in the possession of the Imperialists: and every hour was stained by some atrocious act of cruelty, lust, and rapine."* Robertson says, "Whatever excesses the ferocity of the Germans, the avarice of the Spaniards, or the licentiousness of the Italians could commit, these the wretched inhabitants were obliged to suffer."

On the 3rd of July, 1527, Wolsey was sent as ambassador to France. Hall, with reference to this embassy, says that at this season there began a fame in London that the king's confessor, and divers other great clerks, had told the king that the marriage between him and the lady Catherine was not good, and that the king should marry the duchess of Alençon, sister to the French king. One of the objects of Wolsey's embassy was the settlement of an alliance between the king of France, or one of his sons, and the princess Mary. The divorce of the mother of the princess was at the same time the subject of the anxious thoughts of Henry's minister. The difficulties with which Wolsey was surrounded in this affair of the divorce appear to have been constantly in his mind during this journey to France. He was suspected by Catherine; he dreaded the knowledge of the scheme being disclosed to the emperor. Of the pope's consent, the legate had no doubt, if Clement could be delivered from his imprisonment at Rome. Here was one of the sunken shoals upon which Wolsey's policy was wrecked. Another shifting sand, equally dangerous, was the secret passion of the king for a lady of his court, Anne Boleyn, the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, grandson of a rich citizen of London, who was descended from an honourable Norfolk family. When Mary, the sister of Henry VIII., married Louis XII., in 1514, Anne Boleyn, then only seven years of age, was taken with her. Upon the widow of the French king returning to England as wife of Charles Brandon, the little Kentish girl remained in the household of the daughter of Louis, who afterwards became the wife of Francis I. This queen died in 1524; and Anne remained in France with the duchess of Alençon, the sister of Francis, till after the battle of Pavia, when she returned to England. In 1527, she was one of the maids of honour to queen Catherine.

Wolsey, having fulfilled his mission, and been treated with the greatest

* Gibbon's "Decline and Fall," vol. iv., p. 109, Dr. Smith's edit.

distinction by the French court, returned to England in the autumn of 1527. He had not only made a favourable treaty with France, and added new strength to his own legatine authority in England, but was so confident in the matter of the divorce, that he had promised the mother of Francis that a princess of her house should wear the English crown within a year. In October, a splendid embassy from France arrived in England, to invest Henry with the order of St. Michael. The cardinal vied with the king in giving the envoys the most magnificent entertainments. Cavendish says of this time, "The long-hid and secret love between the king and Mistress Anne Boleyn began to break out into every man's ears. The matter was then by the king disclosed to my lord cardinal; whose persuasion to the contrary, made to the king upon his knees, could not effect."

At the beginning of 1528, war was formally declared against the emperor by France and England. This war against Charles was most unpopular in this country. On the 16th of February, Jean du Bellay, bishop of Bayonne, the French ambassador in England, writes, "I think that he (the cardinal) is the only one in England who desires the war in Flanders." On the 23rd, Bellay says, that those who would gladly see Wolsey come to ruin, rejoice when everything goes wrong, and say, "These are the works of the legate." The government did not wholly set itself against the popular voice. An armistice was concluded between England and the Netherlands, whilst hostilities went on as between England and Spain. Meanwhile, the pope having been released from his confinement in December, 1527, it was the great object of Wolsey to obtain that favourable judgment in the matter of the divorce which he had so confidently promised. In February, 1528, Clement granted a commission authorising Wolsey, as legate, with the aid of one of the English prelates, to inquire into the sufficiency of the dispensation for Henry's marriage with his brother's widow, and to pronounce accordingly upon the validity or invalidity of that marriage. Wolsey shrank from this fearful responsibility; and he obtained a new commission from the pope, dated in June, 1528, in which cardinal Campegius was associated with him to try this great question of the legality of the marriage.

At the moment when the forces of Francis, under Lautrec, the French general, had been successful at every point over the Imperialists, and were besieging Naples with every prospect of success, the malaria fever and the plague swept off his men with a rapidity far more fatal than the most sanguinary battle; and the miserable remnant of his army capitulated to the forces of Charles in September, 1528. The emperor was now predominant. The Germans and the Spaniards were not driven out of Italy, as Clement had thought probable. Charles was naturally and honestly opposed to the project of the divorce. The pope was obliged to resort to equivocation and half-measures. Wolsey was left to do his best with an imperious master and a discontented people. Cardinal Campegius arrived in England on the 9th of October. On the 8th of November, Henry summoned an [illegible] of Bridewell, and set before them the danger of the [illegible] without a true heir to the throne; the doubts that [illegible] legitimacy of his daughter; and the care with

which he had sought counsel of the greatest clerks in Christendom, having sent for the legate, as a man indifferent, to know the truth and to settle his conscience.* Then the two legates waited upon the queen, who was also there lodged; and "declared to her how they were deputed judges indifferent between the king and her."

The winter of 1528-29 was, in London, a season of great excitement. The court and the people were at issue. The sycophantic and unscrupulous of the higher classes were crowding to win the smiles of the triumphant lady whom the king did not hesitate to proclaim as the object of his affections. An order had been issued that only ten shopkeepers of any foreign nation should reside in London. This banishment of strangers must have produced the most extensive derangement of commercial affairs, if, as was said, "more than fifteen thousand Flemings would in consequence be removed." The people were suspected of a disposition to revolt.

On the 18th of June, 1529, the court of the legates was solemnly opened, by reading the commission of the pope to the judges of the cause. "That done, the crier called the king, by the name of 'king Henry of England, come into the court, &c.' With that the king answered, 'Here, my lords.' Then he called also the queen, by the name of 'Catherine, queen of England, come into the court, &c.' who made no answer to the same." This is the account given by Cavendish, who then makes the queen, kneeling, address the king, "in broken English." When Catherine had left the court, Henry, according to the same authority, made a speech, touching his griefs and necessities, and Catherine's goodness. The legates continued to sit till the 30th of July; having examined witnesses, and received documentary evidence, touching the marriage of prince Arthur. They then adjourned without coming to any decision. During the sittings of the court, Wolsey had to endure the anger of him whose passion was as uncontrollable as it was dangerous. The influence of Anne Boleyn was opposed to the great cardinal, and his fall was the political revolution which might now be accomplished at any moment. The queen was removed from the court; and Anne accompanied the king in his pleasure-progress during the hunting season. Campegius having made suit to return to Rome, he and Wolsey set out to meet the king at Grafton. Henry received the chancellor graciously, but Wolsey never again saw the king. When Michaelmas term commenced on the 9th of October, he went with his usual state to the Court of Chancery. On the 17th of the same month he surrendered the great seal.

* Hall, p. 754.

CHAPTER XIV.

When Wolsey left, for ever, his palace of York Place, everything that he possessed was taken from him, under the sentence of the Court of King's Bench, that his lands, goods, and chattels were forfeited, and that his person was at the mercy of the king. The charge against him was, that, as legate, he had violated the statutes of præmunire, by exercising his powers under a foreign authority. To this charge Wolsey answered: "I have the king's licence in my coffers, under his hand and broad seal, for exercising and using the authority thereof [of the legatine prerogative] in the largest wise, the which now remaineth in the hands of my enemies." Wolsey reached his desolate house of Esher, wholly unprovided with common necessaries,—with "beds, sheets, tablecloths, cups, or dishes." He wrote to Dr. Stephen Gardiner, praying him to extend his benevolence towards him; and begging for pecuniary help from the sovereign who had stripped him of everything. On the 1st of November, Wolsey's faithful follower, Thomas Cromwell, rode to London from Esher, and whispered some words of magical import into the ears of the king, which saved Wolsey for a season, and made himself, in due time, the most powerful of Henry's servants. The parliament met on the 3rd of November. Thomas Cromwell, through some sudden influence, became a member. "There could nothing be spoken against my lord [Wolsey] in the parliament house," says Cavendish, "but he [Cromwell] would answer it incontinent, or else take until the next day; against which time he would resort to my lord to know what answer he should make in his behalf." The articles exhibited by the Lords against Wolsey—such as his writing to Rome, "Ego et Rex meus"—his putting the cardinal's hat on his York groat—his sending large sums to Rome—and similar charges of ecclesiastical assumption, were evidently held insufficient to sustain any accusation of offence "to the prince's person or to the state," as Wolsey himself alleged. It was not Henry's purpose then to crush Wolsey. The future was too doubtful to allow the king utterly to destroy a cardinal of the Roman see, whilst there was anything to hope in the matter of the divorce from the decision of the pope.

There had not been a parliament called since 1523. During the legatine rule of Wolsey, the pecuniary exactions of the church had become oppressive to all ranks of the people. In the six weeks of their session, the Commons asserted their determination to set some bounds to a power which was more obnoxious, because more systematic in its pecuniary inflictions, than the illegal subsidies and the compulsory loans of the crown. The new chancellor, sir Thomas More, though a rigid Catholic in doctrine and discipline, was too wise and honest not to see that the rapacity of the officials of the church, and the general laxity as to pluralities and non-residence, [illegible] the foundations of ecclesiastical authority, even [illegible] hostility of the dreaded Lutherans. We cannot doubt [illegible] that three important statutes were passed in

this parliament of the 21st year of Henry. By these statutes the fees to the church upon probates, and the demand for mortuaries, or corpse presents, were brought within reasonable limits. It was also declared unlawful for ecclesiastics to occupy farms; to buy and sell at profit any kind of produce; to keep tan-houses and breweries. These practices were prohibited under heavy penalties. The same statute regulated the holding of pluralities, and enforced residence. That the ecclesiastics would stoutly resist such attacks upon long-continued abuses, which in their minds had assumed the shape of rights, was a necessary result of their extensive power. During the progress of the discussions in parliament on these bills there was much railing on both sides. The spiritual persons regarded the promoters of these measures as heretics and schismatics, and defended their own practices by prescription and usage. These practices were regarded with the more hostility because there was a doubt, very widely spread, of the infallibility of the church. It was not only the dislike of proctors, and summoners, and apparitors which influenced many sober and religious persons; but the craving for some higher teaching than that which led to the burning of the English Testament in St. Paul's Churchyard. Many copies of Tyndale's translation had been brought into the country, "which books the common people used and daily read privily; which the clergy would not admit, for they punished such persons as had read, studied, or taught the same, with great extremity."* Wolsey made strenuous efforts to restrain the printing of the Scripture in the people's tongue; and the kind nature of his successor, sir Thomas More, was so crusted over by his rigid habits of submission to the discipline of the church, that for the use and study of Tyndale's and Joy's Testaments "he imprisoned and punished a great number, so that for this cause a great rumour and controversy rose daily amongst the people."† Accused persons were now subjected to secret examination; were detained in custody for unlimited periods; were discharged without amends; or consigned to the stake if condemned of heresy, or to make purgation and to bear a faggot to their shame and undoing.

The king had obtained very large sums, by way of loan, from public bodies, and from individuals, in 1525, when the insurrections of Suffolk compelled him to withdraw the demand for a sixth of every man's substance. The Lords and Commons had now the audacity to renounce all claims to these loans, not only for themselves, but for every man to whom the king was indebted, in consideration of his highness's constant labours to defend his kingdom, to uphold the church, and to establish peace amongst his subjects. The parliament, which had accomplished such salutary reforms, and also perpetrated such gross injustice, was prorogued on the 17th December. "After the parliament was thus ended the king removed to Greenwich, and there kept his Christmas with the queen, in great triumph; with great plenty of viands, and divers disguisings and interludes, to the great rejoicing of his people."‡

The emperor was to be crowned by the pope at Bologna, in February, 1530. On the 23rd of January, we find that the sum of 1743*l.* 8*s.* 0*d.* is

* Hall, p. 771. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid., p. 768.

paid "by the king's commandment for the depechement of my lord Wiltshire and others, in their journey towards the emperor." "My lord of Wiltshire" was Anne Boleyn's father. The "others" were Doctor Stokesley, elected bishop of London, and Doctor Henry Lee, the king's almoner. With them also "divers doctors, both of law and divinity." Amongst these was Thomas Cranmer, who was an inmate of the house of the earl of Wiltshire. This divine had expressed his opinion that the question, whether a man might marry his brother's widow, might be settled upon scriptural authority, expounded by learned divines, which opinions could be obtained as well in England as from Rome. The notion was communicated to the king; and Cranmer had to work out his lucky idea in a book which he was desired to write. He maintained that the marriage of Henry was condemned by the authority of the Scriptures, and that of councils and fathers of the church; and that the pope had no power to give a dispensation opposed to those sources of belief. In the embassy to the emperor, which was truly an embassy to Clement VII., Cranmer was associated to defend his own propositions.

The war with the Imperialists had desolated the fairest spots of Lombardy. Famine and pestilence had completed the misery which war had begun. Amidst this national ruin, Clement had to place the crown on the head of Charles, as king of Lombardy, and emperor of the Romans. The ceremony took place at Bologna on the 24th of February. Before the emperor departed from Bologna the earl of Wiltshire had arrived. He had a difficult office to perform—that of moving the pope to a decided course, in the presence of Charles, who had very sufficient reasons for strenuously resisting the demands of Henry. He had to conciliate the emperor, by offering the restitution of queen Catherine's original dowry. He had to work upon the pope's fears, by intimating that "the Defender of the Faith" would pursue his own career, if the Holy See was inimical, without bending to its authority. Charles maintained a resolute attitude of hostility to the whole proceeding. The unhappy pope was in a fearful perplexity. The embassy returned home, having effected nothing. Cranmer remained, with the desire to contend the matter in a public disputation; which, however, was not permitted.

The declarations which were gathered from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and from universities and ecclesiastical bodies in France and Italy, were favourable to the desires of the king of England, as they pronounced against the lawfulness of his marriage with his brother's widow. In March, 1531, these opinions were laid before the House of Commons; and More, as chancellor, said, "Now you of this Commons House may report in your countries what you have seen and heard; and then all men shall openly perceive that the king has not attempted this matter of will or pleasure, as some strangers report, but only for the discharge of his conscience, and surety of the succession of the realm." * More, in his inmost heart, disliked the whole measure, and these official words must have come very hesitatingly from his lips.

Early in February, Wolsey received a general pardon; and having been

* Hall, p. 780.

assured of the temporalities of the see of York, he took up his residence in the archiepiscopal city. The council had agreed to advance him a sum for the expenses of his journey, to which the king had added a thousand pounds. A circular letter was also sent with the royal signet, calling upon the nobles and gentlemen of the country to show themselves as regarded him, "of toward and benevolent mind, using, entreating, and accepting him as to his dignity doth appertain."* "The king," says Hall, "all this year dissembled the matter, to see what he [Wolsey] would do at length." What he did was in the highest degree commendable. He lived with rational hospitality instead of ostentatious grandeur. After he was dead, a book was published, bearing an official character, in which it was said, that "he gave bishops a right good example how they might win men's hearts." The magnificence which the great minister had practised for twenty years, had become too much a part of his nature to be wholly changed for true simplicity of life in his altered fortunes; and Thomas Cromwell wrote to his former master, "Sir, some there be, that doth allege that your grace doth keep too great a house and family, and that ye are continually building." Within little more than two months after this warning of Cromwell, the enemies of Wolsey prevailed for the accomplishment of his complete ruin. On the 4th of November, the time approaching for his installation at York as archbishop, Wolsey was sitting at dinner at Cawood Castle, when he was told that the earl of Northumberland was come into his hall, with a great company. Wolsey went to receive him, and proffered him the hospitality of his house. He led the earl into his bed-chamber. Cavendish kept the door as gentleman-usher. "These two lords standing at a window by the chimney, in my lord's bed-chamber, the earl trembling said, with a very faint and soft voice unto my lord (laying his hand upon his arm), 'My lord, I arrest you of high treason.'" Wolsey was committed to the custody of the earl's people, Cavendish having been chosen to attend upon him as the chief person, and taking an oath that was prescribed to him. In a few days they departed, amidst the tears and prayers of the archbishop's household. Wolsey remained at Sheffield-park for a fortnight, under the charge of the earl of Shrewsbury. Here he became ill. Thither came Master Kingston, the constable of the Tower. After three days' riding, the sick man and his guards reached Leicester Abbey, on a Saturday night. "Father abbot, I am come hither to leave my bones among you," were his memorable words. On the following Tuesday he was at the point of death; when he uttered these more memorable words to Master Kingston: "If I had served God as diligently as I have done the king, he would not have given me over in my gray hairs." He died on the 29th of November, aged 59.

In January, 1531, the parliament met after a long prorogation. The clergy were now subjected to prosecution in the King's Bench for having obeyed the power of Wolsey as legate, which obedience was held to bring them within the charge of being his "fautors and abettors." A compromise was effected, and the king granted "out of his high goodness and great benignity," a pardon to his spiritual subjects, they having "given

* Ellis, first series, vol. ii., p. 17.

and granted to him a subsidy of one hundred thousand pounds."* This Act extended to the province of Canterbury. That of York had to pay a smaller sum in the following year. It was required in the grant that the king should be styled "the protector and only supreme head of the church and clergy of England." The acknowledgment, after much contention, was made, with the addition of the words, "as far as the law of Christ will allow." The divorce had now been more than three years in agitation, and it appeared as far as ever from a conclusion under the papal authority. Henry was in dread of being cited to Rome; and in April, 1531, desired his ambassador, Dr. Benet, to use every means "to put over the process, as long as ye may." The king desired that the cause should be decided in an indifferent place, by indifferent judges. The emperor was wholly opposed to the process being removed from Rome; and urged the pope to make no more delays in the matter.† The emperor had with the pope "a voice potential."

At this period Henry was so far from connecting his impatience of the papal power with any favour to the doctrines of the reformers, that he instructed Vaughan, his ambassador in the Netherlands, "to advise a young man named Frith, to leave his wilful opinions and errors, and to return into his native country;" and, through Cromwell also desired that good and wholesome exhortations for his conversion and amendment should be given to Tyndale. Frith did return; and, as Cranmer very unfeelingly wrote in 1533, was "to go unto the fire." Tyndale remained in the Netherlands, to be first imprisoned, and then strangled, by the persecutors of the reformers there, in 1536, after having published his admirable translations of the Scriptures, which the "Defender of the Faith" proscribed. In 1532 an Act was passed "concerning the payment of annates," or first-fruits of archbishoprics and bishoprics, to the Court of Rome." This statute limits the payment upon the papal bulls for consecration to five pounds for each hundred of yearly value; and in the case of the denial of such bulls provides for consecration in England without the papal authority. But the king's quarrel with Rome not yet having come to a final rupture, Henry was empowered to give or withhold his assent to the Act, by letters patent. The king did not confirm the Act of January, 1532, till July, 1533, when he had finally broken with Rome. Sir Thomas More held the great seal only about two years and a-half, and then resigned his office. He was a thoroughly conscientious minister, but he was in a false position. During his tenure of high place, the persecution of heretics was not violent. Erasmus has said, that it was a sufficient proof of his clemency that while he was chancellor no man was put to death "for these pestilent dogmas." But he took part in the examination of heretics before the council; sanctioned their imprisonment; and caused a boy and a bedlamite to be whipped for "ungracious heresy," according to his own statement.

In July, 1532, plans were laid for a meeting in the autumn between Henry and Francis; and the bishop of Bayonne wrote to the Great Master, de Montmorenci, that he well-knew that the greatest pleasure

* 22 Hen. VIII., c. 15. † State Papers, vol. vii., p. 317.

which the king of France could offer to his brother of England, was, that he should invite him to bring the lady Anne in his company to Calais; and that in the same way Francis should bring the queen of Navarre with him to Boulogne. On the 11th of October, Henry, with the Lady Anne, who had been created marchioness of Pembroke, landed at Calais; where they remained, with a most numerous attendance, till the 13th of November. The two kings met in a valley between Calais and Boulogne, on the 20th of October; and Francis brought his two sons, who had been redeemed from their captivity as hostages after the battle of Pavia. But he did not bring the queen of Navarre. After their return to England the union of Henry and Anne was completed by the forms of the church, without waiting for the divorce of Queen Catherine by the papal court, or otherwise. The rumour of this extraordinary event travelled abroad, how few soever might know of it.

Cranmer, having been long absent on his mission, returned to England in November, 1532. The aged archbishop of Canterbury, Warham, died in August of that year. Cranmer was offered the primacy. He for some time steadily refused, alleging his own unworthiness for so great a charge. At last, however, he consented. He was too necessary for the policy of the king to allow his own scruples to have any force against the royal will. He was appointed by papal bull, in February, 1533,—the last bishop of the English church who received the pall from Rome. He was consecrated on the 30th of March; and in taking the oath, still in force, of obedience to the pope, he publicly protested that by this oath he did not intend to restrain himself from anything he was bound to, either by his duty to God, or the king, or the country. The great object of Cranmer's promotion to the highest ecclesiastical office in the realm was soon apparent. Cranmer himself writes that, in the matter of the divorce, "the convocation had determined and agreed according to the former consent of the universities." The course of proceeding for the archbishop was resolved on "by the king and his learned council."* On the 11th of April, Cranmer wrote a letter to Henry, in which he implored his highness "for the exoneration of my conscience towards Almighty God, to license me, according to mine office and duty, to proceed to the examination, final determination, and judgment on the said great cause." The king graciously granted such licence. Cranmer repaired to Dunstable. Queen Catherine was summoned to an ecclesiastical court held there on the 8th of May; she refused to come; and being declared contumacious, the final sentence, that the marriage of Henry was null and void, was pronounced on the 23rd of May.

Henry had issued his orders for the coronation of Queen Anne on the 1st of June. The grand ceremonial took place on a Sunday, after three days of pageants and feasting. While Westminster saw these festive solemnities, there was another queen at Ampthill, solitary, sick at heart, yet sustained by her unconquerable will to defy the oppression with which she was pursued. The divorce was founded upon the implication that Catherine's maiden white was not truly worn at her marriage. She persisted to

* Ellis, first series, vol. ii., p. 35.

the end in contradicting that material averment in the process against her. No entreaties, no threats, could ever move her from this declaration. The birth of a daughter at the beginning of September, 1533, was a disappointment to the king. The christening of this daughter, Elizabeth, was performed at Greenwich, with extraordinary magnificence. Cranmer was the godfather.

Early in 1533 the parliament had passed the Statute of Appeals,—the title of which sufficiently shows its general object: "An Act that the Appeals in such cases as have been used to be pursued to the See of Rome, shall not be from henceforth had nor used but within this realm." This statute was a declaration of war, and the pope received it as such. But he still forbore to declare England out of the bosom of the Church. In July, by a papal brief, Cranmer's judgment was declared illegal; and the king was held to have incurred the penalties of excommunication. Meanwhile the government proceeded boldly in preparing the people for the great impending change. Preachers were ordered to teach and declare, that he that now calleth himself pope, is only bishop of Rome, "and hath no more authority and jurisdiction, by God's law, within this realm, than any other foreign bishop hath, which is nothing at all; and that such authority as he hath claimed heretofore, hath been only by usurpation." A strict commandment was to be given to the mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London to speak in their houses to this effect. The same principle was ordered to be declared to their families by the nobility of the realm. The time was come for renouncing the authority of the bishop of Rome; but true religious freedom appeared as distant as in the reign of Henry IV., when the Lollards were regarded as public enemies. The statute of the 25th of Henry VIII., "for punishment of heresy," declares that speaking against the pope or his decrees is not heresy; but that heretics, upon lawful conviction and refusal to abjure, or after abjuration shall relapse, "shall be committed to lay power to be burned in open places, for example of others, as hath been accustomed." The "Act for the establishment of the king's succession" brought within the penalties of treason all the covert hostility of many of the people to the divorce and the second marriage. This statute declared the first marriage unlawful and void;—the second marriage "undoubtful, true, sincere, and perfect." The king's issue by the Lady Anne were pronounced to be the inheritors of the imperial crown, and every manifest deed by writing or printing, to the prejudice of this marriage, or this succession, was to be taken as high treason; and, if by spoken words, as misprision of treason.

In the parish of Aldington there dwelt a servant-girl, afterwards a nun of the priory of St. Sepulchre's in Canterbury, named Elizabeth Barton. In the words of the statute for her attainder, she "happened to be visited with sickness, and by occasion thereof brought in such debility and weakness of her brain, because she could not eat nor drink by a long space, that in the violence of her infirmity she seemed to be in trances, and spake and [illegible] many foolish and idle words." The feeble mind of this woman [illegible]ased by the talk of those around her; and her fantastic dreams [illegible]erilous shape of revelations about the divorce then impending. [illegible]vings of this poor servant-girl, who afterwards became a pro-

fessed nun, was got up a mighty charge of conspiracy, in which bishop Fisher and sir Thomas More were implicated. Of this alleged conspiracy, as principal traitors, the nun, the parson of Aldington, the cellarer of Christ's Church, and five other persons, were tried in the Star Chamber, and suffered the penalties of treason, on the 21st of April, 1534. Of misprision of treason, others were arraigned; for that, believing in a revelation of the king's death, they had concealed it from him. Amongst these, the most eminent person was Fisher, bishop of Rochester. He was the only prelate who had the courage to refuse to sign a declaration, in 1527, that the king's marriage was unlawful. He stood alone in the Convocation in resisting the denial of the pope's supremacy. By the statute concerning Elizabeth Barton, he was attainted, with five others, "of misprision and concealment of treason." Sir Thomas More narrowly escaped. He had conversed with the nun of Kent in the convent of Sion. He was examined before the council. It is said that his name was originally introduced into the bill of attainder. But, if as brave as Fisher, the ex-chancellor was more wary. He was released. All persons not attainted by this Act were acquitted and pardoned, of the king's most gracious benignity, "at the humble suit and contemplation of his most dear, entire, and well-beloved wife, queen Anne."

The "Act for the establishment of the king's succession" contained a final clause that all the nobles of the realm, spiritual and temporal, and all other subjects of full age, should take an oath to maintain and defend this Act; and, upon their refusal so to do, should be held guilty of misprision of treason. The oath, which was taken by some lords and commoners in parliament before its prorogation on the last day of March, 1534, was to be taken by all who were called upon to appear before the commissioners appointed by the king. On the 13th of April, sir Thomas More was summoned to attend before the archbishop of Canterbury and the other commissioners at Lambeth. The result of his examinations was his committal to the Tower, after being kept in ward four days. Cranmer had expressed his opinion "that it were good the bishop of Rochester and master More should be sworn to the Act of the king's succession and not to the preamble of the same." In that preamble was contained a declaration of the unlawfulness of the king's first marriage, and of the legality of his second; and a disclaimer of foreign authority in the realm, by which was meant the spiritual authority of the See of Rome. Henry was indignant at Cranmer's merciful suggestion; and desired Cromwell to say, that "the king's highness in no wise willeth but that they shall be sworn as well to the preamble as to the Act." More and Fisher would not swear to the preamble, although they would swear to defend the succession. They were committed to the Tower, under a despotic authority which was subsequently introduced into a statute, that the certificate of the commissioners setting forth a refusal to take the oath "should be taken as strong and as available in the law as an indictment of twelve men lawfully found of the same refusal." By the parliament that assembled on the 3rd of November, 1534, they were attainted of misprision of treason; and were convicted "to all intents and purposes" as if they had been "lawfully attainted by order of the common law." The first law passed by this parliament was "An Act concerning the king's

Highness to be Supreme Head of the Church of England, and to have authority to reform and redress all errors, heresies, and abuses in the same." The Lords and Commons humbly requested that the king would be pleased, as their "most gracious sovereign lord, upon whom and in whom dependeth all their joy and wealth," to receive the first fruits of all spiritual dignities and promotions; and also an annual pension of one tenth part of all the possessions of the church. A subsidy granted in the same parliament followed the accustomed precedent. The higher clergy were terrified into the most abject prostration before this spiritual lord. The sheriff in every county was to be a spy upon the ecclesiastics, and to report if they truly spoke of the king as supreme head of the church, without any cloak or colour. Whoever sought to deprive the king, the queen, or their heirs apparent "of the dignity, title, or name of their royal estates," was now declared to be a traitor. To deny the king the title of Supreme Head of the Church was, therefore, treason. To refuse to swear to the succession was only misprision of treason. It was also enacted that whoever, by writing or words, published that the king was a heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper of the crown, should be subject to the penalties of high-treason.

The prior of the London Charter-house, John Haughton, after a short imprisonment in 1534, had sworn to the Act of Succession, and so had his brethren. But they were with difficulty brought "to good conformity." The new statute of treasons was to be tested upon them. There were two houses connected with the London priory; and their priors came to Cromwell, and with Haughton entreated to be excused answering the questions which they expected to be addressed to them. They were sent to the Tower. They refused to accept the Act of Supremacy when brought before Cromwell and others. They were tried by a jury upon this refusal; of course found guilty; and condemned on the 29th of April. On "the 3rd day of May was Holyrood-day, and then was drawn from the Tower unto Tyburn the three priors of the Charter-houses, and there hanged, headed, and quartered; and one of the prior's arms was set up at the gate into Aldersgate-street." * Other monks were hanged and headed. The monks who had submitted remained in their desolated house. By an "Act for Printers and Binders of Books," passed in 1534, the statute of Richard III., which allowed the free importation of printed and written books, was repealed. The Dutch printing-offices, then in full activity, were unpleasant neighbours to a government which undertook to regulate every man's opinion. Within three weeks of the execution of the Carthusians, nineteen men and six women, born in Holland, were examined in St. Paul's church as to their opinions.

Clement VII. died on the 25th of Sep[illegible] 1534. His successor, Paul III., probably thought that the [illegible] islanders might be won back by [illegible]d, he sent a cardinal's hat [illegible] wear it," exclaimed [illegible] not accept the hon[illegible]

[illegible]," p. 37.

before a special commission at Westminster Hall. The official record of this trial is a brief one: "Pleads not guilty. Venire awarded. Verdict, guilty. Judgment as usual in cases of treason." He died, by simple beheading, on the 22nd of June. On the 1st of July, the special commission again sat. More tottered into the hall, leaning upon his staff. He was charged not only with refusing to acknowledge the king's supremacy, but that he had positively denied it. A lawyer named Robert Rich had been with him in the Tower, and had drawn More into a conversation, which he now betrayed and exaggerated. This base fellow, who was afterwards lord chancellor, had played the same infamous part in the trial of Fisher. The verdict of guilty was pronounced. On the 6th of July, More was beheaded. "That innocent mirth which had been so conspicuous in his life, did not forsake him to the last. He maintained the same cheerfulness of heart upon the scaffold which he used to show at his table. His death was of a piece with his life."*

During seven years of momentous change, Thomas Cromwell had been raised through a succession of offices—master of the jewels, chancellor of the exchequer, secretary of state—to wield the most potent ecclesiastical authority as the king's vicegerent. It has been truly observed that "Cromwell, after the fall of his master, Wolsey, gained on the affections of Henry VIII. till he acquired as great an ascendancy, and nearly as much power, as the cardinal had possessed during the preceding part of the reign; and, whatever office he happened to hold, he was looked up to as the mover of the entire machine of the state." An Act for the dissolution of the smaller religious houses was passed in March, 1536. There had previously been a visitation of the monasteries, in the summer of 1535, by three learned doctors under a commission from the "vicegerent of the king in all his ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the realm." These commissioners anticipated that clause of the Act for the Suppression, which gave the king "all the ornaments, jewels, goods, and chattels" of the heads of the monastic houses, from the 1st of March, 1535. This was a large power to be entrusted to the visitors, and they never neglected to exercise it. They had rougher work to perform in hunting out and imprisoning abbots and priors, which they appear to have set about with hearty good-will. If we may form an opinion from the preamble of the statute of 1536, by which religious houses not above the yearly value of two hundred pounds, were given to the king, the framers of the Act, and the parliament which assented to it, intended the suppression of the monasteries there to stop. The statute proposes that the members of the smaller houses shall be removed to "divers great and solemn monasteries of this realm, wherein, thanks be to God, religion is right well kept and [illegible] This was deliberately asserted, after the visitation had been [illegible] more than six months. That the monastic establishments [illegible] retained, or their revenues applied, for purposes of Chris- [illegible] of the more conscientious reformers.

[illegible] on the 4th of April. It had existed for [illegible] assisted in some of the greatest changes

* "Spectator," No. 349.

of internal policy which England had ever witnessed. It had laboured, too, as previous parliaments had laboured, in devising remedies for social evils, after the prescriptive fashion of believing that laws could regulate prices, and that industry was to be benefited by enacting how manufacturers should tan leather or dye cloth, and what trades should be carried on in particular towns.

Queen Catherine died on the 7th of January, 1536. In her last hours she wrote a brief letter to Henry; chiefly to commend her daughter and her maids to his respect. Its opening sentence was one of solemn warning: "The hour of my death now approaching, I cannot choose but, out of the love I bear you, advise you of your soul's health, which you ought to prefer before all considerations of the world or flesh whatsoever; for which yet you have cast me into many calamities, and yourself into many troubles. But I forgive you all, and pray God to do so likewise."

In the February following, Anne Boleyn had a premature delivery of a dead son. There was again disappointment to the king. His desire for an heir had become a passion. However justly we may blame the weakness of Anne for permitting the royal lover to be for years at her feet, while the question of the divorce was depending, we see, after the marriage, a frank and affectionate helpmate,—cheerful, gay; kind to her dependents; earnest in looking at the Scriptures as the rule of life; of unbounded charity. But she had bitter enemies. She was regarded as a heretic; and no suspicion could more ensure her the king's hatred than this,—nor the hatred of her uncle, the duke of Norfolk. The moment that it was perceived that the king was cooling upon his "most entirely beloved wife," as he had so often proclaimed her to be, there were agents ready to procure her ruin. The Society of which Loyola was the founder was not regularly organised till 1540; but his most energetic proselytes were earlier in full activity. With such secret agents about Henry, to hint that the want of an heir was an intimation of Heaven's displeasure at his second marriage, as of the first; with Gardiner abroad, to suggest that the emperor would never acknowledge the lawfulness of the issue of Queen Anne; with one in the court, young and fair, with whom the king had evidently a perfect understanding; and with Anne herself, having habitually an unconstrained demeanor to those about her, which might be construed into levity and even guilt,—there could be no great difficulty in setting "the sordid slave" Audley, and "the base and profligate" Rich—(we use Lord Campbell's designations of these men)—to manufacture evidence, and to ground indictments for treason upon a statute that admitted of no such construction. There were secret investigations going on in April. On the 24th notice had been issued for the assembling of a special commission. The usual festivities took place at Greenwich on the 1st of May; and Henry sat by the side of Anne as they gazed upon the tournament, at which Anne's brother, lord Rochford, was the challenger of sir Henry Norris. To the real incidents of that day, which we may sufficiently trace from authentic relations, report added that Anne dropped a handkerchief which Norris picked up, and that Henry's jealousy was thus stung into madness. The king suddenly departed, and rode hastily to London. One who was a servant of sir Henry Norris says, "Upon May-day, Mr. Norris jusied;

and, after justing, the king rode suddenly to Westminster; and all the way, as I heard say, had Mr. Norris in examination, and promised him his pardon in case he would utter the truth. But whatsoever could be said or done, Mr. Norris would confess nothing to the king; whereupon he was sent to the Tower in the morning.* It appears that the queen was examined by some of the council at Greenwich. They accompanied her to the Tower on the 2nd. According to Kingston, the queen kept harping upon Norris, and speaking of him as if he had made advances to her, for which she had reproved him, and said she could undo him if she would. She had been persuaded that Norris had spoken lightly of her, but Norris had said to her almoner that he would swear she was a good woman. This talk does not appear to have chiefly taken place before the constable of the Tower, but was reported to him by one Mistress Cosyn, who was appointed to lie with the queen on her pallet,—Lady Boleyn, her uncle's wife and her domestic enemy, being also there. From time to time her mind is dwelling upon the threats and insinuations of Norfolk and the king's council, as these treacherous women question her; and she wanders in her distracted talk from one to the other of those who had been mentioned as being implicated in her dishonour. There is nothing which indicates anything more than the affection which these men naturally bore to a kind and perhaps too condescending mistress, in any one of her rambling and indiscreet sentences. When the queen first came into the Tower, she made an effort to touch the heart of the king; and she said to Kingston, "I shall desire you to bear a letter from me to Master Secretary." A copy of a letter to the king, with the words written upon it, "From the Lady in the Tower," is to be seen amongst the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum. It has been much injured by fire; but the entire letter, with which this burnt MS. corresponds in the parts untouched, is printed in Lord Herbert's history, and by Burnet, who refers to the MS. in a marginal note. In this beautiful composition Anne most solemnly asserts her innocence, and begs in touching terms for "a lawful" and "an open trial." She concludes with a request "that myself may only bear the burthen of your grace's displeasure, and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor gentlemen who, as I understand, are likewise in straight imprisonment for my sake. If I ever have found favour in your sight; if ever the name of Anne Boleyn hath been pleasing in your ears; then let me obtain this request." The day after Anne had been imprisoned in the Tower, Cranmer wrote to Henry expressing his unwillingness to believe in the queen's guilt. "For I never had better opinion in woman than I had in her, which maketh me to think that she should not be culpable. And again, I think your highness would not have gone so far, except she had surely been culpable. . . . . And as I loved her not a little, for the love which I judged her to bear towards God and his gospel; so if she be proved culpable, there is not one that loveth God and his gospel that ever will favour her, but must hate her above all other; and the more they favour the gospel, the more they will hate her." This remarkable letter

* From a memorial to Cromwell, by George Constantine, giving an account of a conversation which he held in Pembrokeshire.—"Archæologia," vol. xxiii.

very clearly indicates the inclination of Anne to a true reform of religion, founded upon the knowledge of the Scriptures; and the influence which she had exercised upon Henry's opinions. As a postscript Cranmer says:—"After I had written this letter unto your grace, my lord chancellor, my lord of Oxford, my lord of Sussex, and my lord chamberlain of your grace's house, sent for me to come unto the Star Chamber; and there declared unto me such things as your grace's pleasure was they should make me privy unto. . . . . I am exceedingly sorry, that such faults can be proved by the queen, as I heard of their relation." When Cranmer knew nothing of the charge against the queen, he spoke of it as an "offence without mercy to be punished." When the lord chancellor and others have made him privy to such things as the king desired him to know, he is only "exceedingly sorry that such faults can be proved by [of] the queen, as I heard of their relation." If he had heard enough to justify a charge "without mercy to be punished," would he not have used even stronger language than in the first portion of his letter?

On the 10th and 11th of November true bills were found by grand-juries of Middlesex and of Kent, against the queen, her brother, Henry Norris, William Brereton, Francis Weston, and Mark Smeaton, setting forth that the queen had incited them, including lord Rochfort, to commit the most odious crime; that they had at various times compassed and imagined the king's death; and that the king, "having within a short time before become acquainted with the before-mentioned crimes, vices, and treasons, had been so grieved that certain harms and dangers had happened to his royal body." On the 12th of May, the four commoners were tried by a jury at Westminster. They were convicted, and were executed on the 17th. Upon the scaffold they confessed their sins generally, but did not confess to the crimes with which they were accused.

On the 15th of May, a select number of peers assembled in the Tower—twenty-seven in all. The duke of Norfolk presided. The queen was arraigned; and pleaded not guilty. There is no record of the trial; no tittle of the evidence is preserved. The verdict was "Guilty"; the judgment, "to be beheaded or burned at the king's pleasure." The same form was gone through with lord Rochfort; with the usual sentence of death for treason. On the morning of her execution, Anne Boleyn requested Kingston to be present while she received the sacrament, and then declared her "innocency." She had been brought before Cranmer, before her trial, to be examined upon some mysterious point which enabled him to pronounce a sentence of divorce. Burnet says it was in consequence of a pre-contract with the earl of Northumberland. This the earl denied upon oath. When she died for alleged adultery, she was by law proclaimed not to have been the king's wife at all.

Lord Rochfort was executed with the four commoners on the 17th of May. On the 19th, Anne was brought out to die on the Tower-green. She made an address to the bystanders, expressive of the most entire submission to the king's will; took an affectionate leave of her ladies; "and being minded to say no more, she knelt down upon both knees, and one of her ladies covered her eyes with a bandage, and then they withdrew themselves some little space, and knelt down over against the scaffold, bewailing

bitterly, and shedding many tears. And thus, and without more to say or do, was her head stricken off; she making no confession of her fault, and only saying, 'O Lord God, have pity on my soul.'"* Queen Anne was beheaded on the 19th of May. On the 20th, Henry was married to Jane Seymour. The council exhorted him, we are told, to marry immediately, for a state necessity. We can find no reasonable cause to doubt that from the first step to the last, the charge was got up, the indictments prepared, the juries selected, the peers upon the trial nominated, the marriage with Jane Seymour settled—and last, but not least significant fact, a new parliament called for the sole purpose of making a new law of succession, before the cannon of the Tower had announced that Anne had perished. That parliament met on the 8th of June. We know not the dates of the writs of summons; but it was absolutely impossible that the elections could have taken place, and Peers and Commons have been in their places within eighteen days of the execution of Anne, had not those writs been issued at the same time as the order for a special commission was issued, namely, on the 24th of April.

The bishops and abbots, quaking for fear—the lay lords and commoners, with a scent of spoil—thus got together within three weeks of the appalling events that were probably still imperfectly rumoured in distant parts of the kingdom, were told by Audley, the chancellor, of the great cause of their being unexpectedly summoned. The king desired them to determine as to the succession of the crown; for he knew, confessed the chancellor, that he was "himself obnoxious to infirmities, and even death itself." It was declared that the issue of the marriage with Catherine had been rendered illegitimate by a previous statute, and that, by reason of a divorce pronounced before the execution of the late Lady Anne for treason, her daughter Elizabeth was also illegitimate, that marriage being "never good nor consonant to the laws." It was therefore enacted that the oath taken to uphold that succession was to be superseded by another oath to maintain the issue of the late marriage with the king's "entirely beloved wife" Queen Jane; and that all who should assert the lawfulness of the issue of the former marriages should be guilty of high treason. It was also enacted that, on failure of issue, the king might limit the descent of the crown, by letters patent, or by his will, to any person in possession or remainder, who shall be obeyed accordingly, whether male or female? The object of this Act was that Henry might bequeath the crown to his illegitimate son, the duke of Richmond. But the object was defeated by One greater than King, Lords, or Commons. The duke died whilst the bill was passing through parliament.

Mary, the king's first daughter, was now a little more than twenty years of age; Elizabeth was scarcely three years. Mary had incurred the greatest perils by her undaunted refusal to receive the marriage of her mother as unlawful. "For a great while she could not be persuaded to submit to the king; who, being impatient of contradiction from any, but especially from his own child, was resolved to strike a terror in all his people by put-

* Letter written from London on the 10th of June, from a Portuguese gentleman to a friend in Lisbon, translated by lord Strangford. "Excerpta Historica," p. 260.

ting her openly to death."* Burnet adds, that Cranmer induced the king to relax from this atrocious resolve. But the princess was kept from court and lived in great seclusion. The removal of Anne was considered an opportunity for the lady Mary again to approach her stern father. Cromwell appears to have been solicitous to effect a reconciliation; and partly by his threats, and partly by his entreaties, the unhappy woman was led to make a complete renunciation of all her former opinions—to accept the king as the Supreme Head of the Church; to "utterly refuse the bishop of Rome's pretended authority, power, and jurisdiction within this realm;" and to recognise the marriage of her mother with the king as unlawful, by God's law and man's law.

CHAPTER XV.

IRELAND, at this period of the reign of Henry VIII., exhibited a condition of society of which there was no parallel in the Europe that had emerged from barbarism. The English Pale, to which all early notices of Ireland refer, anciently comprised all the eastern coast from Dundalk bay to Waterford harbour, extending some fifty or sixty miles inland. The term "pale" is thus explained: "When Ireland was subdued by the English, divers of the conquerors planted themselves near to Dublin, and the confines thereto adjoining; and so, as it were, inclosing and impaling themselves within certain lists and territories, they feared away the Irish, insomuch as that country became mere English, and thereof it was termed the English pale."† In 1515, the pale was so reduced in its extent, that a line drawn from Dundalk to Kells, from Kells to Maynooth, from Maynooth to Kilcullen, and then towards Dublin, under the Wicklow mountains, would comprise all the English pale from the sea. There were sixty regions not included in the pale, governed by chief captains, calling themselves kings, princes, dukes, or arch-dukes; obeying no law but that of force; their very successions depending upon the strongest arm and the hardest sword. "In every of the said regions there be divers petty captains, and every one of them maketh war and peace for himself." There were also "thirty great captains of English noble folk, that followeth the same Irish order, and keepeth the same rule, and every of them maketh war and peace for himself"—the Desmonds, Fitzgeralds, and Fitzmaurices, the Butlers, Dillons, and Delameres. In the few districts subject to the king's writs—those within the pale—the people were so oppressed by the courts of law, that they were glad to abandon their freeholds for ever. In the marches, not subject to the king's law, they were as much oppressed by individual extortion. The deputy and his council were extortioners. The Church was wholly abandoned to hire; none preaching or teaching but

* Burnet, "History of the Reformation," part ii., book ii.
† Stanihurst, in Holinshed, p. 10, ed. 1586.

the mendicant friars. Under Wolsey the government of Ireland had been principally committed to the earl of Kildare, who was ready enough to burn and destroy in the lands of rebellious chieftains, but was himself suspected of "seditious practices and subtle drifts." The earl of Surrey, who won his earldom at Flodden, was sent to Ireland as lord-lieutenant in 1520; whilst Kildare was in England. Surrey pronounced, "after my poor opinion, this land shall never be brought to good order and due subjection, but only by conquest." But the warlike earl was not sanguine about his scheme; and, even if conquered, he said, the land must be repeopled. So the lord-lieutenant begged to serve his grace in any other place than in this troublesome land; and went home. Kildare came back, and the feuds between the two great rival chiefs, Kildare and Ormond, became more bitter than ever. Kildare was again suspected of encouraging revolt. But Wolsey dared not remove him from his office of deputy, for he dreaded that the earl's "kinsfolks, the O'Connors, and other such wild Irish lords, would, for revenge, overrun the whole English pale." Kildare, at last, carried his schemes too far. In 1534 he appears to have been preparing to defy the English government, when he received a royal summons to London. He was committed to the Tower. But his son, Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, was permitted to return to Ireland, as the vice-deputy appointed by his father. The earl of Kildare was attainted by act of parliament for traitorously levying war in Ireland, for slaying the king's faithful subjects, and for carrying away munitions of war from the king's fortresses to his own castles. The young Fitzgerald suddenly rose in open revolt. In the disorganised condition of Ireland, the deputy, Skeffington, an Englishman—who was to succeed Kildare—not yet having arrived with any military force, the time was favourable for a bold attempt to supersede the English authority altogether. On St. Barnabas' day, the 11th of June, lord Thomas Fitzgerald, at the head of seven score horsemen, in their shirts of mail, rode through the streets of Dublin, and passing through Dame's Gate, crossed the river to St. Mary's Abbey, where the Council were sitting. The lord Thomas took his seat as vice-deputy. Then the council-chamber was suddenly filled with his armed followers; and he rose, and openly threw off his allegiance to Henry; boldly asserting, "I am none of Henry's deputy—I am his foe. I have more mind to conquer than to govern; to meet him in the field than to serve him in office. If all the hearts of England and Ireland, that have cause thereto, would join in this quarrel (as I hope they will), then should he soon aby (as I trust he shall) for his cruelty and tyranny, for which the age to come may lawfully score him up among the ancient tyrants of most abominable and hateful memory." The Geraldine and his supporters rushed forth from the council-chamber. Orders were given for their arrest; but the authorities of Dublin did not dare to execute the command, and some of the Council retired for safety to the castle. There was a contest between the citizens and the insurgents, in which the rebels were successful; and they were thus enabled to lay siege to the fortress. Amongst those who had taken refuge there was John Allen, the archbishop of Dublin; an able statesman, systematically opposed to the Geraldines and their party. When the castle was besieged, Allen escaped by night in a vessel in which he hoped to cross

to England. By accident or treachery the boat was stranded near Clontarf; and after he had been a few hours on land, he was seized at a village called Artane, and there barbarously murdered, while lord Thomas stood by. Robert Reyle, who was present, stated upon his examination that he could not say whether it was by the command of lord Thomas, or not, that the murder of the archbishop was committed. He acknowledged that he was sent to Maynooth, one of Kildare's castles, with a casket which his master, lord Thomas, had taken from the prelate: and that his master "afterwards sent one Charles, his chaplain, to the bishop of Rome, to the intent, as he heard, of obtaining absolution for killing the bishop." Fitzgerald, after the atrocious slaughter of John Allen, with a small force did enormous mischief within the English pale, burning and destroying houses and farms, and wasting the growing corn. The siege of Dublin castle was slowly conducted by an inconsiderable rebel band; whom the citizens at length resisted, and arrested as traitors. The delusive hopes which the Geraldines had entertained, that their cause would be adopted by the settlers of the pale, as the means of overthrowing the English rule, were wholly dissipated by the spirit of the Dublin citizens. The belief that the old rivalry of the Kildares and the Ormonds might be closed by dividing the kingdom between them, was destroyed by the faithful conduct of Butler, now earl of Ormond and Ossory, who made a gallant resistance to the rebellion. The notion that the emperor and the pope would furnish prompt assistance in the wild enterprise of lord Thomas was, no doubt, entertained by him. He sent a priest on a voyage to Spain, and afterwards to Rome, with documents "which should prove that the king held this land of the see of Rome; alleging the king and his realm to be heretics, digressed from the obedience of the same, and the faith Catholic;" at the same time promising, in return for aid, "that he will hold the same land for them and pay tribute yearly." In stating that "the king held this land of the see of Rome" lord Thomas appealed to an ancient delusion of the Irish men. But in spite of such an incitement to revolt, there were very few of the great Irish chiefs who gave Fitzgerald their support. The contest went on for some months after the arrival of sir William Skeffington, the English deputy, without any signal success; but at last the castle of Maynooth was taken by Skeffington, after ten days' siege. Twenty-six of the prisoners were executed. Lord Thomas was carrying on a war of depopulation. At length a vigorous commander, lord Leonard Grey, came, as it was supposed, to take the civil and military authority from the procrastinating Skeffington. But the deputy, not yet superseded, was roused into vigour. He compelled the submission of O'Connor, the chief who most faithfully adhered to Fitzgerald; and lord Thomas had no chance but to yield himself up, or to escape to a foreign country. Skeffington writes, on the 24th of August, that Fitzgerald had yielded himself "without condition." The Council of Ireland, on the contrary, write to the king, on the 27th of August, that lord Leonard Grey will proceed to London with his prisoner; "beseeching your highness, most humbly, that according the comfort of *our* words spoken to the same Thomas to allure him to yield him, ye would be merciful to the said Thomas, especially concerning his life." Lord Thomas was committed to the Tower, in which prison

his father had died. At the beginning of 1536, the five uncles of the young rebel were apprehended through treachery. They were sent to London; and the six members of this unhappy family were hanged at Tyburn, on the 3rd of February. There was no trial. An Act of Attainder was passed, by which Thomas Fitzgerald, James, John, Richard, Oliver, and Walter, then in the Tower of London, should suffer execution of death for their treasons.

After the suppression of the Geraldine rebellion, Henry's supremacy as "king of Ireland"—for the title was now changed from "lord"—was proclaimed without opposition. Monasteries were suppressed without disturbance. But still no decided policy was resorted to for converting a land filled with wild tribes, living in the rudest manner under hostile chiefs, into a land to be made prosperous by industry, which alone was wanting to utilize its natural advantages. But for this end something was required besides soldiers and labourers. The labourers went on occupying the land, with little profit, till, with division and subdivision, it would no longer yield them sustenance. The soldiers were amongst the oppressors of the labourers. There were occasionally some individual efforts made to win the people from their semi-barbarous life to learn the arts of civilization. Sir Pierce Butler, earl of Ormond and Ossory, who died in 1539, with the aid of his energetic wife, the sister of Kildare, "planted great civility in the counties of Tipperary and Kilkenny; and to give good example to the people of that country, they brought out of Flanders and other countries divers artificers, who were daily kept at work by them, in their castle of Kilkenny; where they wrought and made diaper, tapestry, turkey carpets, curtains, and other like works."* But the example did not spread. Private efforts can do little good in the attempt to force industry. When capital flows to a country through the regular course of exchange, then industry goes forward. The moving and regulating power, with which labour profitably works, was wanting. The country was impoverished by a long course of oppression and neglect. But the "king of Ireland" looked back grudgingly upon "the great sums of money bestowed already to bring the land to the conformity it is now at," and he set forth many schemes by which the "submission" of the Irishmen should be made profitable to himself. Finally, he asked the Irish House of Commons for a "Benevolence," which they had refused in the previous year. In vain the lord deputy and the Council pleaded for the wretched people: "The inhabitants of these your four shires of Dublin, Meath, Kildare and Uriel [Louth], have been so spoiled, oppressed, and robbed, as they be not of ability to give to your Grace any notable thing, otherwise than they be charged already." They adroitly recommended that the burden should be shifted upon the countries out of the English pale. The notion of extracting a large revenue out of an impoverished or an unsubdued country, was doubtless as idle as the attempt to change the ancient customs of the people by royal mandate. In 1536 Henry wrote to his "well-beloved" of the town of Galway, various regulations for dress; and added a command, "that every inhabitant within the said town endeavour themselves to

* M.S. in British Museum, quoted in State Papers, vol. iii., p. 145.

speak English, and to use themselves after the English fashion; and specially that you, and every of you, do put forth your child to school, to learn to speak English." Desirable as it might be that the two countries should be assimilated in dress and language, we know, from the experience of three centuries both in Ireland and Wales, that such changes are not effected by royal threats or penal statutes. What the Irish were, as to dress, in the time of Henry VIII., they continued to be after the lapse of half a century.

The English parliament soon did the work which it was called together to do in 1536; and the executive, seeing vast pecuniary resources within its reach, did not care for three more years to be troubled with a representative body. The smaller monastic houses had been suppressed. The progress of the official inquiry into the condition of all houses of religion appeared only a prelude to their final extinction. The parochial clergy were called upon, in the king's name, no longer to teach that there was any virtue in relics or images; or that pilgrimages were beneficial exercises of faith. They were also to make known the royal proclamation for the abolition of many holidays, especially those of the harvest-season. On the 2nd of October, 1536, when the Ecclesiastical Commissioners were to hold their Visitation at Louth, they found a great body of peasantry in arms, clamouring for their holidays; and proclaiming that they were gathered together for the maintenance of the faith, which was about to be destroyed. The "Answer to the Petitions of the Rebels and Traitors of Lincolnshire," by Henry, fully shows what was the character of their demands. They objected to the councillors that were about the king, and the prelates that he had appointed. He replied that he had never read nor heard, that "princes' councillors and prelates should be appointed by rude and ignorant common people." They objected "to the suppression of religious houses and monasteries." The parliament, said the king, had granted them to him. There were none suppressed but where there was abomination of living. It was the same with the First Fruits, to which they also objected. When they demanded a release from the subsidy which had been granted, he answered, "Think ye that we be so faint-hearted that, perforce, ye of one shire,—were ye a great many more—would compel us with your insurrection and such rebellions to remit the same?" Henry's arguments were supported by the approach of some military force, under the duke of Suffolk, and the earls of Shrewsbury, Rutland and Huntingdon. The prior of Oxney, and a leader named Melton, who assumed the name of Captain Cobler, could no longer keep together the terrified bands, when the king's troops were approaching, and the royal proclamation had somewhat appeased them. On the 13th of October the Lincolnshire rebels dispersed; and the Lancaster herald, who had read and posted up his proclamation at Louth, went on to Pontefract, where he had a more obstinate assembly to deal with. He was taken to the castle, where sat Robert Aske, the captain of the rebellious host; with the archbishop of York, lord Darcy, and other honourable persons. Though the herald knelt before Aske, he was not allowed to read the proclamation, but was led out of the castle, and sent away in safety. That bending of the knee to Robert Aske cost the Lancaster herald his life. He was indicted for high-treason

in kneeling down before traitors, with the king's most honourable coat-of-arms on his back, and so encouraging and comforting them, and he suffered death at York in the following year.

The king appears to have conducted himself in the beginning of these insurrections with some prudence and moderation. From his castle of Windsor, he gave minute directions for the movements of the few troops which the duke of Norfolk and the other nobles had with them. In his correspondence, however, he showed his despotic character to those who were trying to serve him. He was exceedingly indignant that Norfolk recommended a free general pardon, and a parliament to be summoned. A pardon was sent to be used only in the last necessity; but meanwhile Norfolk was to hold out hopes to the rebels that he might obtain such pardon from the king; and, if they made any special conditions, to keep them in suspense for twenty days, until new forces were brought up. There were forty thousand of the insurgents in arms on one side of the river Don, with the king's forces on the other side. The chroniclers record that no battle took place, because the shallow stream "suddenly rose to such an height, depthness, and breadth, that the like no men that ever did inhabit could tell that ever they saw it there before."* Shrewsbury writes on the 29th of October that the rebels had dispersed, and the king's army was dissolved. Henry was indignant with Norfolk for keeping faith with the rebels. He, however, wrote a courteous letter to Aske inviting him to come to him, as "we have conceived a great desire to speak with you, and to hear, of your mouth, the whole circumstance and beginning of that matter." The pardoned rebel went to the king; and he returned to receive Henry's letter thanking him for "his good endeavours for the stay of such our subjects, as have been moved or inclined to a new commotion." The northern counties were also in a most disturbed state at this time; and another open rebellion broke out in February. A parliament, to be held at York, had been promised by Norfolk on the first outbreak. The promise was not kept; and the leaders, Lord Darcy, Aske, and others, were again in arms. Yet the men of influence, for the most part, adhered to the government. The insurgents made an attack upon Carliale, and also upon Hull. They were unsuccessful; and their leaders were taken prisoners. Martial law was proclaimed; and, says the chronicler, threescore and fourteen of them were hanged on Carlisle walls. There was a terrible interval for the leaders of the insurrection. On the 29th March, the Lincolnshire men were hanged, and headed, and quartered. They had been brought out of Newgate to the Guildhall in ropes, and there had their judgment. On the 14th May, Lord Darcy and Lord Hussey were condemned at Westminster. On the 25th May, Sir John Bulmer, and five others, of whom three were ecclesiastics, were executed at Tyburn; and the Lady Bulmer was burnt at Smithfield. On the 2nd of June, Sir Thomas Percy, Sir Francis Bigod, and three others, of whom two were ecclesiastics, were hanged and headed at Tyburn. On the 20th of June, Lord Darcy was beheaded at Tower-hill.† We may add that Lord Hussey was executed at Lincoln; Sir Robert Constable at Hull; and Robert Aske and the unfortu-

* Hall, p. 828. † Chronicle of the Grey Friars, p. 40.

nate Lancaster herald at York. Henry wrote to Norfolk on the 22nd February, to "cause such dreadful execution to be done upon a good number of the inhabitants of every town, village, and hamlet, that have offended in this rebellion, as they may be a fearful spectacle to all others hereafter that would practice any like matter." A priest and a butcher at Windsor were hanged for expressing sympathy with the northern rebels.

On the 12th October, it was announced that Queen Jane had given birth to a son. This event seems to have caused great gladness. But the queen was not destined to partake of the nation's joy. She died on the 24th of October. On that day Cromwell wrote to lord William Howard, who was in France, "Though his majesty is not anything disposed to marry again," at the earnest entreaty of his Council "that his grace will again couple himself," the king desires that lord William Howard will report of "the conditions and qualities" of the French king's daughter, and of those of the widow of the duke of Longueville. Similar instructions, to inquire into the conditions and qualities of particular ladies, are immediately sent to ambassadors at other courts. John Hutton wrote from Brussels to Cromwell, speaking highly of the duchess of Milan. He gave other information as to eligible ladies. There was a maiden of fourteen who would have "a good dote." There was a widow, "of goodly personage." The duke of Cleves has a daughter; but, says the ambassador, "I hear no great praise neither of her personage nor beauty."

Cromwell, in his position of vicegerent, had an almost absolute power in regulating ecclesiastical affairs. In the parliament of 1539, we find that he had precedence before the archbishop of Canterbury. Cranmer, with his quiet and temporizing habits, was under the control of Cromwell; but they each had a course of policy to be worked out with the greatest caution. In the suppression of the monasteries they would have the thorough support of the king, for his revenues would thence receive an enormous increase. In every form of resistance to the papal supremacy they would have the same countenance. But in the disputed matters of doctrine, their individual desires, if such they truly held, for an enlarged liberty of conscience, would be of no avail against an absolute ruler, who felt his inordinate vanity flattered in prescribing what his subjects should believe and what not believe. They went forward in a course of inconsistency, hanging disobedient abbots, and racking and burning Lutheran reformers. They, however, accomplished one good work, of which their intolerant master did not see the final result. They gave us the English Bible. The circulation of Tyndale's English Testament, printed at Antwerp in 1526, had been prohibited by Henry, in his zeal against Luther and the reformed doctrines. Ten years later he was moved to consent to the publication of an English Bible. Another edition of the Bible was printed in 1538, known as "Cranmer's, or the Great Bible." These Bibles Cranmer appointed to be sold at 13*s.* 4*d.* each; unless Cromwell would give the printers exclusive privileges, when they might be sold at 10*s.* In 1538, injunctions were given to the clergy to set up the Bible in parish churches; and to encourage the people to peruse it.

At this time Henry renewed the old excitement of his polemical studies. He caused it to be solemnly proclaimed that he would publicly examine and

judge a heretic named John Nicholson (known commonly as Lambert) who had been accused of denying the corporeal presence in the eucharist. The king sat on his throne dressed in white satin, with his guards all in white. He called upon the unhappy man to declare his opinion, which, according to Burnet, did not differ from that then held by Cranmer and Latimer, being the Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation. The king, the bishops, and the accused, entered upon scholastic disputations, which lasted five hours. The poor unaided disputant, with ten opponents, one after another, engaging with him, and the king frowning in his most awful manner, was at last silenced; and the people in the hall shouted their applause at the royal victory. Lambert was condemned to be burnt, and Cromwell read the sentence; and burnt he was in Smithfield, crying aloud in his agony, "None but Christ."

After the great insurrections of 1536-7 had been effectually repressed, it became evident that the destruction of the greater religious houses would soon follow that of the smaller. It was not necessary for a parliament to be sitting to pass a second law of suppression. The government adopted the principle of terrifying or cajoling the abbots and priors into a surrender of their possessions. The Act of 1539, for Dissolution of Abbeys, recites that since the 4th of February, in the 27th year of the reign of Henry, divers heads of religious houses had voluntarily surrendered their possessions to the king. The 27th regnal year comprised the period between the 22nd of April, 1535, and the 21st of April, 1536. In that 27th year, after the 4th of February, there were four surrenders. In the 28th year there were three. In the 29th year there were twenty-four. In the 30th year there were a hundred and seventy-four. In the 31st year there were seventy-six. We may judge, therefore, what powerful influences were set in action, after the chances of a successful popular resistance were at an end. The ecclesiastical commissioners continued their work with larger powers. Their objects were to search out and publicly expose the alleged impostures and depravities of the monastic life; to induce the abbots and monks to resign, and to arrange the terms of resignation; to appropriate the revenues and available property of these institutions. Their reports exhibit a dreary catalogue of abuses—of impostures connected with images and relics, and of disorder and evil-doing in the religious houses—which, however coloured by the prejudices and interests of the reporters, would afford some justification for the sweeping spoliation, if particular examples could be received as types of a general depravity. George Giffard, one of the ecclesiastical commissioners, ventured, however, to speak a word in favour of the house of Woolstrope, in Lincolnshire, though trembling at his own boldness in writing the truth. At the Benedictine nunnery of Polesworth, in Warwickshire, the abbess was a discreet and religious woman, and the nuns of virtuous lives, by the fame and report of all the country. The nuns of Polesworth protested against leaving and forsaking their habits and religion. They were unfitted for the ordinary duties of the world; and so were the whole regular clergy. They had, for the most part, small pensions assigned them, "of his grace's charity;" but we have hints and assertions that they were rarely paid. The commissioners made bargains for the crown, of which Tewkesbury may serve as an example. The clear yearly value of the

possessions was 1595*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.* They gave the abbot the large annual sum of 266*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Seven monks had pensions varying from 7*l.* to 16*l.* Twenty-seven monks had 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* each; making a total of 551*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* "And so remains clear, 1044*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.*" In the smaller monasteries the ejected monks had pensions varying, according to their ages, from 4*l.* to 53*s.* 4*d.* But some monasteries were in a state of miserable poverty, with only a few acres of arable land, and the ruinous house that sheltered the half-starved inmates. Many of the convents were deeply in debt. But whether the houses were rich or poor, resistance was useless. With the king's highness eager for the silver shrines, the parcel-gilt cups, the embroidered copes, the very lead and timber of the conventual buildings, to be turned into money; with grasping courtiers ready to bribe the king's vicegerent for grants of land and leases,—it was not likely that the work of spoliation should not be carried through most thoroughly. It was a season of general plunder and waste. The abbey walls were pulled down; the lead melted; the timber sold; the painted windows destroyed.

The parliament which was summoned to assemble at Westminster on the 28th of April, 1539, met for the sole purpose of accomplishing a despotic revolution, with all the forms of representative government. There were seventeen abbots present, and three sent their proxies. There were also present the two archbishops and eighteen bishops. There were forty-nine temporal peers summoned. If the ecclesiastics had mustered in their full strength, the spiritual and temporal peers would have been of equal number. In the second session of the same parliament the proportion was changed, never again to be restored. The abbots had then vanished from the legislature. The returns to the Lower House of knights and burgesses, who should be wholly conformable, was accomplished by the unremitting care of Henry's ministers. On the 17th of March, five weeks before the meeting of parliament, Cromwell wrote, "I, and other your dedicate councillors, be about to bring all things so to pass, that your majesty had never more tractable parliament." The "act for dissolution of abbeys" was a formal statute, to make perfect the work that was practically accomplished. It vested the remaining monastic possessions in the king, of which the greater number had been surrendered; and it confirmed all future surrenders. It annulled leases granted a year previous to each surrender. Lord Herbert says, "this rapine upon the Church, with the miserable ruin of themselves and houses, was divulged abroad in such terms as astonished the whole Christian world. For though the excessive number of them excused the king in some part for the first suppression, the latter had no such specious pretext." The preamble to the draft of this statute is written in king Henry's own hand: "Forasmuch as it is not unknown the slothful and ungodly life which hath been used amongst all those sort which have borne the name of religious folk; and to the intent that from henceforth many of them might be turned to better use as hereafter shall follow, whereby God's word might be the better set forth; children brought up in learning; clerks nourished in the universities; old servants decayed to have livings; almshouses for poor folk to be sustained in; readers of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin to have good stipend; daily alms to be ministered; mending of highways; exhibition for ministers of the

Church ; it is thought unto the king's highness most expedient and necessary that more bishoprics and colleges shall be established." The far greater part of these waste-paper projects remained wholly undone till the next reign, and then were most grudgingly and imperfectly done. Henry grew bolder in a short time ; and when he went to parliament to sanction another spoliation, the abolition of the chantries—ancient endowments for alms-giving connected with obits, or praying for souls—he honestly said, speaking by the voice of the slavish parliament, that the revenues of the same should be devoted to the expenses of the wars against France and Scotland ; and "for the maintenance of your most royal estate, honour, dignity, and estimation, which all your said loving subjects, of natural duty, be bound to conserve and increase by all such ways and means as they can devise." Schools, alms-gifts, were attached to the smallest as well as the largest religious houses. These were all destroyed, when the funds for their support were swept into the king's exchequer. Henry's "goodness" was chiefly confined to the establishment of six new bishoprics by his letters patent. In 1540 the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem was destroyed by an act of parliament which expelled the knights of St. John from their ancient priory in Clerkenwell—to appropriate its vast buildings "as a storehouse for the king's toils and nets for hunting, and for the wars."*

The act for dissolution of abbeys is immediately followed in the statute-book by "an act abolishing diversity in opinions." The very title of this statute is sufficient evidence of its vain presumption. The desired unity was to be "charitably established," by the observance, under the most tremendous penalties, of Six Articles. The first of these regards the real presence in the sacrament, and involves a condemnation of the minuter difference from the orthodox doctrine which the Lutherans called consubstantiation, as distinguished from the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation. The other five articles are directed against those who preached the necessity of administering the eucharist, in both kinds, to the laity ; who advocated the marriage of priests, or the non-observance of female vows of chastity or widowhood ; who maintained that private masses were not lawful or laudable ; who asserted that auricular confession was not expedient. The jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts upon such subjects was removed, and commissioners were appointed to examine accused persons, to commit to prison, to try before a jury of twelve men, and to pass sentence. Those who were convicted under the first article, "shall be deemed and adjudged heretics," and suffer "pains of death by way of burning, without any abjuration, clergy, or sanctuary." For any violation of either of the five other articles every offender shall be adjudged a felon ; "and shall therefore suffer pains of death, as in cases of felony." Cranmer spoke against the bill ; but he finally sent away his wife, to evade its penalties, and locked up for a more convenient season the secret of his heart as to the real presence. He was too yielding, and Cromwell too politic, to oppose the party which carried this statute, backed by the irresistible force of the king's will. The doctrinal reformers were clearly a minority. The political

* Stow.

reformers had got all they wanted in the plunder of the ancient Church. Latimer, on the 11th of July, resigned his bishopric of Worcester. He was subsequently arrested, on a charge of having spoken against some of the Six Articles; and he wore out six years of his life in a close imprisonment in the Tower. Shaxton, the bishop of Salisbury, also resigned. Twenty-eight martyrs were put to death during the time that this act was in force—that is, during the last seven years of Henry the Eighth's reign.

The papal bull against Henry had been published, after a long delay; and the cardinal Pole, nearly allied in blood to the English king, had conducted negotiations to induce the emperor and the king of France to unite in hostilities against England. Neither of these powerful monarchs dared singly to brave the resentment of Henry; and they were too jealous of each other to join in any measures, such as those suggested for the conquest of England, or for removing its contumacious sovereign. But enough was done to provoke the revenge of Henry upon those who were within his reach. Reginald Pole was the grandson of George, duke of Clarence; and, although educated by Henry, he published a book reflecting with bitterness upon the subject of the divorce of Catherine. The Tudor king, and the descendant of the house of York, thus became mortal enemies. Lord Montague, the elder brother of Reginald, with other relatives and friends of their family, were arrested in 1538, on a charge of treason. It is asserted that Geoffrey Pole, who was arrested at the same time, was a witness against his brother. Montague and Exeter were convicted by their peers, and executed, with sir Edward Neville, and other commoners, accused of treasonable and seditious offences. The life of Geoffrey Pole was spared, for the remorse of a life-long imprisonment. The aged mother of the Poles, the countess of Salisbury, was arrested at her house at Warblington, near Havant, by the earl of Southampton and the bishop of Ely. She maintained her innocence with such consistency, and the materials for an arraignment were so utterly wanting, that Cromwell asked the judges whether parliament might condemn a person accused of treason without a hearing—without trial or confession. A nice and dangerous question, said the obsequious ministers of justice; but parliament is supreme, and an attainder in parliament is good in law. The bill of attainder was passed against the countess of Salisbury; her grandson, the eldest son of lord Montague; and the marchioness of Exeter. The marchioness obtained a pardon. The grandson's fate is unknown. After more than two years' imprisonment, on the 27th of May, 1541, Margaret Plantagenet,—the last in the direct line of that illustrious race,—was brought out to suffer death on Tower-hill. The unyielding countess refused to lay her head upon the block. It was for traitors so to die, and she was not guilty of any treason. She struggled against the force which held her down; and her gray hairs were covered with gore before the head parted from the body.

Hutton had disparaged the personal charms of Anne, the daughter of the duke of Cleves, upon the first intimation of the king's desire again to wed. But Cromwell,—who felt the importance of a Protestant connexion at a period when the Romanists were using every effort to regain their ascend-

ancy,—was not to be diverted from his determination to marry his master to this daughter of one of the princes of the German confederacy, by vague statements that there was no great praise of her person. In March, 1539, Cromwell wrote to the king:—"Every man praiseth the beauty of the same lady, as well for the face as for the whole body, above all other ladies excellent." In this affair the politic Cromwell was too eager. Nicholas Wotton and Richard Berde were sent to negotiate the marriage with Anne of Cleves. On the 12th of December, the lady Anne was at Calais, about to embark for England. She came from Dusseldorf, with a train of two hundred and sixty-three persons; and was received with the greatest state by Fitz-William, then the earl of Southampton, and four hundred noblemen and gentlemen, in coats of satin damask and velvet. When Henry first met his intended bride, he was "marvellously astonished and abashed." He embraced her, but scarcely spoke twenty words, and did not offer the present he had prepared for her. Sir Anthony Brown, the master of the horse, had gone before the king, and "was never so much dismayed in his life to see the lady so far unlike what was reported." * After Anne's public entry at Greenwich, the king called a Council; and the agents of the duke of Cleves were questioned about covenants, and touching a pre-contract of marriage between the duke of Lorraine's son and the princess. The deputies offered to remain prisoners till ample satisfaction was given upon both points. Anne was called upon to make a protestation that there was no pre-contract; which she readily made; and which Cromwell reported to Henry; who then asked, "Is there none other remedy, but that I must needs, against my will, put my neck in the yoke?" There was no instant remedy; and the marriage ceremony was gone through. The king, whilst waiting for the bride in the presence chamber, said to Cromwell, "My lord, if it were not to satisfy the world and my realm, I would not do that I must do this day, for none earthly thing." In this temper, Henry sulked and lamented: he "should surely never have any more children for the comfort of this realm" if this marriage should continue. A second experiment of the Calais executioner's sword might have been dangerous with a foreign princess. There was a "remedy," of a less serious nature. Anne of Cleves made no resistance to a separation, with an adequate provision. A convocation was called, exactly six months after the marriage, which was empowered to determine its validity. On the 10th of July the marriage was declared invalid; the chief pretence being a doubtful pre-contract; and the unblushing argument, "that the king having married her against his will, he had not given a pure inward and complete consent."†

On the 17th of April, 1540, the fortune of Cromwell seemed at its culminating point, for he was created earl of Essex. On the 12th of April a parliament had been assembled, which Cromwell had addressed as the king's vicegerent, and had carried a bill for a great subsidy to be raised upon the laity and the clergy. The promises that the necessities of the state should be provided for out of the spoils of the church, were violated

* Strype, "Ecclesiastical Memorials." † Burnet, vol. i., p. 280.

without the slightest apology. The odium of this taxation was solely laid upon the vicegerent. The sky began to grow dark for Cromwell at the very moment when parliament was to be prorogued, after the subsidy had been carried. On the 10th of June, he was arrested by the duke of Norfolk, while at the council table. The divorce of Anne of Cleves had not yet been mooted. Had Cromwell imprudently pressed upon Henry to cleave to a Protestant queen? Had Norfolk as resolutely urged upon his master, who now hated heretics more than papists, to consider the charms of his niece, Catherine Howard? There is no solution of these questions, beyond the fact that Cromwell was attainted for treason and heresy, by act of parliament, on the 29th of June. He was charged to have been "the most corrupt traitor and deceiver of the king and the crown that had ever been known in his whole reign." It was alleged that "he, being also a heretic, had dispersed many erroneous books among the king's subjects, particularly some that were contrary to the belief of the sacrament;" and that when some complained to him of the new preachers—such as Barnes and others—he said that their preaching was good; and that if the king would turn from it, yet he would not turn. And if the king did turn, and all his people with him, he would fight in the field in his own person, with his sword in his hand against him, and all others." That he was an oppressor; that he received bribes; that he had made a great estate for himself by extortion, were no doubt true; but Cranmer said with truth, though not with firmness, "that he thought no king of England had ever such a servant . . . . but if he was a traitor, he was glad it was discovered." Cromwell perished by attainder; having in vain written to his remorseless master—who, however, sent him a little money while in prison—"Most gracious prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy." The servant of twelve years was executed on the 28th of July. The divorce of Anne of Cleves had been completed four days before; and on the day when Cromwell was beheaded, king Henry married his fifth wife, Catherine Howard.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE record of Cromwell's fate by the chronicler of the Greyfriars is followed by this entry: "And the 30th of the same month was Dr. Barnes, Jerome, and Garrard drawn from the Tower into Smithfield, and there burned for their heresies." The heretics were clergymen. The record then continues: "And that same day also was drawn from the Tower, with them, Doctor Powell, with two other priests; and there was a gallows set up at Saint Bartholomew's gate, and there were hanged, headed, and quartered." The traitors were condemned for affirming the legality of the marriage with Catherine of Arragon; one of them named Abel having been her chaplain. These sufferers—three reformers, the

stedfast opponents of the pope; and three devoted adherents to the supremacy of the pope—rode out of the Tower in sorrowful companionship, one of each being placed upon the same hurdle, by express desire of the king, that his impartiality might be duly exhibited. Dr. Cook, the prior of Doncaster, with six others, was executed at Tyburn, on the 4th of August, for denying the royal supremacy.

Queen Catherine Howard appeared in public on the 8th of August. When the beautiful girl and her somewhat unwieldy lord were travelling in the north in 1541, Henry solemnly offered thanksgiving for the happiness he found in her society. On their return to London, Cranmer had a private audience at which the king exhibited a paper, which purported to be the examination of a servant of the duchess of Norfolk, setting forth the profligacy of the queen before her marriage, and alleging that her paramour formed one of her regal establishment. In a letter to the king Cranmer gave a touching exhibition of the unhappy woman's despair, which amounted almost to frenzy. The archbishop solemnly assured her "of your grace's mercy extended unto her." Cranmer thought that he should be able to establish a pre-contract with Francis Derham which would have rendered the marriage of Henry invalid. The matter was not clear; and the promise of mercy was a mere breath of idle words. The act of Parliament for the attainder of queen Catherine Howard includes the lady Rochford as an accomplice. Derham, and another man involved in the accusation against the queen, had previously been hanged. The Parliament, desirous that condign punishment should not be delayed, requested the king not to trouble himself personally to give the royal assent to the bill of attainder against the queen and lady Rochfort, but to agree to the same by letters patent. So the letters patent were granted; and the unhappy women were executed on the 12th of February. In the statute there is a remarkable clause, that any single woman of impure life who, before marriage with the king, should not confess the same, should be declared guilty of high treason. Henry wisely rejected the chance of a fatal termination of another union, under this new law of treason, by obtaining the hand of a discreet widow, who had been twice before married. The maiden name of this lady was Catherine Parr. She became the queen of Henry in July, 1543.

The minority of James V. of Scotland was a disastrous period for his country. The regency was a constant object of contention between the factious nobles. A fresh element of discord was introduced by the progress of the new opinions in religion. But though the reformers were dreaded for their singleness of purpose, the old ecclesiastical power was completely in the ascendant. The fatal day of Flodden had cut off the most influential of the nobles; and those who remained were inferior in wealth, and therefore in authority, to a body which possessed half the land of the kingdom. The spiritual and temporal dominion appeared consolidated when David Beaton was appointed lord privy seal. Patrick Hamilton, the first Scottish reformer, was burnt by this persecuting prelate at St. Andrew's, in 1528. Beaton soon obtained the complete control of the young king. He negotiated his marriage with Mary of Guise, after James had lost his first wife, the princess Magdalen of France. Mary of Guise was a powerful instru-

ment in confirming the devotion of the Scottish king to the ancient church; and Henry of England in vain endeavoured to tempt him to follow his example in seizing the monastic property. James appears to have set up pretensions to the title of "Defender of the Faith," and to have "added thereto the Christian Faith, as though there should be any other than the Christian Faith; which seemeth to have another meaning in it than one good prince can think of another, much less a friend of his friend, or a nephew of his uncle, if he would show himself to esteem his friendship."* Beaton, now a cardinal, had been to Rome in 1541, on a secret embassy. Henry determined to try the effect of a personal interview with his nephew, James; and it was agreed that they should meet at York in the autumn. Thither the king of England went, accompanied by Catherine Howard. But the king of Scotland was induced by the wily cardinal not to hold the appointment. Henry was furious, and determined upon war. He resolved upon renewing the old claim of the English kings to the crown of Scotland; and the privy council directed the archbishop of York to search in "ancient charters and monuments" for a "clearer declaration to the world of his majesty's title to that realm." The duke of Norfolk entered Scotland with a large army in 1542; after the English warden of the east marches had sustained a defeat in Teviotdale. Having accomplished the usual destruction, Norfolk retreated to Berwick, for James was assembling an army in his front. The feudal chiefs gathered round the royal standard on the Borough Muir, and marched onward for the invasion of England. There was division amongst the host. The rebellious Douglasses were on the side of England. Many of the nobles were favourable to the principles of the Reformation, which their king opposed. The catastrophe came, without any real contest between the two armies. James was deserted by his nobles, and, in grief and indignation, returned to Edinburgh. An army of ten thousand men was, however, got together, under lord Maxwell; with which he proposed to enter England by the western marches. Maxwell crossed the border. But the spirit of jealousy destroyed any chance of success, even in burning and plunder; for one who is termed the king's minion, Oliver Sinclair, produced a commission giving him supreme command. The nobles refused to serve under him, and the clans mutinied. A body of English horse came up, who were believed to be the vanguard of the great army; and in a panic the Scots fled, with the loss of a large number of prisoners—some willing prisoners, as it has been asserted. The king gave himself up to despair. He immured himself in his palace of Falkland; would speak to no one; sickened; and sank under a slow fever, heart-broken, on the 14th of December. A week before, his queen had borne him a daughter.

The lords who were taken at Solway Moss were first harshly treated by Henry, and then propitiated by indulgences. His first object was to negotiate a marriage between his son, Edward, and the daughter of James V., and thus to effect a natural union between the two countries. His second design was to demand the government of Scotland, as the guardian of the

* Letter from Wriothesley to some person in the Scottish Court, 1541. State Papers, vol. v., p. 191.

infant queen. The imprisoned nobles concluded a treaty with him, that they would deliver up Mary, and acknowledge him as their sovereign lord. They were released, and returned to Scotland to carry out their plan. But cardinal Beaton produced a will of James V., appointing the cardinal governor of the realm, and guardian of the queen. The earl of Arran was presumptive heir to the throne; and he possessed sufficient power to obtain the regency, and drive Beaton from his usurped authority, the will being affirmed to be a forgery. But Arran belonged to the reforming party; and the church was as yet too strong to allow a dominion that placed its dignities and possessions in imminent peril. Arran was, after some time, during which Beaton had been imprisoned, gained over to the party of the church; and he became an instrument in the hands of the cardinal and the queen-mother. In December, 1543, Beaton became chancellor, and in the following January was constituted the pope's legate *à latere* in Scotland. He was now supreme in church and state; the friendship and alliance of the excommunicated king of England was renounced; and a treaty which gave Henry some of his demands, was set aside.

Scotland was again invaded in May, 1544. The earl of Hertford arrived in the Forth with a powerful fleet, carrying a force of ten thousand men. He demanded that the infant queen should be immediately surrendered. The regent refused; and Hertford, with an additional force from Berwick, marched upon Edinburgh. One of the gates was battered down, and the city was entered and given up to conflagration and plunder. The castle held out; and some who had been willing to sell Scotland to England, appear to have felt that their duty was now to resist pretensions that were enforced by an invading army. Troops under the command of faithful Scots, and of those who had deserted the English cause, were marching upon Edinburgh in considerable numbers; and Hertford, after burning Leith, retired to Berwick. For two years the war was continued with the usual terrible inflictions upon the peaceful cultivators of the soil. On the 5th of September, Hertford moved with his army out of Newcastle. He then took the abbey of Kelso by assault, and razed and defaced that noble work of the ancient churchmen. From Kelso the main body of the army marched upon Jedburgh; and a detachment of fifteen hundred light horsemen advanced six or seven miles beyond, "brenning and devasting the country." The abbey of Jedburgh, still glorious in ruin, met the same fate as that of Kelso, though the demolition was not so complete.

Whilst the earl of Hertford was carrying forward this ignoble work in Scotland, king Henry and his Council were busy in negotiations far more disgraceful than the most barbarous open warfare. Cardinal Beaton was calling forth every means of resisting and annoying Henry; and Henry had commanded Hertford to spare no one in Scotland, who was allied in blood, or associated in friendship, with Beaton. There is a letter from the Privy Council to Hertford, in 1545, informing him that the king had seen some letters from the earl of Cassilis to Mr. Sadler, "one containing an offer for the killing of the cardinal, if his majesty would have it done, and would promise, when it were done, a reward." This letter, which is signed by Wriothesley, the chancellor; the duke of Suffolk; the bishop of Winchester; and four other councillors, proceeds to say that, though Henry

"will not seem to have to do in it, yet not misliking the office," he wishes Mr. Sadler to write "that if he were in the earl of Cassel's place, and as able to do his majesty good service there," . . . "he would surely do what he could for the execution of it, believing verily to do thereby not only acceptable service to the king's majesty, but also a special benefit to the realm of Scotland, and would trust verily the king's majesty would consider this service in the same." On the 29th of May, 1546, between five and six o'clock in the morning, armed men entered the castle of St. Andrew's, where Beaton was. The murderers came in with masons and other labourers employed about the castle. The workmen were thrust forth; the household servants driven naked from their dormitories; and the cardinal, hearing the din, came out of his chamber and was slain. The town-bell was rung; the provost and townsmen gathered round the castle; the murderers appeared on the wall, and "speered what they desired to see—one dead man!" They then brought the dead cardinal to the wall-head and hung him over the wall by one arm and one foot, and "bade the people see there their god."

In 1544, Henry went to his parliament with a long tale of his griefs. Out of his inestimable goodness, and like a most charitable, loving, and virtuous prince, he had for a long time loved and favoured Francis, the French king. He had freed his children from thraldom; he had relieved his poverty by loans of money. But now the ungrateful Francis had withdrawn the pension which he had been accustomed to pay; he had confederated with the Great Turk, common enemy of all Christendom; and he had stirred the Scots to resist his majesty, contrary to their duty and allegiance. The king, therefore, declares his intention to go to war with France as well as with Scotland—"to put his own royal person, with the power of his realm and subjects, in armour." But inestimable sums will be required for the maintenance of these wars. The faithful parliament, for the alleviation of such charges, declared all loans made to the king in the two previous years of his reign to be entirely remitted and released, and all securities for the same to be utterly void. Henry had previously propitiated the emperor Charles V., by a compromise as to the succession to the crown, which recognised some claims in the person of the Princess Mary, the emperor's niece, who had been declared illegitimate under the Act of 1534. The Princess Elizabeth had been declared illegitimate under the Act of 1536. By this Act of 1544, they were both restored to their place in the succession, in default of issue of the king and Prince Edward, but without any declaration of their legitimacy, which would have been to declare the divorces of their mothers unlawful. The emperor and the king of England were now joined in a treaty for the invasion and partition of France. Charles was to claim Burgundy; Henry the ancient possessions of the Plantagenets, unless Francis would agree to certain conditions. The chivalrous French king spurned their pretensions; and so, in July, 1544, Henry put on his armour, and with thirty thousand men crossed the Channel, having constituted Queen Catherine regent during his absence. The emperor was to enter France by Champagne, and the king by Picardy; and their united armies were to march to Paris. Henry crossed the seas in a ship whose sails were

of cloth of gold. He advanced at the head of the English and imperial forces, to assist in the siege of Boulogne, which the duke of Suffolk was investing. "Armed at all points upon a great courser," he paraded his huge body before the besiegers for two months. In vain the envoys of the emperor urged him to move forward according to their compact. The emperor, said Henry, had taken some frontier posts, and he, the king, would have Boulogne. The lower town surrendered on the 21st of July. The upper town held out till the 24th of September. There had been a brave defence by the French governor against that part of the English troops that were in earnest; whilst the royal showman was concluding his part of the business of war with the safer parade of a tournament. At length the great day of triumph arrived; for which he had broken faith with his ally. On the 18th of September he made his solemn entry into Boulogne. But whilst the "noble and valiant conqueror" was listening to the trumpeters on the walls, Francis and Charles, with great wisdom, had concluded a separate peace. On the last day of September, Henry returned to England in no very placable humour.

Francis was now contemplating a march to London. Vaughan wrote to the king of England on February 21st, 1545, that "the French king purposeth, with his army that he appointeth, to land in the Isle of Sheppey and at Margate, . . . and is minded, if the same may be able to go through, to go to London." The ambassador had his information from a Flemish broker, who also told him of the mission of three spies to England, who were paid by the French government to report upon the practicability of a plan of invasion. Such a scheme was not utterly hopeless; for the English government was sorely straitened for money, and the means of defence were of the weakest kind. In the summer of 1545, when Francis was making strenuous efforts for the invasion of England, the coasts were specially surveyed for defence by the duke of Norfolk. New bulwarks were constructed, and decayed ones repaired, along the coasts of the Channel. There was an indecisive action off Portsmouth, in July, 1545; and a serious misfortune in the accidental sinking of a large ship, with four hundred men, in the harbour of Portsmouth. But the danger of invasion was soon overpast. The French sent assistance to the Scots; devastated the neighbourhood of Calais; and made the most strenuous efforts to retake Boulogne. At length a peace was concluded in June, 1546; one of the articles of which was that Boulogne should be restored to France, at the expiration of eight years, upon the payment of two millions of crowns, and another that Scotland should be included in the pacification. The remainder of Henry's reign was not disturbed by foreign warfare.

The persecutions for heretical opinions went fiercely on, whilst the solid principles of Protestantism were gradually establishing themselves in the minds of the laity as the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures came to be more widely diffused. But the anti-reforming party had contrived to interpose a barrier between the people and the day-spring. In 1543 an Act was passed which limited the reading of the Bible and the New Testament in the English tongue to noblemen and gentlemen; and forbad the reading of the same to "the lower sort"—to artificers, prentices, journeymen, serving-men, husbandmen, and labourers, and to women, under pain of imprisonment.

The Act of the Six Articles was especially retained in full force by the statute of 1543 for the Advancement of True Religion; with the exception that there was a provision for allowing the clergy, accused of preaching contrary to the king's doctrines, to recant upon the first offence; to abjure and bear a faggot on the second offence; and not to be burned unless they refused to abjure, or committed a third offence. One of the mightiest of the heretic-hunters was Stephen Gardiner, whose earlier career was marked by his strenuous exertions to accomplish the divorce of Henry from Catherine of Arragon, by his negotiations and by his published writings. He had opposed the supremacy of the pope; and yet he clung to and asserted with unflinching zeal, "doctrines and practices, which the adherents to the pope maintain, but which protestants have rejected."* After the death of Cromwell, the prevailing spirit of the king's council was a desire to terrify the humbler classes of the people by the punishment of those who avowed heterodox doctrines. At the time of Henry's marriage with Catherine Parr, there were four men of Windsor confined under charges of heresy—Anthony Peerson, a priest; Robert Testwood and John Marbeck, singing-men; and Henry Filmer, a man of that town. They were brought to trial at Windsor, on the 27th of July. Three were indicted that they had uttered words against the mass; and Marbeck that he had copied out an epistle by Calvin against it. The four men were condemned. Three were burnt; but Marbeck was spared—at the request of Gardiner, according to some authorities, at the command of Henry, according to others; the king saying that Marbeck had employed his time better than those who examined him. Cranmer's escape is the almost solitary instance of the king interposing to save an old friend and servant from the intrigues of a powerful party. Cranmer triumphed over Gardiner in 1543, when Henry made him acquainted with the charges that were brought against him of being an encourager of heresy; and Cranmer, discovering his secret enemies and pardoning them, earned the praise of the common voice—"Do my lord of Canterbury a shrewd turn, and he is your friend for ever."† Cranmer again triumphed in 1546; when the Council were prepared to send the obnoxious prelate to the Tower, and the king interposed his signet. No one could have a more complete knowledge than Henry had of the mode in which convictions were procured during his reign, and when he interfered with the insane resolution of the archbishop to seek a trial, he said truly, "You will run headlong to your undoing, if I would suffer you." The searchers for heresy appear to have manifested great anxiety to fix their accusations upon persons of the royal court. The queen, whose Lutheran tendencies were more than suspected, had influence enough to save her friends for some time. That influence perhaps saved Cranmer. But Anne Askew, a lady known at Court, if not about the queen's person, was arraigned for heterodox opinions on the Eucharist. She, Bishop Shaxton, Christopher White, and two others, were condemned to be burned. Shaxton and White renounced their opinions; but the gentlewoman and the other men died heroically at Smithfield, whilst the Lord Chancellor,

* Maitland, "Essays on the Reformation."
† Shakspere, "Henry VIII.," act v., sc. 2.

the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Bedford, the Lord Mayor, and other dignitaries sat upon a bench under St. Bartholomew's Church. The apostate Shaxton preached the sermon.

Henry was now a pitiable spectacle of human infirmity. But the belief in his own infallibility was as steady as ever; and he listened to the whispers of those who told him that the queen, his faithful nurse, was a heretic. She was sincere in her opinions; and endeavoured to influence him to go on in the work of Reformation. Gardiner and Wriothesley seized the right moment when the old pride of the polemical despot was in the ascendant, and procured his authority to prepare articles for Catherine Parr's impeachment. But the queen contrived to appease his wrath; and, according to Fox, his anger fell on the bishop of Winchester, the scheming Gardiner. As the king was necessarily becoming a more passive instrument in the hands of others, the party of the Reformation was gaining strength. The earl of Hertford, afterwards famous as the Protector Somerset, was undoubtedly in the ascendant; and he was a decided reformer. The duke of Norfolk, and his son, the earl of Surrey, were as firm opponents of further changes. The Howards were of the ancient nobility—the Seymours were "new men." There were political hatreds between them, as well as theological differences. In 1546, the earl of Surrey was imprisoned for using bitter language to the earl of Hertford. A few months later, he and his father, the aged duke of Norfolk, were committed to the Tower, upon a charge of treason. This was in the beginning of December. The king was dangerously ill. The principal charge upon which the father and son were condemned was, that of having borne the arms of England in the first quarter, instead of the second, as "coming in the collateral line to the heir of the crown." And also of having taken into their arms an old coat of the crown—that of Edward the Confessor—and used it with a difference. Surrey was tried by a jury, after the fashion of those times; and though he showed that he had borne the same arms for many years by a decision of the heralds, he was condemned, and on the 19th of January he went to the block. Norfolk was attainted, upon his confession of having borne the obnoxious arms, and the royal assent to the bill was given by commission. His execution was to have taken place on the 28th of January. Before that day dawned, Henry lay dead, and Norfolk escaped.

Henry the Eighth died at two o'clock on the morning of the 28th of January, in his palace at Westminster. His last religious exercises were in accordance with the practice of the Romish Church; though he is said to have wrung Cranmer's hand on his deathbed. His death was concealed for three days. On the 31st of January, the Commons were summoned to the House of Lords, and Wriothesley wept while he announced the event. The Will of the king, by which the succession was defined, and the government of the realm during the minority of his son was regulated, was then read in part. Hertford and Paget had employed the three days of secrecy in determining the course to be pursued under the will, which was in their private keeping.*

* Tytler, "Original Letters," vol. i., p. 18.

Undoubtedly Henry was a sovereign of great industry; of considerable talents; of various knowledge. Whatever were the faults of his character, and however servile the ministers of his will, he was always surrounded with able men. But his inordinate self-love; his desire for personal display; his jealousy of every servant who was not a slave to his will, in the most unlimited abnegation of a free judgment,—these qualities, as he advanced in life, drove him into the most heartless and cruel despotism. By the force of terror, or the avidity for gain, every civil officer, whatever his rank, was a crouching menial. The ecclesiastics who filled civil offices were amongst the most abject. The comptroller of the mint was usually a jobber of the rankest character. All the civil officers were underpaid in their salaries. They all looked to grants and leases for their reward, and they were all bribed. The bribery of juries was so common, that a man-killer with rich friends could escape for a crown properly administered to each questmonger; for so the vendor of a verdict was called. The later history of the reign of Henry VIII. is the history of the subserviency of parliaments. A foreign observer says of the representatives of the people at this time, "servants they enter parliament, and servile are their proceedings therein."* The parliament, in enacting the subsidy of 1545, for the prosecution of the war against France and Scotland, employed the most humble language in presenting the grant to the king, beseeching him to accept their gift, even "as it pleased the great king Alexander to receive thankfully a cup of water of a poor man by the highway side." Wars did not touch the people of England, they justly said, as other nations not so happily situated. To her wall of the silver sea, England owed her security from the hand of war. But the maritime defence of the island was not wanting during Henry's reign. According to a return of this date, there was a fleet in the Channel, of a hundred and four vessels, carrying more than twelve thousand men. This fleet contained every variety of craft, from the Henry Grace à Dieu, of one thousand tons and seven hundred men, to the Mary Winter of Plymouth, of forty tons and thirty-two men. But of these hundred and four vessels, only twenty-eight were above two hundred tons. The constant expense of keeping ships afloat was a bar to our early maritime efficiency. The hundred ships of Henry VIII. were dwindled to forty in the reign of Mary. But there were merchant vessels in every port, which could easily be armed in time of need. The royal ships were larger than those of other nations. The English shores were never unguarded. On every eminence there was a beacon and a flagstaff. In the State Paper Office there is "a brief declaration of the whole military and naval expenses incurred by Henry VIII. and Edward VI. during their wars with France and Scotland." This abstract also includes the cost of suppressing the insurrection of 1549, and the charges of castles and garrisons. The total amount from September, 1542, to September, 1552, is 3,491,471*l.*† This gives an annual military expenditure of 350,000*l.* There was a large cost, and there were heavy arrears, although England had no standing army. The military organisation of the sixteenth

* Michell, Ellis, 2nd series, vol. ii.

† "Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series," 1547—1580. Edited by Robert Seaman, v. 44. Published by Authority, 1856.

century did not materially differ from that of the fifteenth. The nobles were still called upon, each to bring his quota of armed men into the field, when the king demanded their services. The Venetian ambassador, Micheli, conjectured that, in the time of Mary, twenty-five thousand troops could be raised, all provided with cuirasses and polished arms. But in all cases of apprehended danger, or for foreign service, the muster-roll was taken in every county, and in every city. England then possessed an armed population. Archery was the national sport; and all other games were forbidden by statute. The harquebuss came very slowly into use. To discharge the original hand-gun the match was held in the hand. The harquebuss had a trigger conveying the match to the priming. The musket was an improved harquebuss. Somerset had his musqueteers; but they were foreigners.

The household expenditure of the second Tudor sovereign was upon a larger scale than that of any of his predecessors. Micheli says, "The expense of the court in the mere article of living, that is, of eating and drinking, and of what solely relates to the table, amounts to from fifty-four to fifty-six thousand pounds sterling a-year." He is speaking of the time of Queen Mary, and says that not the fourth part was then expended as in the time of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. Henry had absorbed the revenues of the idle and luxurious monks, which he had promised to apply to great public uses. He was richer than any king of England before his time. His ordinary income—derived from resources which Henry constantly asserted were his private possessions, but which the parliament as constantly took care should be applied as far as possible to public uses,—amounted to about 150,000*l.* per annum. The seizure of church property was held to have doubled this permanent income. Wriothesley, the chancellor, writes to the council in 1545, "You see the king's majesty hath, this year and the last year, spent 1,300,000*l.* or thereabouts; and his subsidy and benevolence ministering scant 300,000*l.* thereof, I muse sometime, where the rest, being so great a sum, hath been gotten." * Having regard to the altered value of money, caused partly by the influx of silver into Europe, and partly by the debasement of the coin, we can scarcely reckon this three hundred thousand pounds at more than three millions. Yet that is a large revenue from taxation during two years. And, compared with other countries, England was always a lightly-taxed nation. The amount produced by a subsidy will scarcely enable us to form any estimate of the available capital of the country, for Latimer tells us that a fraudulent return of property was a customary sin. The rate of subsidy in the time of Henry VIII. shows at how low an estimate the government fixed the power of the saving classes to contribute. We meet with constant complaints of the decrease of population in the middle of the sixteenth century. These are founded upon the most extravagant estimates of the number of the more ancient inhabitants; and an equally blind confidence in an alleged decrease. In the Injunctions of Cromwell to the Clergy, a Register was directed to be kept by every clergyman, of the weddings, christenings, and burials in his parish during every week. This injunction

* State Papers, vol. i., p. 831.

was evidently neglected; for, in the reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth, the injunction was repeated. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the population was estimated, upon very uncertain data, at four millions. Harrison records that, in the muster of able men for service in 1574 and 1575, the number amounted to 1,172,674.* Taking the able men as a fourth of the entire population, we have a total of upwards of four millions and a half.

With the unquestionable evidence that the industry of England had been rapidly advancing in productiveness from the beginning of the sixteenth century, there is nothing more startling than the systematic averment of the decay of towns. This is, in a measure, accounted for by the fact that the corporate privileges had become as oppressive as the old feudal services. Those who had saved money as artificers or dealers, came to share the advantages which they saw were derived from the judicious occupation of land. There were some of the richest soils in the kingdom ready for occupation. They fixed themselves in the country with their flocks. A home-manufacture grew up around the grazier's domain; and Acts of parliament were passed, but passed in vain, to confine the clothing industries to their old seats, or to make the smaller places dependent upon those seats. Amongst the ancient decayed places, the towns of the Cinque Ports are enumerated in the statute of 1541-2. Of the coast towns, Portsmouth, Plymouth, Poole, Lyme, Southampton, Yarmouth, are also mentioned. It seems clear that the decay of these ports had been produced by the neglect of the fisheries; and, in some degree, by the monopoly of foreign commerce by a great company of merchants in London. The wealth of individual traders in London was the amazement of foreigners. Commerce was putting out its long arms in large wholesale dealings. Those energies of Englishmen, which have made them the great discoverers and colonisers of distant regions, were now struggling into activity. Sebastian Cabot was pensioned by the government of Edward VI. In 1553, sir Hugh Willoughby perished on the coast of Nova Zembla, in the attempt to discover a north-east passage to China. Richard Chancellor, who commanded one of the vessels in Willoughby's expedition, made the harbour where Archangel was afterwards built, and negotiated with the Russian czar, the ferocious Ivan, at Moscow. Anthony Jenkinson, at the same period, obtained a licence from Sultan Selim to trade with the Ottomans. But the great expansion of English commerce belongs to the reign of Elizabeth. The trade of London at this period appears to have been principally with ports of Flanders, Denmark, the south of France, Portugal, and Spain.

Much of the interchange of the country was transacted, as in earlier times, at fairs and markets. At the corn-markets, the great complaint was of the inequality of the measures. Laws there were for one standard; but the laws were disregarded. The laws which limited the infamous system of purveyance were also held in contempt by the hosts of oppressors, who came into every market with the plea that they required provisions for the king's use. The great fairs were Sturbridge, Bristol,

* "Description of England," book ii., c. 16.

Bartholomew (in London), and Lynton. But there were fairs throughout the land. The constant resort to markets and fairs made the inns flourish, especially on the great high roads. In these inns, it was believed that, although the host was honest, the tapsters and chamberlains had a private understanding with thieves. The robber on the highway was the terror of the solitary traveller; and he was glad to ride in company, however doubtful of the stranger who rode by his side. During the latter years of Henry VIII., the army of robbers and cheats seems to have acquired something of a professional organisation. Edward VI. writes, "For idle persons, there were never, I think, more than be now." A revolution was taking place in the distribution of property, which, though ultimately productive of incalculable benefit, was the cause of enormous misery, for a season, to the humblest classes of society. The capital of the country sought employment in an extension of cultivation; and the extension came through the system of Inclosures. The process of inclosure of waste lands, and division of large feudal property, had been going on throughout the kingdom, from the time of Henry VII.; but the system proceeded much more rapidly and universally after the dissolution of the monasteries. When the tenure of these great properties was wholly changed; when the monastic domains fell into the hands of those who only sought to obtain the best rents; there was a disturbance of the labouring population, of which we have ample evidence in the undoubted increase of pauperism and vagabondage. The effects became still more alarming when the growing system of inclosures dispossessed the irregular labourer of his hovel and his patch of waste, and converted him into a vagabond and a thief. During the hundred and forty-seven years which had elapsed from the seventh year of Richard II. (1384), to the twenty-second year of Henry VIII. (1531), vagabonds were put in the stocks. Then the whip was added to the stocks. In 1536, mutilation and death were added to the whip. In 1547, "An Act for the Punishment of Vagabonds" was passed. By the provisions of this statute, unwilling labourers were condemned to a condition of slavery. The Act was repealed in little more than two years after its enactment. In 1549 the people of Devon, Cornwall, Somerset, Dorset, Norfolk, and other counties, were in rebellion. The legislature then went back to the comparatively mild provisions of the Act of 1532; passing over the heavier inflictions contemplated by that of 1536.

As wealth extends, and the commercial relations of society are more complicated, fraudulent offences gradually become more common than the violent assaults upon property which belong to an earlier period. We can trace this principle in the statute-book of Henry VIII. The deceits of manufacturers are again and again attempted to be prevented by special enactments. But the government which made these enactments was itself guilty of a fraud which disturbed to a fearful extent all the ordinary relations of supply and demand. The abominable process of debasing the coin for the relief of the king's necessities had been going on for a long period. Henry VIII. carried it to a disgraceful excess; and the first years of the reign of Edward VI. saw the alloy increased to a still greater proportion. Edward's council at last found that they were

going too fast, and tried to retrace their steps, by what was termed "calling down the money." But this was useless. The government could not remedy the artificial high price of home produce till they became honest. The excessive rise of prices, and the consequent sufferings of the people were attributed to inclosures, to the increase of pasture, to higher rents;—few saw the inevitable effects of the debasements of the coin. The complaint, so often repeated, that pasture was driving out tillage, does not seem to be sustained by the fact that the emperor Charles V., in August, 1542, writes to Henry VIII. to request that he would permit corn from England to be exported to Spain, where the crop had failed through the dryness of the season.* The produce generally, whether of corn or cattle, was, we may believe, in spite of many complaints, comparatively abundant. The word Dearth which we so often meet with, must be accepted in its sense of dearness, rather than of scarcity.

The religious teaching of the people was now in the hands of the secular clergy—bishops, vicars, and curates. The bishops had all outwardly conformed to the great change in the condition of the Church. The parsons, or holders of benefices, and their curates, were, in many respects, in a happier condition than before this change. One circumstance which more truly developed the most beautiful points in the character of the "poor parson," was that he became a husband and a father. But in the state of transition from the Latin mass-book to the English Common Prayer, there must necessarily have often been the most violent dissensions amongst the clergy and their congregations. In June, 1544, there was a king's letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, respecting the service used in "processions." This letter was accompanied by some prayers, which "may perhaps be regarded as the original of the Book of Common Prayer."† The priests held their benefices under the ancient tenure of Frankalmoigne, or of Free Alms; by which they were bound to pray for the soul of their grantor. The clergy who went along with the principles of the Reformation would naturally hold such prayers contrary to their doctrines. After the Reformation was established, it was maintained that the tenure by which the parochial clergy and ecclesiastical foundations held in Frankalmoigne remained undisturbed.

The education of the young was the business of the Church under the ancient ecclesiastical system of England. Many grammar-schools were founded in the reign of Henry VIII. Pious men and women made bequests for the aid of schools and exhibitions. The foundation schools of Edward VI. were a small contribution to public uses out of a large spoil. But still, after the monastic institutions were broken up, the preacher evermore cried out, "Truly it is a pitiful thing to see schools so neglected, scholars not maintained. . . . . Schools are not maintained, scholars have not exhibition."‡ In the middle of the sixteenth century the art of Printing had given an impulse to all education. Oxford and Cambridge had made great advances in philological studies. The higher schools, and the universities, were mostly filled by the sons of yeomen

* State Papers, vol. ix., p. 125.
† "Ecclesiastical Documents," Camden Society, p. 91.
‡ Latimer.

and traders—themselves very often of "gentle lineage." The means of most scholars were very scanty. Some did not scruple to solicit alms, after the fashion of the mendicant friars. In the statute for the advancement of true religion, we have a glimpse of what was the popular reading which the government tolerated. "Chronicles, Canterbury tales, Chaucer's books, Gower's books, and Stories of men's lives, shall not be comprehended in the prohibition of this Act." This statute recognises another, and perhaps the most important branch of popular intellectual amusement—songs, plays, and interludes. The "Coventry Mysteries," and the "Chester Plays," were lawful exhibitions. Before the suppression of the monasteries these miracle plays were performed in churches, and the priests were in many cases the performers. They were now represented upon moveable stages in inn-yards—upon the village-green, and in the city market-place. The secular drama was still in the weakest condition of its rickety infancy. Bear-baiting was the passion of the multitude of this period. The people clung inveterately to the old holidays, which was a serious grief to the earnest reformers, till they began to see the wisdom of not being severe upon the popular amusements, and ceased to associate them with the corruptions of the Romish Church.

During the reign of Henry VIII., the most beneficial application of Science to the welfare of man, the knowledge of Medicine and Surgery, made extraordinary advances. The College of Physicians was founded in 1518, and their corporation was confirmed by a statute of 1523. The Surgeons at this time separated themselves from the Barber-Surgeons, who were a company incorporated by Edward IV. The Surgeons of London went on in their exclusively scientific pursuits without being incorporated. The Barber-Surgeons shaved, and drew teeth, and bled, and attempted cures, under their corporate privileges. In 1540 the two bodies were united by statute, as the Company of Barbers and Surgeons. But their vocations were to be separate.

The tastes of the general population of England were not carried forward, as in Italy, by a familiarity with the highest works in sculpture and painting. Henry VIII. had his favourite painter in a foreigner of eminent merit, Holbein. But this master, in many essentials so admirable, produced few works which could have raised our national taste. There were skilled artificers in London and the principal towns. These were chiefly connected with the arts of building and of clothing. Elaborately carved fronts still attest the ingenuity of the joiner.

The Paving Acts for the metropolis in the time of Henry VIII. indicate something of the vigilant superintendence of the general government; but they also show the chief cause of local neglect. The lighting of London and its suburbs was indifferently provided for. The steeple of Bow Church, erected in 1512, had lanterns. The Mayor commanded, a century earlier, that lanterns and lights should be suspended in front of the houses on winter evenings. The principle of equal assessment for public objects was not then understood. There was no system of co-operation. The first large attempt to organise labour for public improvements is to be found in the Statute of Sewers of 1427, under which commissioners were appointed, by whose authority all damages caused by breaches of the sea were

to be repaired, and collections made to uphold the sewers and causeways in marsh lands. Out of such collections labourers were to be employed upon competent wages. The first general Highway Act is that of 1555. Public Washing-grounds, on the banks of rivers, were established in every town; where the linen cleansed in the stream, or in the buck, was spread upon the turf, or hung upon the hair-line. There was a daily boat to and from Gravesend, at two-pence each passenger, provided that there was a load of twenty-four persons; to Erith for a penny; to Greenwich and Woolwich for a farthing; to all places between Lambeth and St. Mary Overies, a farthing. But the watermen rebelled at these fares; and the Act says that assaults and frays daily ensued, and oftentimes manslaughter.

CHAPTER XVII.

EDWARD, the son of Henry VIII. by Jane Seymour, was a few months above nine years of age at the time of his father's death. On the 31st of January, the young prince was conducted to the Tower of London, and proclaimed king. Henry's will was dated the 30th of December; and under it sixteen executors were appointed, to exercise the powers of the crown during Edward's minority. To assist these executors in cases of doubt, a second council of twelve persons was also nominated. The very act of appointing executors was the assertion of the royal prerogative to deal with the kingdom as with a private estate. The executors of Henry VIII. raised the earl of Hertford to the office of Protector. Wriothesley opposed the nomination of any one of the council with an authority superior to the rest. The chancellor was over-ruled; and was soon after removed from office, having in his struggle for power committed a political offence. Hertford was created duke of Somerset; and after Edward's coronation, which took place on the 28th of February, the Protector was not only confirmed in his authority by letters-patent under the great seal, but his powers were extended, and the functions of the executors were merged in those of a general council, who were bound to act by the advice and consent of the real head of the state.

It was a leading object of Henry's policy, which he held to in his dying hour, that the union of England and Scotland should be cemented by the marriage of his son with the child, Mary, the Scottish queen. The proposal of Somerset, that the former treaty for this marriage should be renewed and ratified, was coldly listened to. At this juncture an event occurred which materially affected the relations of England with France and Scotland. Francis I. died on the 31st of March, at Rambouillet. He had reigned thirty-two years. Twenty days before the death of Francis, a treaty had been concluded between France and England. This the new king of France, Henry II., refused to ratify. He preferred to cultivate an alliance with the Scots. The duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine were the brothers of the queen dowager of Scotland, and they were amongst

the chief advisers of the French king. On the 2nd of September, the Protector crossed the border at Berwick with a powerful invading army. Somerset did not enter on the war with Scotland in the arrogant spirit with which Henry VIII. had conducted his negotiations and his assaults. The Protector addressed a remarkable letter "to the nobility and counsellors, gentlemen and commons, and all other the inhabitants of the realm of Scotland;" in which, with "greeting and peace," he sets forth the desire of England to establish the amity of the two countries by the union of the crowns. In this union of two kingdoms, England was ready "to take the indifferent old name of Britain again, because nothing should be left on our part to be offered. . . . . We seek not to take from you your laws nor customs, but we seek to redress your oppressions, which of divers ye do sustain." But the words of peace were not hearkened to. The influence of France prevailed. The priests stirred up the Scottish people to resist the English heretics. Knox was a prisoner in France; and the friends of the Reformation were scattered and proscribed.

Somerset advanced from Berwick along the shore, whilst a fleet under Lord Clinton kept the sea within view of the coast. On the 8th, the English were encamped near Preston-Pans; and the fleet was at anchor near Musselburgh. The Scottish army was within a distance of little more than two miles; the ridge of Falside being between the two hosts. The Scots occupied a strong position, with the sea on their left flank, and a deep marsh on their right. The river Esk protected their front; and the bridge crossing the Esk was held and strongly defended. On the morning of the 10th, when the English army began to move, it was discovered that the Scots had abandoned their strong position, and had crossed the river. They had taken up an opinion that the English were about to retreat to their ships, and would escape unless attacked in their camp. This movement was fatal to them. Although they fought with the most determined valour, and successfully resisted a furious charge of the English cavalry; they ultimately fled before their slaughtering pursuers. Ten thousand Scots perished, and fifteen hundred were taken prisoners, without any serious loss on the part of the English. Leith was set on fire. Several castles were taken. But in three weeks after the battle of Pinkie, Somerset recrossed the Tweed; and entered London on the 8th of October, declining, however, any triumphant reception. The results of this great scattering of the Scottish power were not favourable to the English influence. The nobility of Scotland resolved to apply for assistance to France; and at the instigation of the queen-dowager, the young Queen Mary was offered in marriage to the dauphin of France. A parliament, or convention, that was hastily assembled, ratified the treaty for the marriage; and the child-queen was received at Dunbarton on board a French vessel which had entered the Clyde and then sailed to France. In August, 1548, Mary was solemnly contracted to the Dauphin. The war was continued with various success; but on the whole was unfavourable to the English.

The parliament met on the 4th of November, 1547. Cranmer and his coadjutors in the Church had been seeking to prepare a broad and solid foundation for their reforms, in the enlightenment of the people. Cranmer had selected the paraphrase of the New Testament, by Erasmus, as a fitting

book to be translated into English, and set up in churches. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, attacked this translation with clever bitterness. In the same spirit he attacked the Book of Homilies, "appointed by the king's majesty to be declared, and read by all parsons, vicars, or curates, every Sunday in their churches, where they have cure." Gardiner was committed to the Fleet. During the Protector's absence in Scotland, an ecclesiastical visitation had taken place, to inquire as to the removal of images, when they were abused by pilgrimages and offerings; whether the Scriptures were read, and the Litany sung, in English; whether the clergy declared to their parishioners the articles for the abolition of superfluous holidays; whether they diligently taught their parishioners, and especially the youth, the Pater Noster, the articles of our faith, and the Ten Commandments, in English; whether the Bible, of the largest volume in English, was provided in some convenient place in the church. There was no open resistance to the proceedings of the Commissioners. The parliament sat only till the 24th of December; but in those fifty days it passed some measures of the highest importance. The "Act for the repeal of certain statutes concerning treasons, felonies, &c.," swept away the manifold treasons which had been created, by statute after statute, in the reign of Henry VIII. By this Act all "estatutes touching, mentioning, or in any wise concerning religion," were repealed and utterly annulled. All new felonies made by statute since the 1st of Henry VIII. were also repealed. The penalties for affirming that the king is not supreme head of the Church were, however, retained. In this comprehensive statute, the despotic law of the preceding reign, that the Proclamations of the King in Council should be as valid as Acts of parliament, was, further, wholly repealed.* In this short parliament, an Act was passed, regarding "the Sacrament of the Altar." It imposed the penalties of fine and imprisonment upon such as by preaching, reading, arguments, talks, rhymes, songs, or plays, "call it by such vile and unseemly words as Christian ears do abhor to hear rehearsed." But coupled with this enactment was a clause prescribing that the Sacrament should be administered in both kinds—the bread and the wine—thus providing that the cup should not be refused to the laity. The people, according to the usage of the primitive church, were to receive the sacrament with the priest. By another statute, bishops were to be elected by the king's letters patent, and process in the ecclesiastical courts was to be in the king's name. Another Act provided that all the revenues of chantries should be bestowed upon the crown, in order that they might be applied to purposes of education. Cranmer, who knew the avidity with which the rapacious courtiers seized upon the spoils of the Church, had the honesty to vote against this bill. The great Reformer was in a minority with Bonner, the most intolerant enemy of ecclesiastical change.

The Reformation kept on its steady course; offending the greater number of the people who clung to ancient habits, but gradually winning over the thoughtful and educated to an earnest reception of its principles. The first measure of the parliament which met in January, 1549, was "An

* 1 Edw. VI., c. 12.

Act for the Uniformity of Service, &c." A book entitled "The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church, after the use of the Church of England," had been drawn up by "the archbishop of Canterbury, and certain of the most learned and discreet bishops and other learned men of this realm." This form of service was to be read by all ministers in cathedrals and parish churches, from the ensuing feast of Pentecost, under penalties for refusal. With some variation in a subsequent edition of 1552, which was called "the second book," this Liturgy is not essentially different from that of the present day. It was based upon the ancient catholic services, which had been handed down from the primitive ages of the Church; and which the English people had for generations heard sung or said, without comprehending their meaning. The English Liturgy, and the constant reading of the Lessons in English, were the corner-stones which held together that Church of England which the reformers had built up.

The circumstances under which Somerset was placed in supreme power, although carrying on the government in the name of the young king, were such as to demand the union of the highest qualities. His authority was naturally offensive to many of the council. The resistance of Gardiner and others of the higher clergy kept alive the hostility of the great Romish party. The Protector himself gave offence to a proud nobility, by taking precedence in parliament, and by putting his own opinion above the opinion of the council. The first great peril which Somerset encountered came from his own brother. Admiral sir Thomas Seymour, created by Edward VI. lord Seymour of Sudley, had, within a very short time of the death of Henry VIII., become a suitor to his widow, queen Catherine Parr. In the diary kept by the young king there is this significant entry:—"The lord Seymour of Sudley married the queen whose name was Catherine, with which marriage the Lord Protector was much offended." The wife of lord Seymour gave birth to a daughter on the 1st of September, 1548, and died on the 7th. Her death opened to the rash and turbulent Seymour a new prospect for his ambition. He now paid secret addresses to the princess Elizabeth, who appears, in that spirit of coquetry which she retained through life, to have given him some encouragement. In January, 1549, Seymour was arrested and sent to the Tower. The opposition to his designs upon the princess Elizabeth had probably driven him to engage in the rash enterprises which led to his destruction. On the 23rd of February the council proceeded to the Tower, and presented to Seymour thirty-three articles, to which they required his answers. He demanded a trial, and to be confronted with his accusers. This demand was refused; and the articles formed the foundation of the bill of attainder which was brought into the house of lords. The evidence was strong, and the bill passed. The royal assent was given on the 5th of March; and the unhappy man was executed on the 20th. The warrant for his execution was signed, amongst others of the council, by Somerset and by Cranmer. It is clear that Somerset was not of a cruel nature; and we may readily believe in the record of the council, which says that the necessity for his brother's attainder was felt by him to be "heavy, lamentable, and sorrowful." It would appear that the sad alternative of a brother's death, or the danger of the State,

was in some degree forced upon him. There can be little doubt that, if Seymour had no designs upon the young king's life, he sought to make himself master of his person. He had propitiated the boy by little kindnesses which contrasted with Somerset's somewhat strict governorship; and he had endeavoured to persuade the king that it was his interest to take the royal authority into his own hands. Seymour had fortified Holt Castle; had tampered with sir John Sharrington, the master of the mint at Bristol, to furnish him with a considerable supply of money, as Sharrington confessed: and had taken measures to embody a large armed force. The reformers appear to have associated the designs of Seymour with some covert objects of hostility to the changes of religion.

Somerset was, by nature, and out of the necessity of his position, opposed to harsh courses. He stood apart from the men who had been trained to administer the rough discipline of Henry's tyranny; and who had no sympathy with the great mass of the people. But Somerset had not those rare qualities of firmness and prudence which can make a mild government safe in unsettled times. He saw oppression everywhere around him; and he attempted to redress the evil by his own personal vigilance. He opened a Court of Requests, where he himself heard complaints, and interfered with the regular tribunals to prescribe equitable remedies. But the government was powerless to redress the complaints of the masses, and they rushed into insurrection. There had been a partial rising in Cornwall in *1548*; for which a general pardon was granted to all, with the exception of the leaders. In the summer of 1549 half of England was in a state of rebellion. Somerset promised pardons, and Cranmer sent forth exhortations in vain. The government was embarrassed by the complexity of the motives upon which the insurrections were founded. Exeter and Norwich were the chief seats of these extraordinary outbreaks.

On Whit-Sunday, the 19th of June, divine service had been performed at the parish-church of Stampford Courtenay, about sixteen miles from Exeter. On that day the Act for Uniformity of Service came into operation. On the Whit-Monday some of the parishioners, headed by a tailor and a labourer, went to the priest, as he was preparing for the morning service, and told him, "they would keep the old and ancient religion as their forefathers before them had done;" and he yielded to their wills, and forthwith arrayed himself "in his old popish attire," and said mass, as in times past.* The justices of the peace interfered, but without effect; and in a short time the example spread through Devonshire and Cornwall, and the people began to assemble in great companies. At Crediton there was a forcible resistance to sir Peter Carew, and other gentlemen; and again at Cliff. In a short time the highways were stopped by cutting trenches and throwing down trees; and the multitude continuing to increase, on the 2nd of July commenced a regular siege of Exeter, the gates of which city were closed against them. When they had set down before the city, their numbers daily swelled so that they completely surrounded it, and cut off all supplies from the neighbouring districts. They burnt the gates; they destroyed the conduits which supplied the water of

* Narrative of John Vowell, the chamberlain of Exeter, printed in Holinshed.

the town; they undermined the walls. The majority of the citizens, under the guidance of the mayor, bravely resisted, although many were inclined to favour the designs of the insurgents. For five weeks this contest went on. The government was issuing proclamations to the rebels, and distributing Cranmer's wise and gentle replies to their demands. On the 16th of July, martial law was proclaimed. Lord Russell had gathered a small force at the commencement of these troubles; but he looked in vain for aid of men or money from the government. At length some merchants of Exeter who were in his camp, having pledged their credit, obtained for him a supply of money; and he marched forward with reinforcements. After an engagement with a band of the insurgents, he was joined by lord Grey, who had opportunely arrived with a troop of horse and three hundred Italian infantry. A more fierce encounter took place at Cliff, where the rebels were routed with great slaughter. The prisoners who had been taken in a previous engagement were here put to the sword. The besiegers of Exeter now boldly marched to encounter the king's troops; and upon Cliff Heath a bloody battle took place, with the inevitable result that attends the contest of an armed multitude with disciplined troops. "Great was the slaughter, and cruel was the fight; and such was the valour and stoutness of these men, that the lord Grey reported, himself, that he never in all the wars that he had been in did know the like." When Exeter was relieved, and the insurgents dispersed or slain, executions went forward to a fearful extent.

The Norfolk rebellion appears to have been of a wholly different character from that of the west of England. On the 6th of July a large number of people were assembled at a fair at Wymondham. John Flowerdew, a gentleman, and Robert Ket, tanner, dwelling near Wymondham, had some private grievances, and each instigated the mob to destroy the inclosures of the other. Ket, "being a man hardy and forward to any desperate attempt," thought this pastime might be carried farther. He put himself at the head of the mischievous clowns, calling upon them "to follow him in defence of their common liberty." People continued to join this band in great numbers; and supplies of weapons, armour, and artillery were brought to them out of Norwich. At a short distance from the city is an elevated ground, called Mousehold Heath. Here the formidable band took up their quarters. They were at first kept in some order by their bold leader, who gave judgment against evil-doers, sitting in state under an oak which was called "the tree of reformation." By the advice of a citizen of Norwich, the council sent a herald to the camp at Mousehold to proclaim the king's pardon to all who would depart to their homes. The multitude shouted "God save the king!" and some fell on their knees and wept. But Ket cried out that pardon was for those who had done amiss; and commanded them not to forsake him. The herald then proclaimed him a traitor, and departed. The rebels entered Norwich, and carried the mayor and many of the principal citizens prisoners to their camp. It was time for the government to bestir itself; and the royal letters were sent forth to the nobility and gentlemen throughout the country to assemble in arms.

At last, a force of fifteen hundred horsemen, led by the marquis of Northampton, arrived to give the rebels some active occupation. At this juncture the mayor of Norwich was in the hands of the insurgents; and the citizens were in daily dread of attack and plunder. The royal forces marched into Norwich. Before daybreak a fierce attack was made on the walls and gates; and after a fight of three hours the insurgents were driven back. The next day the marquis despatched Norroy king-at-arms to the camp, with an offer of pardon. The terms were despised, and the whole multitude came furiously on; entered the city; fought with the royal troops in the streets; slew lord Sheffield, one of the chief captains; took many prisoners; and caused Northampton to flee hastily to London. The rebels had now complete possession of Norwich. Many of the citizens had fled; and had met the earl of Warwick, who was preparing to march with an army to Scotland. Warwick's troops reached Norwich; and again the herald was instructed to proclaim the king's pardon if the rebels would disperse. The pacific offers were rejected. Hostilities were resumed; and such was the courage and endurance of this multitude that Warwick was repulsed in several attempts to gain the city. His ammunition waggons were interrupted; some of his pieces of ordnance were seized; his affairs became so desperate that many of his officers advised his abandonment of the enterprise against such a huge multitude. Warwick and his captains swore upon their swords never to depart, but to vanquish or to fall. The issue was soon put beyond doubt. On the 26th of August, Warwick received an accession to his force, of fourteen hundred cavalry. The camp of Ket was not so easily provided as in the preceding seven weeks, when he sent out his purveyors to scour the country. Warwick had possession of the roads to Mousehold Heath. On the 27th the rebels resolved to break up their encampment. They set fire to their cabins; and, with ensigns flying, marched down from their strong position into Dussin Dale. Here they formed a rampart of stakes; and setting their prisoners in the foremost ranks, waited the approach of the royal troops. They came, still holding out pardon to the general body. It was refused; and the battle commenced. The insurgents fought with their pikes and pitchforks; and they were, not without fire-arms. The forces that came against them were, doubtless, far better armed, with the wheel-lock pistols of the time for the horsemen, and the harquebuss for the infantry. Dussin Dale was soon filled with the slaughtered bodies of the wretched country people. After the flight of the main body of the insurgents, many held out long. They at first refused the offered pardon; but at length they threw down their weapons, and cried, "God save King Edward." Robert Ket and his brother were conveyed to London; and being convicted of treason, were hanged at Norwich. Others were hanged upon the oak of reformation. But more were spared than was agreeable to the terror-stricken landlords of East Anglia.

The slaughter of Dussin Dale gave Warwick political power as well as military renown. In King Edward's Journal there is the following record of this period of his reign. "In the mean season in England rose great [illegible] like to increase much if it had not been well foreseen. The council [illegible] nineteen of them were gathered in London, thinking to meet with

the Lord Protector, and to make him amend some of his disorders." Holinshed relates how these counsellors went about the city armed, and adds, "And at the last a great assembly of the said counsellors was made at the earl of Warwick's lodging, which was then at Ely Place in Holborn, whither all the confederates in this matter came privily armed."* On the 1st of October a proclamation appeared with the signature of Somerset, commanding all the king's subjects with all haste to repair to Hampton Court, "in most defensible array, with harness and weapons, to defend his most royal person, and his most entirely beloved uncle, the Lord Protector, against whom certain hath attempted a most dangerous conspiracy." The king and Somerset were at Hampton Court; and with them were Cranmer and Paget; Petre and Smith, the two secretaries of state; and Cecil, the private secretary of the Protector. Warwick and his associates obtained possession of the Tower of London, removed the lieutenant, and put one of their own friends in his place. From Hampton Court the Protector wrote to Lord Russell, the Privy Seal, who had the command of the army in the west of England, and required him to hasten with his power "to the defence of the king's majesty." Lord Russell and sir William Herbert replied in a joint letter, plainly intimating their intention to take part with the enemies of the Protector. Warwick and his confederates had endeavoured to obtain the countenance of an organised body, the aldermen and common council of London; and had demanded from them the aid of two thousand men. Somerset had sought to move in his favour the scattered population, by handbills, calling upon the commons to rise in defence of the king and the Lord Protector.

On the night of the 6th of October, Edward was moved to Windsor Castle. The next day, Somerset wrote a letter of conciliation to the lords at London, in which he said, "Ye shall find us agreeable to any reasonable conditions that you will require; for we do esteem the king, and the wealth and tranquillity of this realm, more than all other worldly things,—yea, than our own life." The king, writing no doubt under direction, on the 8th, pleaded for his uncle in these words: "We pray you, good cousins and counsellors, to consider, as in times past you have every of you in his degree served us honestly at sundry times, so hath our said uncle, as you all know; and by God's grace may, by your good advices, serve us full well hereafter. Each man hath his faults; he his, and you yours; and if we shall hereafter as rigorously weigh yours as we hear that you intend with cruelty to purge his, which of you shall all be able to stand before us?" Cranmer, Paget, and Smith were still around the falling man. They also pleaded for him. But all these appeals were in vain. The lords wrote two secret letters. One to the young king was calculated to flatter him into the belief that the exercise of his authority would restore the realm to perfect quiet, by the removal of Somerset from his protectorship and governorship. The other letter to Cranmer, Paget, and Smith, was intended to terrify them into obedience to a secret message which was sent to them by sir Philip Hoby, who had recommended himself to the lords in London by playing false. Sir Philip Hoby was also the bearer of a public

* "Chronicle," p. 1057.

message to Somerset and the council at Windsor, that the lords meant no ill to the duke, either to his person or his goods. Upon this, Somerset consented that his guards should be removed, and his servants dismissed. The next day he was arrested, with the one honest friend of the council, sir Thomas Smith, and his secretary Cecil. It is one of the painful passages of Cranmer's life that his name is signed, with that of Paget, to the exulting communication to the lords that their victim was secured. "On Monday, the 13th of October, the duke was brought to London as if he had been a captive, carried in triumph." * In the articles exhibited against Somerset, there was nothing objected to him that could be construed into treason; and scarcely anything that could be proved as an abuse of the authority with which, wrongly or rightly, he had been invested. On the 13th of October, the letters patent to Somerset, for the government of the king's person and the protectorship, were revoked. He remained a prisoner in the Tower till the 6th of February, 1550; when he was released upon payment of a fine of ten thousand pounds; having signed articles of submission, humiliating in the extreme. Cecil, Smith, and others of his friends, were also released.

On the 4th of November the parliament assembled. Such outrages as had occurred in the summer were to be restrained in future by the terrors of the law; and a statute, fearfully severe in its enactments, was rapidly passed. The Statute of Vagabonds was repealed in this parliament as wholly inoperative from its severity. A subsidy was granted; and a general pardon declared for all offenders, especially those concerned in the late rebellions, with the usual exceptions. But there was one special exception, which is remarkable—an exception of those who had offended in certain heresies and erroneous opinions, namely—the alleged doctrines of the Anabaptists, whose sect had been relentlessly persecuted in 1535. At the time of this Act of general pardon, there were several such persons in prison. In King Edward's Journal there is this record: "May 2. Joan Bocher, otherwise called Joan of Kent, was burnt, for holding that Christ was not incarnate of the Virgin Mary; being condemned the year before, but kept in hope of conversion. And the 30th of April, the bishop of London and the bishop of Ely were to persuade her; but she withstood them, and reviled the preacher that preached at her death." The forty-two Articles of Belief set forth in the reign of Edward VI., were conceived in a spirit of compromise, which was well calculated to establish a Protestant Church as opposed to a Roman Catholic, by bringing men of opposite opinions upon metaphysical points within its fold. Questions more affecting the civil interests of society were raised by the statute for appointing commissioners to compile a new body of ecclesiastical laws. A book was compiled by Cranmer, which never became law, but is of authority as pointing to the principles of the first Reformers. The Law of Divorce is one of the most important of the subjects of which this code treats.

Bonner, the bishop of London, was deprived of his see at the time when Somerset and the council became at mortal variance. He was com-

* Hayward.

mitted to the Marshalsea, where he was a prisoner during the remainder of Edward's reign. Ridley was subsequently appointed to the bishopric. Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, who had been a prisoner for some time in the Fleet, was released in 1549, and ordered to preach before the king at Paul's Cross. He preached so boldly and offensively that he was committed to the Tower. In 1550 he was examined by the council, and we find Somerset amongst those who were to probe his opinions. Gardiner conducted himself in these discussions with his usual spirit and ability. In the end, he was deprived of his bishopric, and was confined in the Tower till the accession of Queen Mary. Heath, the bishop of Worcester, and Day, the bishop of Chichester, had objected to the removal of altars; and they were committed to prison and deprived. Tonstall, the bishop of Durham, was sent to the Tower upon a charge of misprision of treason. The offences of the deprived bishops were political offences; and under a more despotic system the penalties of treason would assuredly have fallen upon them. No Roman Catholic was put to death in the time of Edward VI. The position of domestic affairs was one of extreme danger and difficulty, and in no point was it more dangerous than in the firm determination of the king's elder sister not to conform to the changes of religion. An entry in Edward's Journal in 1551 shows how Mary was fortified in the bold avowal of her opinions: "The emperor's ambassador came with a short message from his master, of war, if I would not suffer his cousin, the princess, to use her mass." An English ambassador was sent to the emperor to remonstrate against his interference; but Mary relaxed nothing of her determination, nor of her contempt for her brother's ministers.

On the 31st of March, 1550, there is this entry in King Edward's Journal, "My lord Somerset was delivered of his bonds, and came to court." On the 10th of April, Somerset was restored to a place in the council. On the 3rd of June, lord Lisle, the son of Warwick, was married at Shene to Ann, the daughter of Somerset; and the king was present at the bridal. During 1550 Somerset appears to have been re-establishing his power. In December he had a hundred guards assigned him, although Warwick and other nobles had only fifty. The jealousies of the retainers of Somerset and Warwick soon began to manifest themselves in open conflicts; and several of Somerset's servants were sent to the Tower. On the 11th of October, 1551, the marquis of Dorset was created duke of Suffolk, and the earl of Warwick was created duke of Northumberland. On the 16th of October, Somerset, having that day taken his seat at the council, was arrested and sent to the Tower, with his duchess, and many of his friends. On the 1st of December he was brought to trial before the lord-steward and twenty-seven peers, on a charge of high treason, by conspiring to seize the king; and of felony, under the Act of the preceding session against unlawful assemblies, in purposing, with others, to imprison the earl of Warwick, a privy councillor. He was acquitted of the treason, and found guilty of the felony. Being acquitted of treason he went out of Westminster Hall, "without the axe of the Tower. The people, not knowing the matter, shouted half-a-dozen of times so loud, that from the hall-door it was heard at Charing Cross plainly, and rumours went that he was quit of all." On the 22nd of January there is this business-like entry in the royal day-book: "Th-

duke of Somerset had his head cut off upon Tower-hill, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning." Before his execution the duke addressed the people in a short speech, concluding with:—"'And I pray you now let us pray together for the king's majesty, to whose grace I have been always a faithful, true, and most loving subject, desirous always of his most prosperous success in all his affairs; and ever glad of the furtherance and helping forwards of the commonwealth of this realm.' At which words the people answered 'Yea, yea, yea,' and some said with a loud voice, 'that is found now too true.' 'To whose grace I beseech God to send and grant to reign most prosperously to the pleasure of God.'" * Sir Ralph Vane, sir Thomas Arundel, sir Miles Partridge, and sir Michael Stanhope, were subsequently tried and executed, on a charge of having instigated the duke of Somerset to treason and felony. In the great work of the Reformation it is not easy to determine the particular merit of each labourer; but we incline to believe that Somerset was sincere and consistent in his attempts to establish the new doctrines upon a broad foundation of charitable principle. England was then, as it has been in many later periods, the home of foreigners fleeing from oppression, religious or political. It was the merit of the Protector's government to receive these strangers; and Somerset encouraged them, both by his public support and his private liberality.

A peace was concluded with France, in March, 1550. By this treaty, it was agreed that Boulogne should be restored to France, upon the payment of one-fifth of the sum which Francis I. had agreed to pay on the expiration of eight years. The demand arising out of the treaty of marriage between Edward and Mary of Scotland was abandoned. The pension which Henry VIII. had accepted for the surrender of his claim to the crown of France was virtually set aside.

In the parliament of 1552, it was enacted that no person should be arraigned or convicted of treasonable offences, except by the testimony of two witnesses, to be produced at the time of his arraignment. The duke of Northumberland, though invested with no special power as that of protector or governor of the king, was now the directing authority of the realm. He obtained the most lavish grants of estates from the crown, and was proceeding in a career of high-handed despotism. A new parliament was called in 1553, and especial care was taken that the sheriffs should attend, in their returns, to the nominations of the crown, and the recommendations of the privy counsellors. In the beginning of the year the king became seriously ill; and when the parliament met on the 1st of March, the two houses were assembled at Whitehall, his weakness preventing him opening the session except in his own palace. The policy of Northumberland now assumed a bolder shape. The king partially recovered in May; and at that period Northumberland's fourth son, lord Guilford Dudley, was married to the lady Jane Grey; the lady Catherine Grey was betrothed to lord Herbert, the son of the earl of Pembroke, who was Northumberland's devoted adherent; and his daughter, Catherine Dudley, was united to lord Hastings, eldest son of the earl of Huntingdon. By the will of

* Ellis, Second Series, vol. ii., p. 216.

Henry VIII. the crown was to devolve—1, on his son Edward; 2, on his own heir (if any) by Catherine Parr, or other queen; 3, on his daughter Mary; 4, on his daughter Elizabeth; 5, on the heirs of the lady Frances, his niece; 6, on those of her sister, the lady Eleanor. By this will the descendants of his sister, Margaret, the queen of Scotland, were passed over. On the 11th of June, the lord chief justice Montague, with other law officers, was commanded to attend upon the king at Greenwich. Edward, in presence of some members of the council, then declared to them that he had prepared notes of an intended new settlement of the crown; and that he desired they should be reduced into letters-patent. These notes were in effect to set aside the devise of Henry to his daughters Mary and Elizabeth, and to give the crown to the heirs of the lady Frances, who was the living duchess of Suffolk, but who was herself passed over. The lady Jane Grey was the eldest of her three daughters. She had no male heir. The judge hesitated; but Northumberland's threats finally prevailed, and on the 14th fifteen lords of the council, nine judges, and other officers, signed a paper agreeing to maintain the succession as contained in the king's notes, delivered to the judges. King Edward died on the 6th of July. The dying boy was no doubt worked upon to this unjust exclusion of his sisters from the throne by the influence of Northumberland, who appears to have possessed an extraordinary control over his actions. Though during the short reign of Edward VI., his nonage precluded him from much share in the direction of public affairs, the disposition, the abilities, and the acquirements of this youth, who died before he had completed his sixteenth year, could not be without some effect upon the opinions of the time. The "Journal," written with his own hand, which is preserved in the Cotton Library, is very remarkable. It is in the form of a diary from the 24th of March, 1549, till the 30th of November, 1552. Of his earlier life it presents only a short summary. A very competent judge has said, "It is perhaps somewhat brief and dry for so young an author; but the adoption of such a plan, and the accuracy with which it is written, bear marks of an untainted taste and of a considerate mind."* Edward's dying prayer is a proof of his earnest and abiding love for the faith which had made such rapid progress during his brief reign: "O Lord God, save thy chosen people of England. O my Lord God, defend this realm from papistry, and maintain thy true religion."

On the 8th of July the council sent for the lord mayor and six aldermen and other citizens of London, and made them swear to abide by the letters-patent. The princess Mary was at Hunsdon, in Hertfordshire. She hastily took horse for her manor of Kenninghall, from which place she addressed a letter to the council, dated the 9th, in which she called upon them, on their allegiance, immediately to proclaim her right and title to the crown. Having answered the letter of Mary, declaring that Jane was invested with the true title to the crown, and recommending to the princess to be "quiet and obedient," the Council caused Queen Jane to be proclaimed on the 10th. On the 12th the Council, who surrounded the lady Jane in the Tower, received intelligence that Mary had been joined at

* Sir J. Mackintosh, "History," vol. ii., p. 249.

Kenninghall by the earl of Bath, and other leading men; and that the earl of Sussex and his son were marching to her aid. Northumberland received from Queen Jane the commission for the lieutenantship of the army, "sealed," and, after a strong appeal to the fidelity of the Council, he departed, with six hundred men, for the eastern counties. Northumberland was to have received succour at Northampton, but the promised aid of men and munition never arrived. Meanwhile the cause of Mary was prospering in every quarter, and Queen Jane's supposed friends were fast deserting her. The termination of the march of Northumberland is a pitiable exhibition of the unhonoured fall of inordinate ambition. He had retreated to Cambridge with his small army. Letters of discomfort had reached him. On the 19th, at night, he heard that Queen Mary had been proclaimed in London. "The next morning he called for a herald and proclaimed her himself." The mayor of Cambridge arrested him after the proclamation, but upon his remonstrance let him go free. He stayed at Cambridge one night. The next morning he was arrested by the earl of Arundel.

Queen Mary arrived triumphantly in London, at the head of a great band of friends, on the 3rd of August. Her sister Elizabeth had joined her on her progress. The duke of Northumberland and his son the earl of Warwick, the earl of Northampton, sir Andrew Dudley, sir John Gates, sir Henry Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer were tried and convicted of high-treason on the 18th and 19th of August. On the 22nd, Northumberland, sir John Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer were executed. The day previous the duke of Northumberland had heard mass and received the sacrament "according to the old accustomed manner," solemnly asserting his belief that "this is the very right and true way."

The news of Mary's accession was received in Rome with exultation; and the pope resolved to send Cardinal Pole as legate to England. That measure was determined in a consistory as early as the 5th of August. Mary herself received a secret agent of Rome, Francis Commendone; and to him she professed her attachment to the Romish Church, and her desire to bring back its worship. But she implored him to be cautious, for much was still unsettled. The coronation of Mary took place on the 1st of October. Her first parliament met on the 5th. The session was a very short one, and the only public Act was that for repealing certain treasons and felonies, and all offences within the case of premunire. The object of this Act was to sweep away the penalties for denying the king's supremacy, and especially to relieve Cardinal Pole from his dangers under the laws of Henry VIII. Latimer was committed to the Tower on the 13th of November, and Cranmer on the 14th, and the deprived bishops were restored to their sees. The second parliamentary session commenced on the 24th of October. The anti-reformers now went more boldly to work. An Act was passed declaring void so much of the statute of Henry VIII. as illegitimated Queen Mary, and confirming the illegitimacy of the princess Elizabeth. Mary had resolved on marriage with Philip, the son of Charles V., and she flattered herself that with a Catholic husband, and with successors to be bred up in the ancient faith, the nation would soon abandon its heresies. The second Act of this session, "for the repeal of certain statutes made

in the time of the reign of King Edward the Sixth," deals in a very summary manner with the labours of the preceding six years. But something connected with the Reformation was retained. Divine service was to be performed as in the last year of Henry VIII. The queen still retained the title of Supreme Head of the Church; the name of the Pope was carefully kept out of view. In a very short time the people began to be stirred about the Spanish marriage. The Commons petitioned the queen that she would marry, but that she would select one of her own nation. Mary dismissed them with a short answer, saying that she should only look to God for counsel in a matter so important; and the ambassador of Charles soothed many scruples by a liberal distribution of eloquent gold. But the people were not so easily satisfied. They abhorred the notion of a Spanish alliance. The terms of the marriage treaty, which were assiduously promulgated, were in some degree calculated to diminish this public jealousy; and Charles V. resolved the doubts of the Lords and Commons with a million, two hundred thousand crowns. But still the nation would not be satisfied.

In January, 1554, sir Thomas Carew and a band of friends "were up in Devonshire, resisting the king of Spain's coming." Carew failed in his demonstration, and fled to France. The precipitancy of Carew forced his confederate, sir Thomas Wyat, to take the field without full preparation. On the news arriving in London on the 25th of January, that Wyat was up in Kent, the duke of Suffolk fled from his house at Sheen; and in Leicester and in other places, caused proclamation to be made against the queen's match. He was betrayed by his own park-keeper at Astley, near Coventry, and conducted to London as a prisoner. Wyat was in arms in the neighbourhood of Rochester when the duke of Norfolk was sent against him, with the queen's guard, and a band of five hundred men hastily raised in London, of whom one Alexander Brett was the captain. Norfolk was about to attack the rebels, when Brett, and his men, and three-fourths of the duke's retinue, declared in their favour. The duke and the earl of Ormond, and the captain of the guards, fled. On the 1st of February, Wyat reached Deptford; and the same day the queen, who strikingly exhibited the self-command and determination of her race, went to the Guildhall, and demanded the assistance of the city in a spirited speech, which produced a stirring effect. The next day the householders of London were in armour in the streets. On the 3rd of February, Wyat marched from Deptford with two thousand men. At Southwark the rebels were favourably received; and bands from the country, raised by lord William Howard, took part with them. Wyat lingered in Southwark till the 6th, finding it impossible to gain a passage at London Bridge. He then marched to Kingston, when he crossed in boats. It was broad day when the Kentishmen reached the west end of what we now call Piccadilly. The earl of Pembroke, with a troop of horsemen, hovered about them, but made no bold attempt to stop their march. Great ordnance were fired on both sides with little damage. Onwards the rebels went towards the city, by the highway of the Strand. The queen seems to have been the only person of the whole court endowed with sense and courage. At Ludgate, Wyat was refused admittance by lord William Howard. He rested

awhile at the Bell-Savage gate; and then turned back, purposeless. After a skirmish at Temple Bar, a herald persuaded him to yield; and sir Maurice Berkeley received his submission, and carried him behind him on his horse to court. From Whitehall to the Tower was his last journey.

CHAPTER XVIII.

It was the 7th of February when the insurrection of Wyat thus completely failed. Prisoner after prisoner continued to arrive at the Tower; and on Saturday, the 10th, the duke of Suffolk and lord John Grey were brought thither from Coventry. The lady Jane Grey, her husband, and his two brothers had been tried by a special commission on the 13th of November. Another Dudley had been arraigned in January. They all pleaded "guilty." The hope of mercy in thus pleading had probably been held out to all. But the insurrection of Wyat determined their fate. On Monday, the 12th of February, lord Guilford Dudley, the young husband of lady Jane Grey, was led out of his prison walls to die on Tower Hill at ten o'clock. Out of the window of a house in the Tower did Jane, whose own hour of final release was fast approaching, see him walk to his execution. On the green against the White Tower a scaffold had been erected, on which the lady Jane was to die. She went forth to her death at eleven o'clock on that "black Monday," as Strype calls the day, "her countenance nothing abashed, neither her eyes anything moistened with tears."* And in her hand she held a book, whereon she prayed all the way till she came to the scaffold. Four days before, she had boldly said to the priest sent to examine her, "I ground my faith upon God's Word, and not upon the Church. For if the Church be a good Church, the faith of the Church must be tried by God's Word, and not God's Word by the Church."† At the last: "She tied the kercher about her eyes; then, feeling for the block said, 'What shall I do? Where is it?' One of the standers-by guiding her thereto, she laid her head down upon the block, and stretched forth her body, and said, 'Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit.' And so she ended."‡

On the day that Guilford and Jane Dudley were beheaded, the gallows was set up at every gate, and in every great thoroughfare of London. There is a brief catalogue of the use to which these machines were applied on the 18th, when, from Billingsgate to Hyde-park Corner, there were forty-eight men hanged at nineteen public places. On the 17th, certain captains, and twenty-two of the common rebels, were sent into Kent to suffer death. Such executions were made under martial law; although

* "Queen Jane and Queen Mary," Camden Society, p. 56.

† "Communication between the Lady Jane and Master Feckenham," Harleian Misc., vol. i., p. 369, ed. 1808.

‡ "Queen Jane and Queen Mary," p. 59.

Wyat and some others were reserved for trial by a jury. The duke of Suffolk was tried on the 17th, and beheaded on the 22nd. Wyat and others pleaded guilty. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton was tried on the 17th of April; which trial is remarkable for the boldness and ability with which the prisoner defended himself. Throckmorton's talent and energy produced a most surprising result. He was acquitted. The Court, immediately after the trial, committed the jury to prison. Four made a submission and were released. Eight remained in confinement for many months; and when brought before the Council in the Star Chamber, were sentenced to the payment of enormous fines.

The execution of Wyat was delayed till the 11th of April. Another suspected person was Courtenay, earl of Devonshire, who had formerly been considered Mary's favoured suitor. On the 26th of January, the day after Wyat made his armed demonstration at Maidstone, Queen Mary wrote a letter from St. James's to the lady Elizabeth, who was at Ashridge, informing her of attempts to excite rebellion, and requesting her to "repair hither to us." Elizabeth was seriously ill, and begged for delay. On the 10th of February, lord William Howard, sir Edward Hastings, and sir Thomas Cornwallis, arrived at Ashridge, and, as they wrote to the queen on the 11th, "required her in your majesty's name, all excuses set apart, to repair to your highness with all convenient speed and diligence."* It was arranged that Elizabeth should take five days to perform the journey of thirty-three miles, in a horse litter. She did not arrive at Westminster till the 22nd or 23rd of February, for the accounts vary. The queen would not see her; and kept her in the palace under guard. Mary told the emperor's ambassador that the Council were labouring to discover the truth against Courtenay and Elizabeth; that Courtenay had corresponded in cypher with Carew, who was endeavouring to forward a marriage between him and Elizabeth; that proof of an overt act of treason was still wanting; that the Council had found by the confession of the son of the Lord Privy Seal, that he had received letters from Wyat, during the rebellion, addressed to Elizabeth, which he had delivered to her. On the 18th of March, the princess was removed to the Tower. She previously wrote a letter to her sister. A most characteristic document—earnest and solemn, bold and impassioned; full of vehement asseverations of her innocence. On the 3rd of April, the emperor's ambassador, Renard, wrote to him, that he had told the queen "that it was of the utmost consequence the trials and execution of the criminals, especially of Courtenay and of the lady Elizabeth, should be concluded before the arrival of his highness" [the prince of Spain]. The ferocious ambassador was seconded by the crafty chancellor, Gardiner, who said, "that as long as Elizabeth was alive, there would be no hope that the kingdom would be tranquil." Elizabeth herself expected death as the only release from her prison. On the 19th of May she was removed from the Tower, and conveyed to Woodstock, where she long remained in confinement. Courtenay was taken to Fotheringay Castle; and was ultimately released, and sent to Germany.

The parliament met on the 2nd of April. Renard wrote, "The Act for

* State Papers, Tytler, p. 426.

the punishment of heretics with death has passed in the Lower House, but I learn that the Peers will not consent that there should be in it any capital clause." Paget, it seems, used his influence to oppose this bill. During these agitations the ecclesiastical policy of the advisers of Mary was sufficiently developed. The married clergy were expelled from their livings, although the laws of Edward VI., which allowed their marriage, remained unrepealed. Their benefices were filled by popish priests, who renewed all the ceremonial observances that had been swept away. Seven bishops were deprived of their sees; one resigned; and six new bishops were consecrated by Gardiner on the 1st of April. In March, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were taken out of the Tower; and on the 16th of April, were brought before thirty-three commissioners in St. Mary's Church, at Oxford, to be examined upon the articles which Convocation had agreed to, "of the sacrament of the altar, of transubstantiation, of the adoration of the eucharist, and of the reservation of the sacrament of the church."* The disputations were conducted amidst the hissings, clappings, and taunts of the opposing divines, with an inevitable result. On the 20th, Cranmer and his two brethren were brought again before the commissioners. They each refused to subscribe the articles, and were condemned as heretics.

On the 19th of July the Spanish squadron, with Philip, and a gorgeous train of Castilian and Flemish nobles, came to anchor at Southampton. The queen had arrived at Winchester; and thither the prince proceeded with his retinue, after having rested three days. He was scrupulously careful to avoid exciting the English jealousy. On the 23rd he met his expectant betrothed. They were married on the 25th, the festival of St. James, the patron saint of Spain. Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, performed the ceremony. Previous to the marriage an instrument was read by one of the council of Charles V., declaring that the emperor had bestowed upon his son the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan, so that Queen Mary might marry a sovereign like herself.

During this summer and autumn the streets of London were filled with Spaniards, much to the displeasure of the citizens. But they were consoled in the autumn by seeing some of the wealth of the New World poured into our island; for twenty cars paraded through the streets to the Tower, containing fourscore and seventeen chests of silver. Philip had great projects in view. The heretical island was to be reconciled to Rome. The papal legate was again to hold a divided sway with the temporal sovereign. Cardinal Pole was coming to threaten or to absolve. The parliament was to meet in November. The fourscore and seventeen chests of silver were not conveyed to the Tower to lie idle in its vaults. Pole came up the Thames on the 14th of November, in a gorgeous barge, with a silver cross at its prow. Parliament had met two days before, doubtless well bribed into unlimited obedience. On the 27th the great legate met that parliament at Whitehall, where he sat under a canopy with Philip and Mary. After an oration from the Cardinal, the Lords and Commons went before the king and queen and humbly desired that their majesties would intercede with the cardinal for absolution, and that the whole people of the realm should

* Strype, "Mem. of Cranmer," vol. ii., p. 105.

be received into the bosom of the Church as children repentant. And then all the parliament went on their knees, and the legate gave absolution. How utterly the Lords and Commons of England were abased before the power of Rome, is shown in a most submissive preamble to the Act "repealing all statutes, articles, and provisions made against the See Apostolic of Rome, since the twentieth year of King Henry VIII." The Act is "also for the establishment of all spiritual and ecclesiastical possessions and hereditaments conveyed to the laity." From this degraded parliament thirty-seven members of the House of Commons voluntarily seceded; for which demonstration of independence they were indicted. A new statute of treason was passed against those who preached or openly spoke against the title of the king and queen and their issue. This Act came into full operation on the 20th of January. The meaning of it was made perfectly intelligible to all England from the 4th of February, 1555, to the 10th of November, 1558. In 1555, seventy-one heretics were executed; in 1556, eighty-three; in 1557, eighty-eight; in 1558, forty. Speed classifies these sufferers—Five bishops; twenty-one divines; eight gentlemen; eighty-four artificers; a hundred husbandmen; servants and labourers; twenty-six wives; twenty widows; nine unmarried women; two boys, and two infants. On the 1st of January, 1555, the work was actively commenced that, in the end, was to make England thoroughly Protestant. On that day Thomas Rose, a man whose somewhat extravagant zeal had brought him into trouble in the days of King Henry, was arrested with thirty of his congregation, at a sheerman's house in Bow Churchyard. They were sent to join many of the same mind in the Marshalsea, the Fleet, and the Clink. On the 22nd of January, the preachers who were in prison, were brought up before Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, and others, at the bishop's house in Southwark, and to the question whether they would become converts, having replied that they would stand to what they had taught, were committed to stricter confinement. On the 28th a commission, under the authority of the Cardinal legate, held its first sitting in the church of St. Mary Overies, to order according to the laws all such preachers and heretics as were in prison. Including Gardiner and Bonner, there were present thirteen bishops, and several noblemen and other lay commissioners. They sat again on the 29th and 30th. There were then exhortations to submit, assuming various forms of reproach or solicitation, which were refused in no very measured terms. On the first day of these scenes at St. Mary Overies, the proceedings were public, and a great crowd filled the church. On the other days the doors were shut. The boldness of such resolved men was a dangerous example. The commissioners abruptly terminated their immediate work, in the condemnation of Hooper, Rogers, Taylor, Saunders, and Bradford, who at the same time were excommunicated. The sentence upon Bradford was not executed till July. The fate of the other four was more quickly decided. "Of all the Marian martyrs, Mr. Philpot was the best-born gentleman; bishop Ridley the profoundest scholar; Mr. Bradford the holiest and devoutest man; archbishop Cranmer, of the mildest and meekest temper; bishop Hooper, of the sternest and austerest nature; Dr. Taylor had the merriest and pleasantest wit; Mr. Latimer had the

plainest and simplest heart."* Hooper, with his fellow-convict Rogers, underwent together the ceremony of degradation on the 4th of February. Rogers went to the stake at Smithfield. Hooper was sent to his former episcopal city of Gloucester, where, on the morning of the 9th, he went forth to his execution. Taylor had been chaplain to Archbishop Cranmer; but having been appointed rector of Hadleigh in Suffolk, he devoted himself most zealously to the duties of his parish. He was married, and had nine children. At two o'clock on the same February morning that Hooper suffered, one of the sheriffs of London led Taylor out of his prison, to deliver him to the sheriff of Essex, in Aldgate. In front of St. Botolph's Church, his wife and children met him, and he "took his daughter Mary in his arms, and he, his wife, and Elizabeth kneeled down and said the Lord's Prayer: at which sight the sheriff wept apace, and so did divers other of the company."† Taylor was placid and even merry to the last. He asked to be taken through Hadleigh. The streets were lined with his old parishioners. When he reached Aldham Common, where he was to suffer, he said, "Thanked be God, I am even at home." A poor woman knelt at the stake to join in his prayers, and would not be driven away. On the day after Hooper and Taylor suffered, being Sunday, Alfonso de Castro, a Spanish friar, the confessor of King Philip, preached before the king, "and in his sermon inveighed against the bishops for burning of men; saying, that they learned it not in Scripture, to put any to death for conscience, but on the contrary, rather to let them live and be converted."‡ There was a suspension of these cruel exhibitions for about five weeks after this remarkable sermon.

In looking back upon the awful transactions of this time of persecution, let us not form too severe a judgment of the evil deeds of our erring forefathers. Let us bear in mind how long a time of probation is required, before individual fidelity to a strong religious conviction can be united with respect for adverse opinions; how long before love shall prevail over zeal, and the essential agreements of the spiritual life be more regarded than the doctrinal differences. The wickedness of the Marian persecution, regarding it with every allowance for the errors of those engaged in it, can only be exceeded by its folly. When we read the sad history of these times, we may ask what possible feeling could have been produced, other than the most intense hatred and disgust?

In "an Order prescribed by the king and queen to the Justices of the Peace," dated March 26th, 1555, there is this direction: "They shall procure to have in every parish, or part of the shire, as near as may be, some one or more honest men secretly instructed, to give information of the behaviour of the inhabitants amongst or about them."§ This attempt to introduce the spy-system was ineffectual, and in 1557 a commission was issued to the bishops of London and Ely, with other ecclesiastics and many laymen, by which any three were empowered to search after all heresies, and the sellers and readers of heretical books. They were to call

* Fuller's "Church History," book viii., p. 11. † Fox.
‡ Strype, "Ecclesiastical Memorials," vol. iii., p. 332.
§ Burnet, "Records," No. 19.

before them what witnesses they pleased, and compel them to swear, so as to discover the heresies and offences thus to be hunted out.*

From the 28th of April, 1554, when Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, had been condemned as obstinate heretics, they had remained in prison at Oxford. In September, 1555, a court was held under the papal authority at Oxford, for what was called their trial. Ridley and Latimer were brought before the commissioners, the bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Bristol, to answer to certain articles. The next day, a solemn session was held at St. Mary's Church—solemn as far as thrones and cloth of tissue could impart solemnity to a proceeding which was a mockery of justice, in refusing to hear the accused. They had only to hear the sentence pronounced; to be degraded; to be burnt. Stripped of his prison-dress, the aged Latimer—the bent old man, "stood bolt upright," and said, "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man! We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as shall never be put out." When Cranmer came before the commissioners, he was cited to appear at Rome within eighty days, there to answer the charges against him. There were prison-walls between him and Rome, and at the end of the time he was declared contumacious. Gardiner had died in November. Bonner and Thirlby were appointed to degrade the archbishop. Bonner was brutal; Thirlby wept. The courage of Cranmer was never very strong. He signed papers of recantation, under false promises of pardon. But at the last a better spirit—an inspiration—came over the fallen man—to make his final glory even greater for his temporary abasement. On the 21st of March, the morning being rainy, the sermon which was appointed to be preached at the stake, was preached in St. Mary's Church. After the sermon Cranmer prayed aloud, and then addressed an exhortation, which concluded with these words:—"And now I come to the great thing that troubleth my conscience more than any other thing that ever I said or did in my life: and that is, the setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth. Which here now I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be: and that is, all such bills which I have written or signed with mine own hand, since my degradation: wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended in writing contrary to my heart, therefore my hand shall first be punished therefore: for if I may come to the fire, it shall be first burned. And as for the pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemy and antichrist, with all his false doctrine." "Coming to the stake with a cheerful countenance, and willing mind," he was true to his word. "Fire being now put to him, he stretched out his right hand, and thrust it into the flame, and held it there a good space, before the fire came to any other part of his body; where his hand was seen of every man sensibly burning, crying with a loud voice, 'This hand hath offended.' As soon as the fire got up, he was very soon dead, never stirring or crying all the while."†

* Burnet, "Records," No. 32.

† Harleian MS., "Archbishop Cranmer's Death, related by a By-stander."

The day after the murder of Cranmer, cardinal Pole was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury; and he then assumed the public functions of the papal legate.

On the 29th of August, "the king's grace took his journey toward Dover, and with a great company." Philip reached Calais on the 4th of September. His sojourn in England had not been an agreeable one to him. The parliament would not consent to his being crowned as king of England. He was obnoxious to the people; although he maintained his state without being a burthen upon the English revenue; and scattered his money with a liberal hand. Mary wept over his departure, but was somewhat consoled by his promise to return in the spring. He returned not to England till March, 1557. Philip was called to a destiny more suited to his proud and ambitious nature, than to be the unequal partaker of sovereign power over a jealous insular people. On the 25th of October, 1555, Charles V., in a solemn assembly at Brussels, although only in his fifty-sixth year, and in full possession of his faculties, resigned the sceptres of the Netherlands and of Spain in favour of his son, and retired to the monastery of Estremadura.

The absence of Philip from England probably caused the parliament, which assembled on the 21st of October, 1555, to dare some opposition to the proceedings of the crown. There were certain limits beyond which the most strenuous Romanists were not willing to go. In 1555 Julius III. was succeeded by Paul IV. This furious zealot endeavoured most unwisely to assert his spiritual supremacy, by proclaiming to the English ambassadors, "the restitution of the lands of the Church to be an indispensable duty, the neglect of which would draw upon the culprit the penalty of eternal damnation. He also tried to re-establish the collection of the Peter's pence." * Mary was herself ready to yield to the first thunders of the Vatican; and caused some of the lay-nobility to be sounded upon this very delicate question. The answer was, "that they would never part with their abbey-lands, as long as they were able to wear a sword by their sides."

There were at this time constant disquietudes and suspicions associated with the fact that, however prudent was the princess Elizabeth, she was the hope of those both abroad and at home who were oppressed by the bigotry of the government. Some young men of good family had conceived the project of assembling together the English exiles of Germany and other parts of the continent, to free England from the Roman pontiff and the Spanish king. Mary was to be sent to Spain; and Elizabeth placed on the throne. The chief leader, Henry Dudley, had obtained some encouragement from the French ambassador in London; and had been courteously received by the French king. Money was to be got to raise soldiers; and a bold device was set on foot, which none but the most sanguine of men would have ventured upon. In the office of the receipt of Exchequer at Westminster, there were bars of Spanish silver lying idle in chests, to the value of 50,000*l*. Three of the conspirators were enabled to obtain access to these precious chests. A ship was hired to carry off

* Ranke, "History of the Popes."

the spoil; the searcher at Gravesend was bribed to let it pass; and the "great bullion robbery" might have been accomplished, had not Thomas White, one of the confederates, revealed the scheme to the government. On the 18th of March, 1556, about twenty of the accused were conveyed to the Tower. Throgmorton, a connection of the man whose acquittal had made him famous, and Uvedale, were first tried. They were convicted; and suffered the death of traitors on the 28th of April. Eight others were executed in May, June, and July. Lord Bray was confined many months on suspicion; but was finally released. Others were pardoned. Elizabeth was again questioned by an agent of the Council, and was written to by her sister; "whereat she wrote a well-penned letter," dated the beginning of August, utterly detesting and disclaiming the rebellion and its actors.*

In March, 1557, Philip returned to England. France and Spain were on the brink of open war. Paul IV. had conceived that the time had arrived for renewing the attempt of Julius II. to throw off the predominant power of Spain. He wanted to accomplish his wishes by an alliance with France; he would place French princes on the thrones of Milan and Naples. Philip came to England to urge a declaration of war against France. There were grievances in the alleged encouragement which had been given in Wyat's rebellion; and in the lukewarmness with which Henry II. met queen Mary's desire that he should afford her the means of vengeance upon the exiles for religion who took shelter in France. The most recent complaint was, that France had connived at the equipment of a force by Thomas Stafford, a refugee, who had invaded England with thirty-two followers, and had surprised Scarborough castle. Stafford and his band were soon made prisoners; and he was beheaded on Tower-hill, and three of his followers hanged, on the 25th of May. Seizing upon this absurd attempt as a ground of quarrel, war was declared against France on the 7th of June; and Philip quitted the country on the 6th of July, never to return.

An English force of four thousand infantry, a thousand cavalry, and two thousand pioneers, joined the Spanish army on the Flemish frontier. That army was partly composed of German mercenaries. The Spanish cavaliers were there; and the Burgundian lances. The army was commanded by Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, who had aspired to the hand of Elizabeth. Philip earnestly seconded his suit, but Mary, wisely and kindly, would not put a constraint upon her sister's inclinations. The duke of Savoy, though young, was an experienced soldier, and he determined to commence the campaign by investing St. Quentin, a frontier town of Picardy. The defence of this fortress was undertaken by Coligni, the admiral of France. Montmorency, the constable, had the command of the French army. The garrison was almost reduced to extremity—when Montmorency, on the 10th of August, arrived with his whole force. The duke of Savoy determined on battle. The issue was the most unfortunate for France since the fatal day of Agincourt. The French slain amounted, according to some accounts, to six thousand; and the prisoners

* Strype, "Ecclesiastical Memorials," vol. iii., part 1, p. 547.

were equally numerous. Amongst them was the veteran Montmorency. On the 10th of August, Philip came to the camp. Bold advisers counselled a march to Paris. The cautious king was satisfied to press on the siege of St. Quentin. The defence which Coligni made was such as might have been expected from his firmness and bravery. The place was taken by storm, amidst horrors which belong to such scenes at all times, but which were doubled by the rapacity of troops who fought even with each other for the greatest share of the pillage. After a few trifling successes, the army of Philip was broken up.

The war between England and France produced hostilities between England and Scotland. Mary of Guise, the queen dowager and regent of Scotland, was incited by the French king to invade England. The disposition to hostilities was accompanied by a furious outbreak of the Scottish borderers. They were driven back. The alliance between France and Scotland was completed, in the autumn of 1558, by the marriage between the Dauphin and the young queen Mary, which was solemnised at Paris, in the cathedral of Notre Dame. The duke of Guise, the uncle of the queen of Scots, at the beginning of 1558, was at the head of a powerful army to avenge the misfortune of St. Quentin. The project committed to his execution was a bold and patriotic one—to drive the English from their last stronghold in France. Calais, over whose walls a foreign flag had been waving for two centuries, was considered by the English government as an indispensable key to the continent—a possession that it would be not only a disgrace to lose, but a national calamity. The duke of Guise commenced his attack on the 2nd of January. On the 7th the town capitulated. Lord Wentworth, the governor, and fifty others, remained as prisoners. The English inhabitants, about four thousand, were ejected from the home which they had so long colonised, but without any exercise of cruelty. Within the marches of Calais the English held the two small fortresses of Guisnes and Hammes. Guisnes was defended with obstinate courage by lord Grey, and did not surrender till the 20th of January. His loss amounted to eight hundred men. From Hammes the English garrison made their escape by night. In the midst of the national irritation at this great discomfiture, the parliament assembled on the 20th of January. The chief business was that of granting a subsidy to carry on the war against the French king and the Scots. The forces of the country were probably never in a less efficient state. The greater portion of the reign of Mary had been spent in persecution, and in the detection and punishment of conspirators. The nation was out of heart, thoroughly hating the Spanish alliance, and almost ready to welcome a French or Scottish invasion, if it were to drive out a weak and cruel government. The subsidy granted by the clergy and laity was employed in fitting out a fleet, to co-operate with a squadron of king Philip in laying waste the French coast. The English ships were under the command of the high admiral, lord Clinton. Their success, if success it could be called, was of the most paltry nature. There was nothing accomplished which could be held to redeem the disgrace of Calais. In October, 1558, queen Mary was dying of the dropsy, with which she had been long afflicted. When she became so ill, that it was necessary to discuss the question of the succession,

Mary showed no displeasure, but the contrary, at the proposal that Elizabeth should be declared her successor. On the 17th the queen was no more. She is stated to have said, "When I die, Calais will be found written on my heart."

On the 17th of November, 1558, the day of her half-sister's death, Elizabeth was proclaimed queen by the Lords of the Council. At her accession she made a speech to the council, in which she required their assistance; "that I with my ruling, and you with your service, may make a good account to Almighty God, and leave some comfort to our posterity in earth."* Upon Elizabeth's entry into London on the 24th of November, all prisoners confined for religious opinions were released. On Christmas-day the queen refused to hear mass; and this decided expression of Elizabeth's personal opinions was followed, two days after, by a proclamation forbidding the elevation of the Host, and all unlicensed preaching. It was also ordered that the Gospels and Epistles, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Litany, should be used in English.

According to the custom of sovereign princes Elizabeth despatched messengers to the various European courts announcing her accession. Amongst these the pope was included. The arrogant Paul IV. replied to Elizabeth's message, that it was great boldness in her to assume the crown without his consent, and that she must submit all her claims to his decision. Philip of Spain proposed himself as Elizabeth's husband within a month after her accession. The queen told his ambassador that she could take no step without consulting her parliament. The two houses met on the 21st of January, six days after the queen's coronation. On the 10th of February the Commons waited upon Elizabeth with an address that she would vouchsafe some match capable of supplying heirs to her royal virtues and dominions. She then declared her opinions on the subject of marriage. "Concerning the substance of your suit, since my years of understanding, since I was first able to take consideration of myself, I have hitherto made choice of a single life, which hath best, I assure you, contented me, and, I trust, hath been most acceptable to God. . . . . So constant have I always continued in this determination —albeit, my words and my youth may happily seem hardly to agree—that it is most true I stand now free from any other meaning." But "in case it shall please God hereafter to change my purpose. . . . . I assure you I will never conclude anything in that matter which shall be hurtful to the realm, for the preservation and prosperity whereof as a loving mother I will never spare to spend my life. . . . . And albeit it shall please God that I still persevere in a virgin's state, yet you must not fear but he will so work, both in my heart and in your wisdom, that provision shall be made, in convenient time, whereby the realm shall not remain destitute of an heir who may be a fit governor. . . . . As for me, it shall be sufficient that a marble shall declare that a queen, having lived and reigned so many years, died a virgin."

The pageants during the progress of the queen from the Tower to West-

* "Nugæ Antiquæ," vol. i., p. 56.

minster, on the 14th of January, previous to her coronation on the 15th, were of the most gorgeous description. The demeanour of Elizabeth on that occasion proved that she felt that her strong hold upon power was to be found in the affections of the people. She was the first sovereign of England that built up dominion on so broad a foundation. She desired to be loved and obeyed by a People, and not by a class. She and her wise advisers had taken their resolution to abide by Protestantism, with a conviction that the English were a people unsuited for burnings and inquisitions. The determination was not to be carried out without danger and difficulty; but the affections of the People would make that easy which would have been impossible to a selfish despotism. Cecil was the chief adviser of Elizabeth. He was the first person sworn of her privy council; and to his sagacity must be attributed the comprehensive view which was taken of the whole domestic and foreign policy of the country. During the reign of Mary, this retired secretary of Edward VI., who had been so sound a Protestant, was one of those who outwardly conformed to the Roman Catholic religion, though unlike Paget, Petre, and others of Edward's counsellors, he held no office. But he was on terms of friendship with cardinal Pole; and he lived in affluence and security. He was held by the Romanists to have "the character of a prudent and virtuous man, although a heretic." When Cecil was called to the councils of Elizabeth he was prepared with the whole scheme for the restoration of Protestantism.

Sir Nicholas Bacon, the brother-in-law of Cecil—a lawyer who had filled no important office, and had attained no great distinction—was appointed lord-keeper. He opened the session of parliament on the 21st of January, 1559, with a speech of which the moderation was the most remarkable feature. It was in the same spirit of moderation that the parliament, though decidedly Protestant, proceeded to establish the great religious change by statute law. The first statute is called "an Act restoring to the Crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolishing all foreign power repugnant to the same." Two temporal lords, the archbishop of York, eight bishops, and the abbot of Westminster, opposed this bill. In the Act against foreign jurisdiction, the Statute for receiving the Sacrament of the Altar in both kinds was restored; and the Statute of Philip and Mary for reviving the old laws for the punishment of heresies was repealed. The penalties against persons maintaining the authority of any foreign prince or prelate were, under the Act of Elizabeth, fine and imprisonment for a first offence; the incurring a premunire for the second; and death for a third, as in cases of high treason. By this law it was provided that the commissioners who might be appointed by the crown to exercise spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, were not to adjudge matters to be heresy, but such as had been decided to be so by the Holy Scripture, or by the first four General Councils. Care was also taken, under the Act which was passed "for the uniformity of Common Prayer" to omit from the Service book of Edward VI., the offensive passage in the liturgy, praying for deliverance "from the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities." This Act absolutely interdicted the celebration of the Catholic rites, even in private; and rendered all persons who should absent themselves from church, on Sundays and holidays, liable to a fine

of one shilling. Nine prelates and nine temporal peers voted against the Statute. In the Commons there was only one dissentient. Many Roman Catholics went into exile, to avoid imprisonment under the authority of the Court of High Commission. Disregarding a warning from the queen, the clergy in convocation set forth a document asserting the supremacy of the pope, the real presence in the Sacrament, and the exclusive right of the church to treat of doctrine and regulate public worship. A solemn disputation, the lord-keeper presiding, was held in Westminster Abbey, between Catholic and Protestant divines, which only produced mutual irritation. The new statutes for taking the oath of supremacy, and for the use of the English liturgy, came into operation on Midsummer-day, 1559. Fifteen bishops refused the oath; and resigned their sees, or were deprived. There were ten vacant sees. Only two bishops conformed. A very small proportion of the beneficed clergy surrendered their livings. At the end of the year Matthew Parker was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury; and he then proceeded to the consecration of four other bishops, who had been exiles in the time of Mary.

A peace with France was concluded in April, 1559, in which the restoration of Calais was postponed for eight years, under a condition that if either party acted in contravention of the treaty, all claim to the disputed territory should be forfeited. Scotland was included in this peace. Philip II. of Spain, and Henry II. of France, were now free to pursue their plans for the extermination of heretics; and their friendship was completed by the marriage of Philip with Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry. The duke of Alva officiated as his sovereign's proxy. In the tournaments which followed this wedding, the French king was accidentally killed by the lance of Montgomery, a young Scottish noble. He was succeeded by his eldest son, who became Francis II. Mary Stuart was now queen of France. She was the next heiress to the throne of England. A pretence was set up that Elizabeth's claim having been rejected by the pope, the queen of France and Scotland was now also the lawful queen of England. These pretensions were stimulated by Mary's ambitious relatives of the house of Guise; and they became the foundation of that hostility which was the cause of so much disquiet to Elizabeth, and of such dire calamity to Mary.

The character and position of Elizabeth very soon placed her at the head of the Protestant party of Europe; and her whole reign must be viewed with reference to this leadership. There was a battle for life and death going on in Europe, and England was joined in the battle with the weaker numerical party. The great leader of the Roman Catholic party was Philip. With the Inquisition and the Jesuits, the papal power had a devoted army at its command, every member of which was prepared to extinguish heresy by force or by cunning. From the time when the ecclesiastical policy of the government of Elizabeth was fully manifest, the affairs of Scotland became all-important to England. At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign the connection of the house of Guise with the queen of Scotland—a house determined to oppose Protestantism by the most violent proceedings—made the watchfulness and even hostile intervention of England a measure of self-defence. Although the foolish demon-

strations of a claim to the throne of England on the part of the queen of Scotland had been disavowed by the French minister, that claim was not allowed to sleep by the bigoted uncles of Mary. In 1559 a great seal was sent to Scotland, on which were engraved the arms of France, Scotland, and England. After the peace of 1559, the regent, the mother of Mary, was won over to the designs of the house of Guise for the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in Europe, and, as a necessary consequence, for putting down the Reformation in Scotland, and eventually for removing Elizabeth from the throne of England. She boldly issued a proclamation for conformity of religion; in which all persons were commanded to resort daily to mass and confession. At this juncture John Knox arrived in Scotland. During an absence of two years the doctrines which he had boldly preached in the face of danger had made extraordinary progress; although in many places the ascendancy was still with the Romish party. Within a week of his arrival, under the excitement produced by his vehement oratory operating upon the indignation caused by the regent's hostility, there was an outburst of popular fury at Perth, when the religious houses of the Grey Friars and Carthusians were devastated and plundered. The struggle appeared likely to end in bloodshed; for an army was assembled on either side. But a treaty was concluded, which Knox denounced as only intended to deceive. Tranquillity was not long preserved. After various acts of violence, the reformers having obtained possession of Perth, the army of the Congregation entered Edinburgh on the 29th of June.

The great object of the leaders of the Scottish Reformation was to mak a firm alliance with England. They gave repeated assurance to the ministers of Elizabeth that their design did not contemplate sedition or rebellion against any lawful authority. Cecil gave them vague promises of support if a case of extreme necessity should arise. A convention was concluded between the regent and the Lords of the Congregation; but neither party trusted to any enduring tranquillity. At last Elizabeth rendered some secret assistance; and the Guises sent a force of a thousand Frenchmen to Scotland, who disembarked at Leith. The regent then entrenched and fortified that port, against which proceeding the leaders of the Congregation prematurely remonstrated. At length they made a decided demonstration of war. On the 15th of October they marched into Edinburgh with a force of twelve thousand men; and the regent retired to her stronghold of Leith. The army of the Congregation, ill-disciplined and composed of vassals who would not remain long in the field, was defeated in an assault upon Leith; and the capital was again occupied by the royal forces. The castle of Edinburgh was, nevertheless, held by the reformers, the governor refusing to surrender it unless under the authority of the parliament, who had committed it to his charge. Elizabeth at last consented to render real and open assistance to the reformers. In January, 1560, a treaty was concluded at Berwick, in which the duke of Norfolk agreed with the commissioners of the Congregation, that Elizabeth should send assistance, and that she would support the confederated lords, whilst they recognised Mary as their queen, and maintained the rights of the crown. They stipulated that they would not sanction any other union of Scotland with France than

then existed, and, if England should be attacked by France, would furnish an auxiliary force of four thousand men. On the 2nd of April, 1560, lord Grey entered Scotland with an army of two thousand horse and six thousand foot, and was joined at Preston by the army of the Congregation, to the number of eight thousand. The Scottish and English army marched on to Leith. The English fleet, under the command of William Winter, had entered the Frith of Forth at the end of January. In the northern parts of Scotland the French had succeeded in forming a league, by which the clans and men of the isles had engaged to uphold the Romish faith and the French authority. The siege of Leith commenced. At this crisis the queen-regent became dangerously ill; and at an interview which she requested with the leaders of the Congregation, at Edinburgh, she endeavoured to reconcile the differences which had led to such extremities; and exhorted them to send both the French and English troops out of the kingdom. She died on the 10th of June. Leith was defended by the French troops with great bravery; and the siege went slowly on. The garrison had been reduced to the greatest extremity when the town was at last surrendered, after the conclusion of a treaty of pacification.

The peace which put an end to this brief period of English warfare in Scotland, was concluded at Edinburgh on the 6th of July. The negotiations on the part of England had been managed with remarkable skill by Cecil. He succeeded in obtaining from the French commissioners a renunciation of the pretensions to the crown of England, which had been assumed by the king and queen of France; and he obtained a complete recognition of the liberty of conscience for which the reformers had taken up arms. The Congregation were to be secured by an act of oblivion; a general peace and reconciliation were to take place amongst the nobility and subjects of the land, including the reformers and the adherents to the ancient faith; a Council was to govern the kingdom in the absence of the queen, of whom Mary was to appoint seven, and the estates five; all foreign troops were to quit the country; and a parliament was to be held in August. In this treaty no express recognition of the reformed worship was introduced; and the bishops and other churchmen who had received injuries, were to be redressed. The treaty of Edinburgh was so unpalatable to the house of Guise, that for nearly a year the queen of Scotland refused to ratify it. The estates of the kingdom, however, assembled, at the time stipulated by the treaty, without receiving any commission from their queen. It was held that the express words of the treaty provided that such a meeting of the estates should be lawful without being so convoked.

The first proceeding of the estates was to draw up a Confession of Faith, founded on the reformed doctrines as received by Calvin. The opposition of the bishops and other Romanists was useless. The Confession of Faith was followed by three Acts:—The first abolished the power and jurisdiction of the pope in Scotland; the second repealed all statutes in favour of the Romish church; and the third provided that all who should say mass, or hear mass, should incur confiscation of goods for the first offence, banishment for the second, and death for the third. The proceedings in the parliament of Scotland necessarily gave offence to queen Mary, and she again refused to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh.

On the 6th of December, 1560, Francis II., the young king of France, died, after a reign of seventeen months. Mary appears very soon to have determined upon a return to Scotland; hoping, by previous negotiation, to have won over her subjects to a willing obedience. She was admirably fitted by her beauty, her winning manners, and her acute intellect, to obtain the homage of all hearts, could she have resolved to separate herself from the policy of her family. The lord James Murray, the illegitimate son of James V., was sent as an ambassador to Mary. He was the chief leader of the Congregation, and was intrusted with full powers to request his sister to return home, if unaccompanied by a foreign force, in which case she might repose with confidence upon the loyalty of her subjects. Murray wisely and bravely stipulated, in opposition to the remonstrances of the reformed ministers, that Mary should be left free to the private exercise of her own religion. After the death of Francis, Elizabeth also sent an ambassador to condole with her; to assure her of the desire of England to remain at peace; but to demand her confirmation of the treaty concluded by her commissioners at Edinburgh. Again Mary refused to ratify this treaty till she had returned to her own kingdom, and submitted the matter to her parliament. The most unwise pretension of Mary, thus reasserted by this refusal, was a real declaration of hostility, affecting the quiet of the English nation. Elizabeth refused to grant the Scottish queen a safe conduct either on her voyage to Scotland, or should she land in the English dominions. The queen undoubtedly acted with the approval of her ministers, who could not forbear to look with apprehension upon the return to Scotland of one so opposed to their general policy. Mary was extremely indignant at this refusal of a safe conduct. She had previously assured the English ambassador that she was most anxious for the friendship of Elizabeth; but, at the same time, she told Murray, in confidence, that she desired to have the amity with England dissolved.

On the 14th of August, 1561, Mary embarked at Calais on her voyage to Scotland, and landed at the port of Leith on the 19th. She was received by a deputation, and conducted to the palace, or abbey, of Holyrood. Mean hackneys, wretchedly caparisoned, waited her arrival. Under the windows of Holyrood the citizens sang psalms to discordant three-stringed rebecks, which kept the weary queen from sleeping; and the next morning when a popish priest was about to perform mass in her private chapel, he would have been slain by the master of Lindsay, and a furious multitude, had not Murray placed himself at the door of the chapel, and maintained the principle for which he had contended, that the queen should not be molested in the private exercise of her religion.

CHAPTER XIX.

In 1560, the wise Council of Elizabeth called in the base coin, which depreciation was now acknowledged to be the main cause of the excessive dearness of commodities. The difficult operation of restoring the current money to a just value was carried through successfully, because it was set about boldly.

When Charles IX., a boy eleven years old, succeeded to the crown of France, the direction of the government was in the hands of the duke of Guise and the cardinal his brother; who, joined in interests with the queen-mother, were naturally opposed by the princes of the blood, headed by the prince of Condé. The Guises persecuted the Protestants; the other party supported them. In 1561, according to some writers, a hundred thousand persons were butchered by the contending factions. The Protestants, although inferior in numbers, fought with desperation; and the duke of Guise solicited and obtained assistance against them from Philip of Spain. The prince of Condé, on the other hand, concluded a treaty with Elizabeth, who, after some attempts at mediation, sent a force of three thousand men to take possession of Havre. The English warlike operations, though conducted with great bravery, were finally unsuccessful. The Catholics and Protestants concluded a hollow peace; and at length both parties agreed in determining that the English should hold no position in France. The garrison of Havre defended themselves for two months, and then capitulated. They were released without ransom, and came with their property to London. But they brought with them the pestilence which had thinned their ranks; and the French Catholics looked upon the infliction as a judgment upon the English heretics. In 1563, the parliament again met, and a statute of increased rigour was passed against Papists. In this year Edmund and Arthur Pole were convicted of a conspiracy to set Mary of Scotland on the English throne. Their associates were executed, but they wore out their lives as prisoners in the Tower of London. At this time it was feared by the reformers in Scotland, and their fears were communicated to the English court, that intrigues were going forward for marrying Mary to some foreign prince of her own religion. It was the policy of the queen of England to induce Mary to marry an English subject—"some noble person within the kingdom of England, having the qualities and conditions meet for such an alliance."* Lord Robert Dudley, the younger son of the duke of Northumberland, was recommended. Cecil, at the end of 1564, wrote: "I see the queen's majesty very desirous to have my lord of Leicester to be the Scottish queen's husband; but when it cometh to the conditions which are demanded, I see her then remiss of her earnestness."† "The conditions which are demanded" were probably such as Eliza-

* Cecil's Instructions to Randolph.
† Ellis, second series, vol. ii., p. 294.

beth did not choose to bring too prominently before her subjects. She had a strong dislike even to hear of this question of the succession; and said that Maitland, the Scottish minister, was always, like a death-watch, ringing her knell in her ears. The eagerness of Mary for the recognition of her succession to the English throne, and the reluctance of Elizabeth to grant it, may each be explained by the fact that Mary was the instrument of those who had determined to eradicate the Reformed religion, and that Elizabeth was equally resolved to support it. The negotiations for the marriage with Leicester gradually faded away. There was another candidate for Mary's hand, ready at an opportune moment. Henry Stuart, lord Darnley, was the son of the earl of Lennox, by the daughter of Margaret Tudor, queen of Scots, who had married the earl of Angus after the death of her royal husband. The countess of Lennox was the next to Mary in hereditary succession to the English crown. The earl of Lennox had long resided in England as an exile, and in 1564, having returned to Scotland with letters from Elizabeth urging the reversal of his attainder, he was finally restored. Then came his countess and their son to the Scottish court. Darnley arrived on the 13th of February, 1565. Within two months an envoy was sent by Mary to desire Elizabeth's approval of her marriage with her cousin. That assent was refused by the Council on the ground that the marriage would be dangerous to the Protestant religion;—Darnley having manifested a decided preference for the Romish party;—that it would strengthen the league of Catholic princes which was now organizing; and that Mary not yet having renounced her claim to the crown of England, this marriage would more imperil Elizabeth's title. Darnley was a handsome stripling of nineteen; Mary was in her twenty-third year. They were married on the 29th of July, and Darnley was proclaimed king the same day. Cecil, in August, 1565, wrote thus to the English ambassador in France:—"The duke [Chatelherault], the earls of Argyle, Murray, and Rothes, with sundry barons, are joined together, not to allow of the marriage otherwise than to have the religion established by law; but the queen refuseth in this sort—she will not suffer it to have the force of law, but of permission to every man to live according to his conscience." The great minister adds, "And herewith she hath retained a great number of Protestants from associating openly with the other." The Reformers would not accept this toleration, and they rose in arms. Murray was proclaimed a rebel. Elizabeth sent an envoy to Mary, to endeavour to promote her reconciliation with her brother. Mary engaged for herself and her husband that they would attempt nothing to the prejudice of the queen of England; but she required that the English crown should be settled by Act of parliament upon herself and Darnley; and that Elizabeth should afford no countenance to Scottish rebels. Mary showed her vigour of character at this crisis. She took the field with her forces; and headed her troops with pistols at her saddle-bow. The revolt was crushed without any decisive contest. The Roman see had sent money to Mary; and Philip II. had placed twenty thousand crowns in the hands of his ambassador at London, to be employed "with secrecy and address, in the support of the Scottish queen and her husband." It was held that Murray was countenanced and assisted by Elizabeth, though to a very limited extent. But

Murray having escaped to the English court, the queen "spoke very roundly to him before the ambassadors, that whatsoever the world said or reported of her, she would by her actions let it appear, that she would not, for the price of a world, maintain any subject in any disobedience against a prince."*

In the declaration of the banished lords to the English government, they complained that two crafty Italians, David Riccio and Francisco, with other unworthy persons, had dispossessed the ancient nobility of their place in the queen's council. Riccio, a Milanese, had been a singer in Mary's service, and was afterwards promoted to the office of her private secretary. He had soon acquired considerable influence; had been assiduous in promoting Darnley's marriage; and when Mary's first passionate love for that weak young man had given way to contempt for his follies and vices, Riccio became her chief adviser in place of the husband she had chosen. Riccio "was on good grounds suspected to be a pensioner of Rome,"† and he helped to induce Mary to sign the "Bond" which had been concluded, under the auspices of Catherine de Medici and the duke of Alva, for the extermination of the Protestants in Europe. The common desire for revenge associated Darnley with some of the fierce Scottish nobles, such as Morton and Ruthven, in a conspiracy against the life of the obnoxious secretary. The king was engaged with the superior Protestant leaders, in a separate bond for the restoration of the banished lords, upon their promise to support him and to give him the crown-matrimonial. They were to maintain the Protestant religion as one of the conditions of this alliance. Information of these contracts was written to Cecil from Berwick, on the 6th of March, by Bedford and Randolph. They added, that "persuasions" would be tried with the queen; but if they did no good, "they propose to proceed we know not in what sort." This political revolution against the Roman Catholic ascendancy was to be accomplished before the meeting of the Scottish Parliament, in which the Romanist interests would have succeeded in confiscating the estates of Murray, Rothes, Grange, and the other lords, who had fled to England; and probably would have attempted the re-establishment of the ancient religion. About an hour after sunset on Saturday, the 9th of March, the court of Holyrood Palace was suddenly filled with armed men, to the number of a hundred and fifty, led by the earls of Morton and Lindsay. The king and lord Ruthven entered the queen's cabinet, where Mary, lady Argyle, and Riccio were sitting at supper. "David took the queen by the plaits of her gown and put himself behind the queen, who would gladly have saved him; but the king having loosed his hands, and holding her in his arms, David was thrust out of the cabinet through the bed-chamber into the Chamber of Presence," where he was murdered. "It is told for certain that the king's own dagger was left sticking in him. Whether he stroke him or not we cannot tell for certain."‡ Queen Mary, in a letter to her ambassador in Paris, says, that

* Memorandum of Cecil, in Raumur, p. 70.

† Tytler's Scotland, vol. vii., p. 19.

‡ Letter from Bedford and Randolph to the English Council.—Ellis, first series, vol. ii., p. 209.

against certain of her nobility, maintainers of her authority, who were in the palace at the time, "the enterprise was conspired as well as for David." These were Huntley and Bothwell, who escaped by ropes out of a back window; Athol, Fleming, Livingston, Balfour, and Melvil, who also escaped. The next day Murray arrived in Edinburgh. At his first interview with Mary he is said to have expressed great solicitude for her welfare, and she to have manifested a confidence in his affection. This reconcilement was very transient. At a meeting of the conspirators against Riccio with the lords who had returned to Scotland, strong measures were determined on as regarded the queen. But in a few days Mary, who had subdued her weak husband to her will, persuaded him to fly with her at midnight to Dunbar. She soon gathered a large force around her; and marching upon Edinburgh, issued writs of treason against Morton, Ruthven, and others, who fled to England. Murray denied all complicity in the murder of Riccio; and Darnley took refuge in denouncing, as traitors and murderers, those with whom he had been associated.

On the 19th of June, 1566, Mary gave birth to the son who was afterwards king of Scotland and of England. The differences between the various factions now began to be composed. Amicable relations with England were established. Elizabeth agreed to be godmother to the heir of the Scottish throne, and sent a golden font for his baptism. In November, Mary renewed her claim to have a parliamentary recognition of her right of succession to the English crown. The parliament which had met at the beginning of November, had begun to debate about this question. Elizabeth was angry at the discussion of the matter; but in her instructions to Bedford, who was to be present at the baptism of James, she had, immediately previous to receiving Mary's letter, authorised him to declare that she would never suffer anything to be done prejudicial to Mary's right; but required that she should confirm so much of the treaty of Edinburgh as regarded Elizabeth's rights. Nothing was done to complete such an engagement.

On the 17th of December the baptism of the infant prince took place at Stirling, according to the Roman Catholic ritual. Darnley, although living in the palace, refused to attend the ceremony. Between himself and the queen there was not only coldness but manifest dislike. A remarkable man, James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, had now become Mary's most intimate counseller. A divorce was proposed to her by Bothwell, Murray, and others; and it has been affirmed upon the confession of Ormiston, a confederate, that a bond for the murder of the king was executed at the same time by several of these persons. At the end of 1566 Mary had consented to pardon Morton, Lindsay, and others, with two exceptions, who had been concerned in the murder of Riccio. Darnley dreaded the return of the fellow-conspirators with whom he had broken faith; and he abruptly left the court, and went to his father, the earl of Lennox, at Glasgow. Morton, one of the pardoned nobles, returned to Scotland early in January, 1567. Darnley had fallen sick of a disease which was said to be the small-pox; and on the 22nd of January, Mary proceeded to Glasgow to visit him. Some explanation took place between them, and Darnley agreed to attend the

queen to Craigmillar, by slow journeys, she having brought a litter for his conveyance. The plan of going to Craigmillar was changed, and Darnley was carried to Edinburgh, where he arrived on the 31st of January. Holyrood was declared to be unhealthy, from its low situation; and the king was taken to a suburb called the Kirk of Field, where the duke of Chatelherault had a residence. The attendants were about to convey Darnley to the duke's mansion, when Mary said his apartments were to be in an adjoining house, to which she conducted him. It was a mean building belonging to Robert Balfour, one of Bothwell's dependants. The queen daily attended upon Darnley. Below the chamber where he slept she had one prepared for herself. On Sunday, the 9th of February, Mary passed much of the day with her husband. In the evening she went to Holyrood to celebrate a wedding in her household. Bothwell was present at the festivities of the palace, but he left about midnight. Darnley had gone to rest, after repeating the 55th Psalm, his page being in his bedroom. At two o'clock in the morning of the 10th, a loud explosion roused the inhabitants of Edinburgh, and the terrified citizens soon learnt that the Kirk of Field had been blown up and that the king was dead. The house was completely destroyed; but the body of the king was not among the ruins. It was found lying under a tree in an orchard, about eighty yards from the house; and the body of his page was lying beside him. It appears probable that Darnley was strangled in the orchard, as he hurriedly attempted to escape, and that his page shared his fate. The bodies of four of his servants were found in the ruins. Mary was made acquainted with the event by Bothwell and Huntley, two of the conspirators, and she shut herself up in her chamber, as one lost in grief. Two days elapsed before any public steps were taken to discover the perpetrators of this deed. Then a proclamation was issued offering a large reward. Placards were soon displayed in the city denouncing Bothwell, James Balfour, and others, as the murderers. Mary removed to the seat of lord Seaton. Darnley was buried with great privacy; and his father made ineffectual solicitations to the queen that she should take steps for the immediate apprehension of those named in the placards. Bothwell continued about the queen, having the chief management of public affairs; and the Court at Seaton was occupied with somewhat ill-timed amusements. The chief nobles, including Murray, absented themselves from Court, as if in disgust. Mary received from Elizabeth a message of condolence and advice; and she promised the queen of England's envoy that Bothwell should be brought to an open trial. But she immediately admitted the guilty man to greater favour than ever; bestowed upon him new marks of her confidence, such as the custody of Edinburgh castle; and enabled him so to strengthen himself, that the promised trial was a mockery and an imposture. No one dared to accuse the man who commanded all the military power of the state. The trial took place on the 12th of April. Edinburgh was wholly in the power of Bothwell. Lennox was commanded to enter the city with no more than six attendants, and he naturally shrank from the danger that seemed imminent, and declined to appear in person. A gentleman, on his part, boldly reiterated the charge against Bothwell, but requested delay. There was no accuser and no evidence, and a verdict of acquittal

was pronounced. The parliament confirmed the acquittal. Murray had returned to France. Bothwell received new marks of the queen's favour; and his ultimate elevation was anticipated by the signatures of many nobles to a bond, in which they recommended him as a suitable husband for the queen. The indignation of the people was soon completed by a most extraordinary proceeding. The queen had been on the 21st of April to Stirling, to see her child. As she was returning to Edinburgh, on the 24th, she was surrounded by a great band of Bothwell's followers to the number of eight hundred, led by him; and was conducted, as if by force, to his castle of Dunbar. Proceedings for a collusive divorce between Bothwell and his wife, the lady Jane Gordon, were hurried through the courts. On the 12th of May the queen came to Edinburgh, and created Bothwell duke of Orkney and Shetland. On the 15th they were married. It is related that Mary was treated with indignity by the man for whom she had sacrificed her peace of mind and her reputation; and that on one occasion when she had been subjected to his insults, she called aloud for a knife to stab herself.

A confederacy of nobles was soon formed, with the declared intention of putting down the power of Bothwell. He and the queen were at Borthwick castle, about ten miles from Edinburgh, when the place was surrounded by an armed force. Bothwell escaped by a postern, and reached his own castle of Dunbar. Mary fled, disguised as a man, and joined her new husband in his fortress. The confederates secured the capital. The queen called her followers round the royal banner at Dunbar; and on the 14th of June advanced with a considerable force towards Edinburgh. She entrenched herself on Carberry Hill. On Sunday the 15th the confederates marched out of Edinburgh; and the two armies were soon in presence of each other. Bothwell sent by a herald his personal defiance of any one who accused him of Darnley's murder. The challenge was accepted by Lindsay; but Mary forbad the encounter. Her own army began to desert her, and a general panic soon ensued. The queen demanded a parley. Grange came to meet her, and tendered the obedience of the lords in arms if Bothwell were dismissed. She did dismiss him. There was a brief farewell; and they met no more. He became a pirate and an outcast. Riding between Athol and Morton, Mary was conducted into Edinburgh amidst the execrations of an infuriated populace. The next day she was carried as a prisoner to Lochleven. Elizabeth charged her ambassador to insist that subjects were not to be judges of a sovereign;—it was "contrary to Scripture and unreasonable, that the head should be subject to the foot." Knox, Buchanan, Craig, and other preachers boldly maintained, and it was "a public speech amongst the people," that "their queen hath no more liberty nor privilege to commit murder nor adultery than any other private person, neither by God's laws nor by the laws of the realm." The people were inflamed to the highest fury. Mary's life appeared in danger, and she talked of seeking refuge in a French nunnery. The General Assembly of the Church united with the lords of the Secret Council—as the Confederacy against Mary and Bothwell was called—in desiring the queen to be brought to trial, and, if found guilty, to be put to death; "and there seemed every probability that this dreadful result was about to take place, had it

not been for the interference of Throckmorton."* Murray was absent in France. At last, another course was resolved upon. Lord Lindsay, under whose severe custody she had been five weeks at Lochleven castle, and who had come to the capital to attend the General Assembly, now returned to the queen with three instruments to which her signature was demanded; whose tenour was, to resign the crown in favour of her son; to appoint Murray regent of the realm during her son's infancy; and to constitute certain lords regents till Murray's return, or permanently if he should decline the office. Mary long refused compliance; but the stern Lindsay terrified her into submission. Her abdication took place on the 24th of July. On the 29th, the earl of Mar, James's governor, bore the infant prince to the throne at the High Church of Stirling: the deeds of resignation by his mother were read, and Lindsay and Ruthven swore that they were her voluntary acts: Knox preached; the child was crowned; Morton swore for him that he would maintain the Reformed religion and extirpate heresy; the lords took the oath of allegiance; and the infant of thirteen months was carried back to his cradle. The indignation of Elizabeth at this proceeding was expressed in the strongest terms through her ambassador.

Murray came from France at the beginning of August. Alleged proofs of Mary's being privy to her husband's murder had been put into his hands; and he was disposed to take part with the confederate lords. He had an interview with the queen of England, who took a high tone, and expressed her determination to restore Mary to her crown. On the 15th of August, in company with Morton, Athol, and Lindsay, Murray visited his sister at Lochleven. Mary appealed to him as her brother and her friend. He set before her all that had been alleged as the follies and crimes of her life; and a conversation, which lasted till midnight, ended in his exhorting her to seek refuge in the mercy of God. In the morning they had another interview, when Mary implored him to save her life, and pressed him to accept the regency. On the 22nd of August Murray was proclaimed regent. At a meeting with the English ambassador, he declared his intention to make common cause with the lords. Though he had not been a party to their past doings, he commended what they had done. Throckmorton having asked to see Mary, was refused; and he was recalled to England. On the 15th of December, the regent summoned a parliament. The queen's resignation of the crown, the king's coronation, and the regency of Murray, were confirmed. The pope's authority was abolished; the Confession of Faith of 1560 was sanctioned; all heretics and hearers of mass were declared liable to various punishments; and the Presbyterian Church was fully established as "the Immaculate Spouse of Christ." An Act of parliament was passed to exonerate those who had risen in arms to demand justice on the murderers of Darnley; which Act declared that the queen was confined for her demerits, seeing that by her private letters to Bothwell, and by her pretended marriage with him, she was cognisant, art and part, of the murder of the king her husband. These letters were said to have been found in a silver casket, which Mary

* Tytler, vol. vii., p. 164.

had given to Bothwell, and which came into the hands of Morton after her surrender at Carberry Hill.

On the 25th of April, Mary attempted to escape from Lochleven, with the aid of George Douglas, a younger brother of the owner of the castle. Her delicate white hands betrayed her under the disguise of a laundress, and she was brought back to her solitary prison. On the 2nd of May she accomplished her purpose by the aid of the same devoted admirer, the younger Douglas, who, dismissed from the castle, was still able to carry on a secret correspondence with the queen, and contrived to organise a formidable confederacy in her favour. A page of the castle, called the little Douglas, had been won to Mary's succour, and he rendered the most effectual aid by adroitly removing the massy key as he placed a plate before the castellan, who was intent upon his evening meal. Accompanied by this lad, and a girl of ten years old, Mary escaped from the castle. George Douglas received her on the edge of the lake. The instant the queen landed she was on horseback. She rode at full speed to Niddrie castle, where she rested a few hours; wrote a letter to France; commanded a Hepburn to go to Dunbar to claim the castle for her; and then to carry to Bothwell, in Denmark, the news of her deliverance. She then again took horse, and arrived at Hamilton, where she considered herself secure. In a few hours she was surrounded by numerous lords and their followers. Murray was at Glasgow, only eight miles from Mary's camp at Hamilton, with an ordinary train, who attended upon his presidency in a court of justice there. Offers of negotiation were sent to him from the queen's council; but he issued a proclamation in which he avowed his resolve to support the government of the king. Some advised retreat. He decided not to move, but to gather assistance for an instant attack upon the queen's force. In ten days he was at the head of four thousand disciplined men. It was decided that Mary should remove to Dunbarton, which castle had been secured for her. This march on the 13th of May had to be made in the face of the enemy. Murray's camp was on the moor on the right bank of the Clyde, near Glasgow. The queen's army had its line of advance on the opposite bank. They had to defile through a narrow lane. Grange, who commanded under Murray, saw his advantage, and fording the Clyde with his horsemen, each having a foot-soldier behind him, placed them amongst cottages and gardens on each side of this lane. The queen's vanguard were driven back by the heavy fire which awaited their progress. Murray and Morton had crossed the river by a bridge, with their border pikemen. Morton led an advance, and the conflict was for some time doubtful. Murray had stood for a short time on the defensive against the charges of cavalry; but by an attack upon the queen's ranks with his main force the battle of three-quarters of an hour was decided. The number slain was comparatively small—not more than three hundred on the queen's side, and only two persons on the side of the regent. When all hope was lost on the dispersion of her army, Mary rode at full speed towards Dumfries; and never halted till she had reached the abbey of Dundrennan, near Kirkcudbright. On the 16th, having determined to take refuge in England, she crossed the Solway in a small boat, and landed at Workington, in Cumberland. On the 17th she addressed a letter in French

to Elizabeth, imploring the queen to receive her for safety of her life, and further assist her in her just quarrel.

The policy of the English government with regard to Mary resolved itself into a determination that there should be a solemn investigation into the truth of the charges against her of being accessory to the murder of her husband. In July Mary was removed to Bolton Castle. The factions in Scotland were at open war. An armistice was at length concluded; and a conference was opened at York on the 4th of October. The queen of England was represented by three commissioners, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Sussex, and sir Ralph Sadler, who were to hear the allegations of the queen of Scots against her rebellious subjects; and the counter-charges against herself, made by those who had waged war with their sovereign. Mary chose the bishop of Ross and lord Herries, with others, to be her commissioners. Murray was accompanied by four commissioners, with Lethington and Buchanan as assistants. The duke of Norfolk, who afterwards paid a terrible penalty for his espousal of the cause of Mary in the desire to become her husband—not without some inclination to favour her claim to the English crown—influenced Murray to withhold his accusations against the queen of Scots. In consequence of this influence Murray kept back the real defence of himself and his friends, and made no public charge against Mary. But he privately exhibited to Norfolk, Sussex, and Sadler, the written proofs of Mary's guilt, alleged to have been found in the silver casket. The commissioners of Elizabeth transmitted to her an abstract of these papers. The commissioners of Mary had now an interview with Elizabeth, when she informed them that the enemies of their queen had entirely failed in their defence; but that another conference should be held in London. Murray, after some further hesitation, made his accusation against the queen in the strongest terms; and Lennox, the father of the murdered Darnley, also accused Mary of conspiring his death. Mary's commissioners now required that she should be heard in person by Elizabeth; which Elizabeth refused, until Murray had brought forward his proofs. The commissioners of Mary then made a proposal for a compromise, by which Murray and the queen should be reconciled. This proposition was rejected by Elizabeth. The bishop of Ross, and his associates, now declared that the conferences were at an end, as Elizabeth had determined to receive from Murray proofs of his injurious charges against Mary, before she was herself heard in the presence of her sister-queen. Murray delivered his proofs as regarded the written evidence of Mary's complicity in the guilt of Darnley's assassination. The commissioners refused to re-open the conferences; and Elizabeth would come to no final decision.

During the conferences at York and London, Mary Stuart had remained under the care of lord Scrope, at Bolton. By an order of Council in January, 1569, she was placed with George, earl of Shrewsbury, and was removed to his castle of Tutbury, on the 2nd of February. Shrewsbury and his wife were to be ever at Mary's side. She was carried about with them to their various castles and manor-houses. Wherever she was, the anxiety of Elizabeth for her safe detention was unremitting. There was cause for this jealous vigilance; for the deposed queen, however strictly watched, was

in correspondence, from first to last, with the enemies of Elizabeth and her government.

The contemporaries of Elizabeth regarded the first ten years of her reign as "her halcyon days." Her people had been prospering in the labours of peace. They had been extending their commerce to distant lands where the benefits of inter-communication had been little appreciated by earlier adventurers. Their sailors had gone forth to make maritime discoveries. Frobisher was seeking a new passage to India; and Hawkins had found a fresh source of wealth in the hateful African slave-trade. Gresham was building an Exchange in London, where the merchants of all nations might meet to buy and sell. The great principles of commerce were so far understood that merchandise was allowed to be exported and imported in foreign ships, upon the payment of alien imposts; and the English and Flemish merchants united their contributions for marine insurance. The people were lightly taxed, for the government was an economical one. The transition from the fiery Catholicism of Mary to the moderate Protestantism of Elizabeth had been accomplished without bloodshed or convulsion; and whatever were the religious differences of the community, its various members united peaceably in the duties of their several callings. But at the time when Mary Stuart had crossed the Solway, and the great question of policy had been raised as to her detention, the state of Protestantism in Europe, upon the maintenance of which in England the government of Elizabeth was to stand or fall, was one of great insecurity and alarm. The halcyon days were fast passing away. A Dominican monk of the severest life—a zealot who had distinguished himself as an inquisitor—became pope in 1566, under the title of Pius V. He avowed his desire to devote the treasures of the Church, even to its chalices and crucifixes, to carry a religious war into England; and to head such an expedition himself. This furious bigot had his agents in England denouncing the queen as a heretic. Philip was maturing plots by advances of money to his spies in London. Alva, the captain-general of the Netherlands, was devising plans for an invasion of the island that had cast off the successor of St. Peter. Around Mary Stuart were concentred all the intrigues that sought to place the orthodox and legitimate descendant of Henry VII. upon the throne of the heretical and illegitimate daughter of Anne Boleyn. England was the arena where the two great principles that were dividing Europe were to be fought out.

When Murray was goaded into a public accusation, Norfolk was greatly angered against him; but they became reconciled, and Murray consented to favour Norfolk's project of a marriage with Mary. In 1569 this scheme was promoted by some English nobles, without the privity of Elizabeth; and a letter was written by Leicester, and three other lords, to Mary, urging her to consent to such a marriage, to which she returned a favourable answer. A formal contract of marriage was afterwards drawn up. Leicester, who was subsequently accused by Norfolk as the inventor of this scheme for his ruin, revealed the transaction to the queen, and was forgiven. Elizabeth then invited the duke to dine with her; and, when he rose to leave, significantly told him "to beware on what pillow he laid his head." Norfolk had denied the charge, saying, "If I

should seek to match with her, knowing, as I do know, that she pretendeth a title to your crown, your majesty might justly charge me with seeking to take your own crown from your head." The duke of Norfolk was committed to the Tower on the 9th of October, where he continued a prisoner till the 4th of the following August. Cecil honestly protested against the duke being brought to trial for high treason upon insufficient evidence.

In the autumn of 1569 an insurrection broke out in the northern counties, where the general disaffection of the catholics was well known. Dr. Norton, who had been a prebendary of York in the time of queen Mary, had come from Rome with the title of apostolical penitentiary. He had incited the catholic priests and the northern gentlemen by statements that the pope was about to issue a bull of deposition against Elizabeth. The earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland were in secret communication with Mary. The arrest of Norfolk precipitated the insurrection. The schemes for foreign aid were devised, but not perfected. Alva was to have sent an auxiliary force to land at Hartlepool. These schemes and preparations could not be concealed from the vigilance of Elizabeth's ministers. On the 10th of November the earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland were summoned to repair to court. Apprehensive of arrest Northumberland marched with his vassals to join Westmoreland at the castle of Brancepeth. There was no longer any disguise. A proclamation was issued, addressed to all professing the catholic faith, to restore the ancient worship; and the earls marched on to Durham with a banner representing the bleeding Saviour—"the banner of the five wounds." Sussex appeared against them with a strong force, and the earls fled to Scotland, leaving their followers to the terrible vengeance that succeeded a suppressed revolt. Northumberland, after a confinement of several years at Lochleven, was given up to the English government, and executed. Westmoreland died an exile in Flanders. There was a subsequent revolt under lord Dacres of the North, which was put down after a battle, in which the catholics fought with desperation. The English Bible and Common Prayer had been burnt by the insurgents of 1569 in the cathedral of Durham. Their avowed intention was to march to Tutbury, and release Mary. The triumph of that year was disgraced by fearful executions. It might have been disgraced by a more terrible act of vengeance. There can be no doubt that Mary's life was a constant source of alarm to the English nation; and that at every hostile movement against Protestantism her death was loudly called for. The nation was in a more earnest mood than when it had quietly passed from the Protestantism of Edward to the Catholicism of Mary, and back again to the Protestantism of Elizabeth. The number of enthusiasts on either side was rapidly increasing. Puritan and Jesuit were coming into closer warfare. On the 25th of February, 1570, Pius V. signed the threatened bull of excommunication against Elizabeth. An English College for Jesuits had been established at Douay, about a year before.

The parliament met on the 2nd of April, 1571, after a suspension of legislation for more than four years. The first statute of this session makes it treason to set forth that the queen ought not to possess the crown

but some other persons; or to affirm that she is a heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper. The second clause of this statute is evidently directed against Mary Stuart, enacting that all persons of any degree, nation, or estate, who during the queen's life should claim title to the crown should be disabled from inheriting the same; and that any claimant to the right of succession, contrary to any proclamation on the matter that might be issued by the queen, should be declared guilty of high treason. The queen's advisers were desirous to carry the principle of exclusion further; and to make a law that the queen of Scots was unable and unworthy to succeed. A committee of the Commons presented an address to Elizabeth, asking her to proceed criminally against Mary. Divines and statesmen concurred in urging violent measures towards the prisoner. The difficulties of the crisis were held to be met by the enactment of strong laws against the papists themselves. "Confidence," says Chatham, "is a plant of slow growth;" and so is toleration. There was at this time a strong party in England that would not have endured anything approaching to union between Protestant and Roman Catholic. In 1568, when Alva was appointed, by Philip, captain-general of the Netherlands, with a mission to destroy the heretics, root and branch, hosts of fugitives came for refuge to England. The same asylum was sought by the Huguenots of France. Whilst the general body of these refugees, by the recital of their injuries, diffused a popular hatred of papal persecution, some strengthened that dislike to many of the ceremonial observances of the English church, which gradually established a large class who, in their hatred of popery, would tolerate no forms that appeared derived from the ancient worship. That contest between the Establishment and the Puritans which convulsed England for many a year, and of which the traces are by no means extinct, was actively beginning before the "halcyon days" were past.

The duke of Norfolk had been released from his imprisonment in the Tower on the 4th of August, 1570. On the 7th of September, 1571, he was again arrested. During the thirteen months of his comparative freedom he was in a sort of honourable custody, and was not called to Council or to Parliament. In April, 1571, a correspondence was detected, which showed that some treasonable project was in course of formation. Further correspondence was intercepted in August, and various persons were arrested. Amongst these was the bishop of Ross, who made a full declaration, which was corroborated by the confessions of the other prisoners. The duke was tried on a charge of high-treason by his peers, on the 16th of January, 1572. It was stated that through the agency of Rudolphi, an Italian, who had been sent by Mary to the pope, the king of Spain, and the duke of Alva, Norfolk had received assurances of the support of these personages to a plan for his marriage with Mary, for seizing the person of Elizabeth, and for landing a foreign army in England. Norfolk was unanimously condemned; but his execution was deferred till the 2nd of June. Again and again, Elizabeth revoked the warrant which consigned him to the block. Two Derbyshire gentlemen were tried and executed in May, upon a charge of having corresponded with Mary, for the purpose of delivering her from the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury. The affairs of Scotland

had become more and more distracted since the period of the detention of the queen. The regent Murray had been assassinated, from motives of private revenge, at Linlithgow, in January, 1570. Lennox, the father of Darnley, had succeeded him in the regency. He, also, was assassinated in September, 1571.

In 1570, a treaty was concluded between the Huguenots of France and the young king, Charles IX.; who professed great anxiety for reconciliation with this portion of his subjects. England entered into a treaty with France, which had for one of its objects to wrest the Netherlands from Spain; and the advisers of Elizabeth recommended a marriage with the duke of Alençon, the younger son of Catherine de Medici, who had given intimation of his disposition to favour the Protestants. The great Huguenot leader, Coligni, admiral of France, was earnestly invited to repair to the king's court; to which, after some manifestations of distrust, he went in the autumn of 1571. The sister of Charles was pressed in marriage upon the prince of Navarre, the acknowledged head of the Huguenots, and that marriage was celebrated with great magnificence, on the 18th of August, 1572. The Huguenots were drawn in large numbers to Paris by these festivities. On the 22nd of August, Coligni was shot from the window of a house occupied by a dependent of the duke of Guise. His wounds were not dangerous. The king, with his mother, Catherine, visited the wounded man. The queen-mother had concerted the assassination with the duke of Anjou and the duchess of Nemours, whose first husband had been slain by a Huguenot. On the 23rd of August, according to the account given by Charles himself to his sister Margaret, after the noontide dinner of the court he was told of a treasonable conspiracy of the Huguenots against himself and his family. It would be necessary, his relations said, to anticipate the designs of the conspirators by their previous destruction. He gave his consent, and expressed his hope that not a single Huguenot would be left alive to reproach him with the deed. Night had descended upon Paris. There was no alarm, as bands of assassins silently congregated in the streets. A signal was to be given when the work of slaughter was to commence. The king, his mother, and Anjou sat amidst darkness and stillness in a balcony of the Louvre. At length the clocks of Paris struck two. Then the bell of St. Germain l'Auxerrois tolled forth the signal. The duke of Guise burst into the defenceless court where Coligni slept, and three hundred men slaughtered him and his followers. His body was cast out of the window, and the cry of "Death to the Huguenots," amidst the sound of the tocsin, woke up the fanatical citizens, and one universal butchery of the Protestants was accomplished. For three days the slaughter went on; and the fury extended to Orleans, Lyons, Troyes, Rouen, Toulouse, Bordeaux, and other towns. The English queen and court put on deep mourning. There was a general terror in England that the example of St. Bartholomew's day would spread. The bishop of London and others advised, amongst other precautions, "Forthwith to cut off the Scottish queen's head." Elizabeth would not comply with these suggestions; but there appears little doubt that she was cognisant of a plot between some of these ministers and the earl of Mar, the regent of Scotland, to deliver Mary up, that she might

be put to death by her own people. The death of Mar put an end to these dark intrigues.

In 1580, the pope, Gregory XIII., at the suggestion of William Allen, despatched a body of Jesuits to England. The mission of these religious enthusiasts was to attempt the re-conversion of the heretic islanders. They were led and organised by Robert Parsons and Edmond Campion, who had formerly belonged to colleges in Oxford, and had been avowed Protestants before their conversion to Romanism. The parliament of 1581 met this inroad of able Englishmen, trained in the school of Loyola to extraordinary subtlety and invincible determination, by the most stringent enactments. Campion was arrested in Berkshire, in July, 1581; and was lodged in the Tower with two other priests. He was tortured; and revealed the names of those who had sheltered him. Finally he was tried for high-treason. Others were tried and convicted with him; but three were spared, who renounced the pope's deposing power. The English government rested its defence of the severities which it practised upon the ground that the persecutions were not directed against religious tenets; and that none were indicted for treason but such as obstinately maintained the pope's bull depriving the queen of the crown. The severities of the laws against papists went on increasing. In 1584, all Jesuits, seminary priests, and other priests, were commanded by Act of parliament to depart from the kingdom within forty days, on pain of being adjudged traitors; and penalties were to be inflicted upon those who, knowing any priest to be within the realm, should not denounce him to a magistrate. Cecil, now lord Burleigh, wrote of the effect of these intolerant enactments, "I account that putting to death does no ways lessen them [the papists] . . . . . so that, for my part, I wish no lessening of their number, but by preaching and by education of the younger, under schoolmasters." The assassination of the prince of Orange in 1584, by a religious fanatic, excited by the reward which Philip II. had set upon his head, had produced a fierce indignation in England against the bigoted king of Spain. The schemes of Philip and pope Sixtus V. for the invasion of the contumacious island were no longer concealed. It was a wise resolve, therefore, of Elizabeth's government to break through that superstitious love of peace which influenced the queen, and boldly encounter Philip on his own ground. Elizabeth was very slow to consent to engage in a war in the Netherlands, but her old sagacious counsellor, Burleigh, the acute Walsingham, and the favourite Leicester, prevailed over her scruples, and an expedition was determined upon at the end of 1585. Elizabeth had again declined the sovereignty which had been again offered her by the commissioners of the States; and she instructed her lieutenant, Leicester, also to refuse their offer to put themselves under his absolute control. Leicester was received with pageantries, and on New Year's Day, 1586, the States General, by a solemn deputation, offered the queen of England's lieutenant the absolute government of the United Provinces. He first hesitated, then yielded to further supplications, and on the 25th of January accepted the dangerous honour. It was very long before the anger of the queen could be softened. She withdrew from her first intention to compel Leicester publicly to lay down his authority, but she restricted its exercise in many ways which

were irksome to so proud a man. The war was altogether mismanaged. The prince of Parma, who commanded the troops of Spain, was an experienced general. Leicester was always hesitating; sometimes successful through the bravery of his captains; but gradually losing fortress after fortress, and obtaining petty advantages with no permanent results. In this disastrous campaign, Philip Sidney—the rare scholar, the accomplished writer, the perfect gentleman—closed his short career of military experience. His memory was honoured by a magnificent funeral pageant, undertaken at queen Elizabeth's expense, on the 16th of February, 1587.

Philip of Spain had laid an embargo upon English vessels and property through the extent of his wide dominions. Elizabeth gave her subjects permission to seize Spanish ships or merchandise wherever they were to be found. The spirit of the old Norsemen was revived; and the hope of gain sent hardy adventurers into distant seas, and eager colonists to search for new lands to subdue.

The secretary Walsingham, though a statesman of rare disinterestedness and general integrity, was so vigilant in the detection of plots against his mistress, that his spies and secret agents were in every court abroad, and in every suspected house at home. In February, 1585, Dr. William Parry was convicted of high-treason, and he was executed on the 2nd of March. His career was a very extraordinary one. He was, after 1580, employed as "a collector of secret intelligence in foreign countries." He had a pension given him in 1584. He was tried as a public enemy six months afterwards. On his trial he made a confession which implicated one Morgan, an agent of Mary at Paris for the receipt and administration of her dower as queen of France. His statement was to the effect that, in October, 1582, Morgan had engaged him to undertake the assassination of Elizabeth, "for the restitution of England to the ancient obedience of the see apostolic." Elizabeth was greatly enraged against Morgan, and called upon the king of France to deliver him up. This was refused; but Morgan was sent to the Bastile. Full of plans of revenge, he procured means of correspondence with Mary, and had various agents in England. In the summer and autumn of 1585, a catholic priest came to England, who was dressed as an officer, and moved about under the name of Fortescue. His real name was John Ballard. One of Walsingham's intelligencers obtained his confidence; and made the secretary acquainted with a plot to kill Elizabeth and liberate Mary, in which an English officer of the name of Savage; Anthony Babington, a gentleman of Detnick, in Derbyshire; and several young men, the friends of Babington, were implicated. On the 13th, 14th, and 15th of September, fourteen persons accused as treasonable conspirators were brought to trial. Babington, Ballard, and Savage, with four others, pleaded guilty. The remainder were also convicted. The executions of seven, on the 20th of September, were attended with the horrible barbarities of the full penalty of treason. In the case of the others these cruelties were dispensed with. In Babington's confession was found what was alleged as corroborative proof of Mary's complicity with this attempt. The Scottish queen's two secretaries—De Naou, a Frenchman, and Curle, a Scot—had been arrested; and Mary's papers were seized and transmitted

to the Council. Mary was removed from Chartley, in Staffordshire, to Fotheringay Castle. Chateauneuf, the French ambassador, wrote on the subject of this conspiracy to his king, "A great sensation was caused by it in this town, where the people are much incensed against the catholics; nay, for eight or ten days there was reason to apprehend that acts of violence would be committed upon all who were considered to be catholics." He adds that Elizabeth ascribes the whole undertaking to the queen of Scots.

CHAPTER XX.

In the session of parliament of 1584-5, a law was passed entitled, "An Act for provision to be made for the surety of the queen's majesty's most royal person, and the continuance of the realm in peace." The fourth clause of this statute recognised an Association which had been formed "to withstand and revenge to the uttermost all malicious actions and attempts against her majesty's most royal person." It provided that the articles of the Association "shall and ought to be in all things expounded and adjudged according to the true intent and meaning of this Act;" and the Act expressly limited its meaning by the condition "that if any invasion or rebellion should be made by or for any person pretending title to the crown after her majesty's decease, or if any thing be confessed or imagined tending to the hurt of her person," it should be "*with the privity of any such person.*" In that case it was provided that a commission, composed of peers, privy councillors, and judges, should examine and give judgment on such offences; and that, after a proclamation of such judgment under the great seal, all persons against whom such sentence shall be given and proclaimed should be disabled for ever to have any claim to the crown; and all her majesty's subjects, by virtue of this statute, and by the queen's direction, might pursue the said persons to death. Mary was put upon her trial under this law.

On the 5th of October, 1586, a commission was issued to a large number of the most eminent persons of the kingdom, including twenty-nine peers, nine privy councillors, the chancellor, and five judges. The commissioners were given full power to examine evidence, and to give sentence and judgment, under the Act for the surety of the royal person. Thirty-six commissioners repaired to the castle of Fotheringay; and letters from Elizabeth were delivered to Mary, apprising her of the proceedings that were to be taken against her. At some preliminary interviews with a deputation from the commissioners, Mary maintained that she was an absolute queen; that she was no subject; and rather would die a thousand deaths than acknowledge herself a subject. She ultimately yielded. The court was opened on Friday, the 14th of October, in the great hall at Fotheringay Castle. Like all other trials for high-treason at that period, the witnesses were not

examined in open court; the accused was not allowed counsel. Mary repeated her declaration, that whatever answers she gave were made under protest against the authority of the commission to try a princess who was no subject of the queen of England. Gawdy, the queen's sergeant, went through the history of the Babington conspiracy, and brought forward arguments that Mary knew of it, approved it, and showed the means of its execution. Burleigh took part in the charges against the undaunted queen; who thus fought a battle single-handed against the most adroit statesman of that age. Burleigh writes of the keen encounter between himself and this acute and courageous woman, "She could say nothing but negatively, that the points of the letters that concerned the practice against the queen-majesty's person were never by her written, nor of her knowledge. The rest, for invasion, for escaping by force, she said, she would neither deny nor affirm." On the second day of her trial, Mary acknowledged that notes had been written to Babington by her secretaries; but said that they wholly referred to plans for her escape. She did not deny that she sought this deliverance, even through an invasion of the realm. Letters were produced in proof of this. In one of these, Mary expressed her intention of bequeathing to the Spanish king her right of succession to the English throne. At the close of the proceedings at Fotheringay, on the second day, the court was adjourned to the 25th, at Westminster. Naou and Curle, Mary's two secretaries, were then examined, in the absence of their mistress. The commission unanimously delivered as their sentence "that the Babington conspiracy was with the privity of Mary, pretending title to the crown of England; and that she hath compassed and imagined within this realm, divers matters tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of our sovereign lady the queen."

Between the trial of Mary and the execution of the sentence there was an interval of four months. They were four months of intense anxiety, not only to the unhappy queen of Scots, but to Elizabeth, to her ministers, to the parliament, to the people. The parliament was opened by Commission,—an unusual course,—on the 29th of October. The chief business was to bring before the houses the proceedings against the queen of Scots; and the principal discussions were upon what was commonly termed "the Great Cause." The members of the Council appear to have been firmly persuaded of the duty of urging Elizabeth to the most extreme course. On the 10th of November, a committee of both houses declared the sentence against Mary to be just; and the houses agreed in a petition to Elizabeth, that proclamation of the judgment might be made, and that further proceedings might be taken against the Scottish queen; "because, upon advised and great consultation, we cannot find that there is any possible means to provide for your majesty's safety, but by the just and speedy execution of the said queen."* Elizabeth requested time to consider. The houses again resolved that no safety can in any wise be had as long as the queen of Scots doth live. Again Elizabeth hesitated. At the beginning of December the judgment of the commissioners against Mary was solemnly proclaimed in London and other places. It had been

* "Parliamentary History."

enacted that after such "proclamation, under the great seal of England, all persons against whom such sentence or judgment shall be so given and published, shall be excluded and disabled for ever to have or claim, or to pretend to have or claim, the crown of this realm." The dread of the great body of Protestants had been that, in the event of Elizabeth's death, a Romanist successor would come, in the person of Mary, the next heir. The proclamation therefore was received with general joy. Camden has described the state of Elizabeth's mind at this period. "She gave herself over to solitariness, sat many times melancholy and mute; and often sighing muttered to herself, *aut fer, aut feri*,—that is, either bear strokes or strike; and, out of I know not what emblem, *ne feriare, feri*,—that is, strike, lest thou be stricken." At last the struggle, or the simulated struggle, seemed over. On the 1st of February, the queen sent for Davison, one of the secretaries, at ten in the morning. After various talk, she asked if he had brought the warrant for the execution of the Scottish queen. He had been desired by the lord admiral Howard to bring it, and he delivered it to Elizabeth. That warrant had been in his hands five or six weeks; but now, as he was told, the queen had resolved to sign it, in consequence of rumours of invasions and rebellions spread abroad. The queen signed the warrant, and ordered Davison to carry it to the great seal, and then despatch it with all expedition. She told him to show the warrant to Mr. Secretary Walsingham, who was sick; saying, merrily, that she thought the sight thereof would kill him outright. He showed the warrant to Burleigh and Leicester, and then went to the chancellor, and afterwards to Walsingham. The next morning the queen sent him a message, that if he had not been already to the chancellor he should forbear till he knew her further pleasure. He went therefore to the queen, and told her that the warrant was sealed; and she said, "what needeth that haste?" She objected that this course threw the whole burthen upon herself. Davison, fearing to take the responsibility of despatching the warrant, went to Burleigh, who assembled a Council, and gave his advice that they should join in sending the warrant to the commissioners "without troubling her majesty any further in that behalf, she having done all that in law or reason could be required of her." Burleigh undertook to prepare letters to accompany the warrant; and the next day, the 3rd, the warrant and despatches were delivered by Burleigh to Mr. Beale, who was thought the fittest messenger. The earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, to whom the Lords of the Council had sent, arrived at Fotheringay on the 7th of February, after dinner. They communicated to Mary the purpose for which they had come; and Beale read the queen's commission for her execution. She bowed her head, made the sign of the cross, and thanked her God that the summons so long expected had come at last. She asked at what time she should die, and was informed at eight the following morning. Having desired the presence of her priest and almoner, she was refused; and was told that in the place of her confessor she might have the spiritual assistance of the dean of Peterborough. She necessarily declined this. Mary then looked over her will; distributed money to her attendants; wrote letters; prayed long and fervently; and went quietly to sleep. At the upper end of the great hall of Fotheringay

had been erected a scaffold. There were many persons assembled in that hall. The queen had dressed herself "gorgeously and curiously," says Camden, "as she was wont to do on festival days." When she came forth from her chamber, Melvin, one of her old servants, fell on his knees before her. "Then the queen of Scots, shedding tears, said to him, 'You ought to rejoice rather than weep for that the end of Mary Stuart's troubles is now come. Thou knowest, Melvin, that all this world is but vanity, and full of troubles and sorrows; carry this message from me, and tell my friends that I die a true woman to my religion, and like a true Scottish woman and a true French woman. But God forgive them that have long desired my end; and he that is the true Judge of all secret thoughts knoweth my mind, how that ever it hath been my desire to have Scotland and England united together. Commend me to my son, and tell him that I have not done any thing that may prejudice his kingdom of Scotland; and so, good Melvin, farewell;' and kissing him, she bade him pray for her." Mary requested that her servants might be present at her death. The earl of Kent refused, lest they should trouble her grace, and disquiet the company by their speeches. She replied that she would give her word that they should do nothing of the kind. After some consultation two of her female servants and Melvin, with two medical attendants and an old man, were allowed to enter the hall. Melvin carrying her train, she stepped up the scaffold with a cheerful countenance, and sat down on the stool; and there stood by her side the two earls, and the sheriff, and two executioners. The commission was read; Mary "listening unto it with as small regard as if it had not concerned her at all." The dean of Peterborough, Dr. Fletcher, standing outside the rail, directly before her, began an exhortation; but she stopped him, saying, "Mr. Dean, I am settled in the ancient Catholic Roman religion, and mind to spend my blood in defence of it." The pertinacious dignitary replied, with more zeal than charity, "Madam, change your opinion, and repent of your former wickedness, and settle your faith only in Jesus Christ, by him to be saved." Mary told him to trouble himself no further; and Shrewsbury and Kent said they would pray for her. She thanked them, "but to join with you in prayer I will not, for that you and I are not of one religion." The dean then prayed aloud from the English liturgy; and Mary with steadfast voice, having in her hand a crucifix, began to pray in Latin; and she finally prayed in English for Christ's afflicted church, for her son, and for the queen of England. The callous earl of Kent was not moved even by this solemn earnestness, but told her to "leave those trumperies." A Corpus-Christi cloth being pinned over her face, Mary knelt down upon the cushion "most resolutely," reciting aloud the Latin psalm, *In te confido*, "In thee, O Lord, do I trust." Groping for the block, she laid down her head, and cried, *In manus tuas, Domine*, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." Her head was severed in two strokes. Her little dog was taken from beneath her robes; and "afterwards would not depart from the dead corpse." * The *Council*, when the news of the execution arrived, says

* "8th Feb. 1586.—The manner of the Q. of Scott's death at Fodryngbay, wr. by R. Wy."—*Ellis*, second series, vol. iii., p. 102.

Davison, "did not think fit to break suddenly to her majesty, who, nevertheless, by other means, understood thereof that night." The next morning Davison met the other members of the Council, who told him that "her majesty seemed greatly offended against them all about this action, disavowing that she had either commanded or intended any such proceeding therein." Burleigh was forbidden to appear at court. Davison was sent to the Tower, and tried in the Star-Chamber. Some statements then made by him, coupled with two letters of very doubtful authenticity—professedly copies, and not given to the world till nearly a hundred and forty years after they are alleged to have been written,—are usually accepted as evidence of a desire of the queen that Mary should be privately murdered. Six days after the execution, Elizabeth wrote to James to express "the extreme dolor that overwhelms my mind, for that miserable accident which, far contrary to my meaning, hath befallen." There can be little doubt that Elizabeth shielded herself by some technical objection to the mode in which her Council had proceeded, upon the representations of Davison.

In the spring of 1587, it was certain that Spain was making great preparations for the invasion of England. Elizabeth provided Drake with four royal ships, and twenty-four other vessels were placed under his command by the citizens of London. On the 2nd of April, this squadron was ready to sail out of Plymouth Sound. Drake wrote on that morning to Walsingham, "Our ship is under sail. God grant we may so live in his fear, as the enemy may have cause to say that God doth fight for her majesty as well abroad as at home." On the 19th of April he entered the harbour of Cadiz, which was filled with many Spanish ships, embarking provisions and warlike stores, and destined to proceed to join the great armament at Lisbon. Defying the guns of the fortress, and the huge Spanish galleys, Drake made himself master of the roadstead; and in the course of two nights and one day had sunk, burnt, or captured shipping of ten thousand tons lading. To use his own expressive phrase, he had "singed the Spanish king's beard." Till another year the mighty attempt upon England was delayed by the skill and courage of the Devonshire captain. Setting sail for the Azores, Drake fell in with a most valuable Portuguese carrack, returning from the East Indies; and he took this ship with a lading which made the San Philipe the greatest prize that had ever rewarded the energy of English mariners. After Drake's return, there were many months of suspense. Never were the prudence and vigilance of Elizabeth's statesmen more required. The position of Scotland was a very doubtful one. James had become of full age; and he was urged on many sides to revenge the death of his mother, by joining in the projects of Spain. The schemes of the Spanish faction were penetrated by the acuteness of Walsingham, and Elizabeth and her agents eventually prevented James from being led away.

The mask of negotiation by which Philip and the prince of Parma thought to divert attention from their real proceedings, had been thrown off. Pope Sixtus V. made a solemn treaty with Philip, and promised him an enormous subsidy, to be paid when he had taken absolute possession of any English port. The warlike pontiff published a new bull of excommuni-

cation against Elizabeth, and called all Catholics to a crusade against England, as for a holy war against the Infidel. "The whole commonalty of England became of one heart and mind. . . . The English nation were so combined in heart, that I here confess I want art lively to express the sympathy of love between the subjects and the sovereign."* The queen called upon her lieutenants of counties to set before the gentlemen under their lieutenancy, "the instant extraordinary occasion" for a larger proportion of horsemen and footmen than had been certified. She had, before this, through her Council, asked the authorities of London what the city would do; and the lord mayor and aldermen had besought that the Council would name what they thought was requisite. "The lords," says Stow, "demanded five thousand men and fifteen ships. The city craved two days' respite for an answer, which was granted; and then entreated their lordships, in sign of their perfect love and loyalty to their prince and country, kindly to accept ten thousand men and thirty ships, amply furnished." In such a spirit as this there was something more invincible than all the Armadas in the world. At the great camp at Tilbury was collected an army of train bands from the adjacent counties. Another army was in the interior for the defence of the queen's person, and to be used as a disposable force. Every port, from the Lizard to the North Foreland, from the Naze to the Tyne, looked to its own little craft, and asked, in no niggard spirit, if it had a ship that could be fitted out at the common expense, to make one in that great sea-fight that was near at hand. There was not a port where mariners were not trained to hardy and dangerous adventure. They had gone forth, once from Deptford and twice from Harwich, with Frobisher, to search for the north-west passage. Davis followed Frobisher in the same enterprise. Our mariners had circumnavigated the world with Drake; and had carried the terror of the English flag, floating from the Pelican of Plymouth, into what was called the Indian Sea, in despite of the Spaniard, who held that the bishop of Rome had bestowed that vast ocean upon him alone. In the year of the Armada, Cavendish was circumnavigating the world, and was warring against Spain, after the example of Drake, upon the coasts of Chili, and Peru, and New Spain; and he had taken a great galleon on the coast of California. But "the intrepid corsairs, who had rendered every sea insecure, now clustered round the coasts of their native island."†

There appears to have been one invariable mode of defence upon the exposed coast, that of breastworks or redoubts. At the havens pieces of ordnance were placed. Taken altogether, the number of stations for artillery on the coast was very inconsiderable. The temporary beacons that were built on every hill and high cliff of the south-western coast, and which were to blaze out when the great hostile fleet first appeared in the Channel, were amongst the best means of defence. "There was through England, no quarter, east, west, north, or south, but all concurred in one mind, to be in readiness to serve for the realm."‡ From Cornwall to

* Stow. † Ranke, "History of the Popes," vol. ii., p. 173.
‡ "Copy of a letter sent to Mendoza."—Harleian Miscellany.

Kent, and eastward to Lincolnshire, the maritime counties were so furnished with soldiers, that twenty thousand fighting men, with victual and ammunition, could have been collected in forty-eight hours at any point where an enemy landed. Of all the defences of the realm at this crisis there were none which gave the people a greater confidence than the demeanour of the queen. At the camp at Tilbury, she was, day by day, in the midst of her soldiers; going amongst the levies in their particular stations; reviewing them when they were trained in battalions; saluted wherever she moved, "with cries, with shouts, with all tokens of love, of obedience, of readiness and willingness to fight for her." From that army, adds an eye-witness, went forth at certain times, a solemn voice to Heaven, of "divers psalms, put into form of prayers, in praise of Almighty God, no ways to be misliked, which she greatly commended, and with very earnest speech thanked God with them." Another important defence of the country at this perilous crisis was the loyalty of the great body of the Catholics. It was proposed by some to disarm them, but this absurd scheme was rejected; and the confidence of the government in the patriotism of those who adhered to the ancient church was strikingly exhibited by the appointment of Howard, a Catholic, to the command of the fleet.

On the 29th of May, 1588, the duke of Medina-Sidonia, "captain-general of the ocean sea, of the coast of Andalusia, and of this army of his majesty," led the way down the Tagus, in the galleon San Marten; and, amidst the sounding of trumpets from every vessel, the mighty Armada followed him. The captain-general commanded twelve Portuguese galleons, the largest sailing-vessels. There were the fleets of Biscay, of Castile, of Andalusia, of Guypuscoa; the Eastern fleet; the fleet called Urcas or Hulks, and a squadron of smaller vessels. Lastly, were four galeasses of Naples, and four galleys of Portugal; these eight enormous vessels being rowed by two thousand and eighty-eight slaves. The whole number of ships was one hundred and thirty-six; having a burthen of 59,120 tons; mounted with 3165 pieces of cannon; worked by 8746 mariners, besides the slaves; and carrying 21,639 soldiers. All the vessels were to sail as close as possible. Their course was for Cape Finisterre, where they were to rendezvous, in case of separation; or to make for Corunna, then known as The Groyne. Departing thence, "they shall set their course for Scilly." If any ship were to lose the fleet, the crew were not to return to Spain, under penalty of death; but to seek the navy "in Mount's Bay, which is between the Land's End and the Lizard." They hoped to be on the south-western coast of England at the time when another fleet, equipped in the Netherlands, should be ready to sail under the command of the prince of Parma. But when the Spanish fleet had nearly reached Cape Finisterre, a storm arose, which scattered the ships, and compelled the great body of the armament to go into Corunna to refit. The news reached England that the mighty fleet had been nearly destroyed; and the lord high admiral, Howard of Effingham, sailed from England to complete the destruction. But he found that the storm had been less fatal than was believed, and that the expectation that no invasion would be attempted that summer was a mistake. He wisely returned, to wait for the enemy

in the Channel. For a month did the great fleet lie in Corunna harbour. The prince of Parma's flat-bottomed vessels, for the conveyance of thirty-five thousand men, were lying at Bruges; and the ports of Nieuport and Dunkirk, from which they could have put to sea, were blockaded by a combined English and Dutch fleet. It was arranged that when the Spanish armament came into the Channel it should have the co-operation of the duke of Guise, who was to land in the west, to effect a diversion; whilst the real attacks upon the capital and in the north were going forward. The delay at Corunna disconcerted the plans of the Confederates. On the 12th of July the Spanish fleet stood out to sea from Corunna; on the 19th they were seen entering the Channel. There was a gallant fleet in the harbour of Plymouth; and there were commanders on shore:—lord Charles and lord Thomas Howard; lord Sheffield, the nephew of the lord high admiral; and sir Robert Southwell, his son-in-law; Hawkins, and Drake, and Frobisher, and Fenner. About the port was a great land force under the orders of Raleigh. The queen's ships at Plymouth, under the lord high admiral, were thirty-four in number. Their aggregate burthen was 11,820 tons; they mounted 837 guns; and they mustered 6279 seamen. Howard was in the Ark-Royal, of 800 tons; Drake, the vice-admiral, was in the Revenge, 500 tons; Hawkins, the rear-admiral, was in the Victory, 800 tons; Frobisher was in the Triumph, 1100 tons. This was the largest ship of the fleet, of which one-third of the number was below 100 tons. But there were forty-two vessels serving by tonnage, merchant-ships, which had 2587 mariners; and there were thirty-eight vessels, carrying 2710 mariners, fitted out by the city of London. With coasters and volunteers, the whole number of ships, large and small, was one hundred and ninety-seven, having one-half only of the tonnage of the Spanish fleet. The greater part was in Plymouth and Dartmouth; but a squadron, under lord Seymour, was taking part in the blockade of the Flemish coast. The whole number of sailors in the fleet was 15,785. The mariners were the only fighting men of the ships. The Portuguese galleys, each with three hundred rowers, could move against the wind as if by steam. But the poor slaves were perfectly exposed to the shot of large and small arms; and the movements of the enormous vessels were thus liable to serious interruption. The English ships were short in the build; and were rigged so as readily to tack. Every man on board was as willing to assist in working his vessel as to fight. The fleet was warped out of Plymouth harbour on the night of the 19th, and came in sight of the Spaniards about three o'clock the next afternoon. On the 21st, "about nine of the clock, before noon, the lord admiral commanded his pinnace, called the Disdain, to give the defiance unto the duke of Medina." The pinnace fired a shot at the first ship it met, and Howard, like a gallant leader as he was, began the fight: "with much thundering out of his own ship, called the Ark-Royal, he first set upon the admiral, as he thought, of the Spaniards; but it was Alphonso de Lena's ship. Soon after, Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, played with their ordnance upon the hindmost squadron, which was commanded by Recalde, who laboured all he could to stay his men that fled to the fleet, till his own ship, being much battered with shot, and now grown unserviceable, hardly withdrew itself to the main fleet. At

which time the duke of Medina gathered together his fleet scattered here and there, and hoisting more sail, held on his intended course."* Forty of the lord admiral's ships were hardly yet out of the haven. The night was dark and the sea troubled. A huge Biscayan vessel took fire; and in the confusion the galleon of Don Pedro de Valdez got foul of another ship, and was left behind. Drake had gone after five vessels that proved to be merchantmen of Germany; and this had deranged the movements of the squadron that was to have followed his lantern. Howard, with two ships, had held on through the night after the Spaniards. Drake coming back from his bootless chase fell in with the great galleon abandoned by her companions; and Valdez became his prisoner, with a booty of 55,000 ducats, which were distributed amongst the crews. At nightfall of that second day the active vice-admiral was again with his commander. The next morning the remainder of the fleet had come out of Plymouth, and Raleigh had come with them, to take his share in that sea-fight, rather than remain with his inactive army on land. The Armada on this morning of the 23rd of July was off Portland. And now, says Stow, "the English navy being well increased, gave charge and chase upon the enemy, squadron after squadron seconding each other like swift horsemen that could nimbly come and go, and fetch the wind with most advantage. . . . . The English chieftains ever sought to single out the great commanders of the Spanish host, whose lofty castles held great scorn of their encounter." The English ran in under the great galleons, and having delivered their broadsides, sheered out of the range of the Spanish guns, which were high above the water-line. In this furious skirmish there was alternate success. One English commander only fell—"Cook, an Englishman, who died with honour in the midst of the enemies in a small ship of his." From morning till night this fight continued; the Spaniards sometimes bearing down upon their pursuers, and then going before the west wind towards St. Alban's Head. The 24th was a day of rest. The fleets were becalmed, with the Needles in distant view. From every port of Dorsetshire and Hampshire fresh ships had come forth, hired and armed by the gentlemen of England to aid in this great defence. On the 25th, Hawkins, in the Victory, was towed to take possession of a great galleon, disabled in the fight of the 23rd, which had dropped astern. There was no resistance from the galleon. But three of the great galeasses came to rescue her and to punish her daring captor. But the Lion and the Bear, the Triumph, and the Elizabeth Jonas were quickly about them, with their sixty pounders, and their thirty-three pounders, known as cannon and demi-cannon, "sending their dole until the Spaniards blood ran out at scupper-hole." The battle, for a breeze had sprung up, again became general. Medina's ship, the San Marten, had her mainmast shot away, and was about to strike to Frobisher. Medina was saved by his generals, Mexia and Recalde. Howard joined in the struggle. The issue was long doubtful. But the English powder was exhausted; and there was no more fighting on that summer afternoon. The next day, lord Sheffield, and lord Thomas Howard, Frobisher, Townsend, and Hawkins were knighted "for their valour." It was resolved to defer

* Camden.

any further attack till the Spaniard was in the narrow sea. On the 26th and 27th, the vast navies were seen, as they coasted along, from Selsea Bill, and from the downs of Brighton, from Hastings, and from Dungeness. For seven days had the Spaniard been fighting his way through the Channel, and at length he was at anchor before Calais on the Saturday night of that week of memorable conflict. But when the morning of Sunday dawned, the English fleet of a hundred and forty sail was riding in Calais Roads within cannon-shot of the exceeding great ships, whose greatest still kept the outer line against their enemy. On that Sunday the heart of England sent up to Heaven the simple but solemn prayer, "Save and deliver us, we humbly beseech Thee, from the hands of our enemies." In this time of need the queen had herself composed a prayer, which had been sent to "the general of her highness' army at Plymouth," as her majesty's private meditation.

The duke of Medina had dispatched messenger after messenger to the duke of Parma, to bid him send "light vessels," without which the Spaniard could not well fight with the English; and to urge him to put to sea with his army, which the Spanish fleet would protect till the landing upon the hated shore was accomplished. Parma's boats were leaky; his provisions were exhausted; his sailors had deserted; he was kept in port by the vigilant Dutch. But nevertheless a junction might have been fatal; and the Spaniard must be crippled before he again weighed anchor. At two o'clock on Monday morning, eight small vessels were towed from the main body of the English fleet, and were bearing with the wind upon the Spanish anchorage. Suddenly a strong light burst out from each vessel. The tow-boats left them, and they drifted with the breeze right into the centre of the Armada. Then vast volumes of flame and smoke rolled out from the burning hulks, with fearful explosions and sulphury stenches. Young and Prowse, who led these fire-ships into the heart of the enemy's fleet, had done their duty well. The bold stroke, devised by Elizabeth herself, as contemporaries say, was successful beyond hope. One of the largest of the galeasses was stranded near the town of Calais, and was taken, after a fierce engagement, in which many English were slain, and the Spaniards lost four hundred men. Medina conducted himself with courage and coolness, and his ship, with a few others, resumed their stations. But the bulk of the fleet was running up Channel in wild confusion. Some went ashore on the Flemish coast; others stood out to sea; many got together as well as they could near Gravelines. But Drake and Fenner were fighting them from the first peep of the dawning; and now there came up Hawkins and Fenton, Seymour and Cumberland, Southwell and Frobisher, and there was again a general battle under the castle of Gravelines; for Howard himself was up at his post. The Spanish castles had fearful difficulty in avoiding the shallows. They were hemmed in with danger. They must keep together; or be made prize if they ran out to sea. The last great fight was on the 29th of July. The scattered remnant of the Armada held on its perilous course, past Dunkirk, past the mouth of the Scheldt, full into the North Sea. Drake was in the wake of the flying squadrons. The prince of Parma had failed the Spaniards. They had received a message from him, as they lay before Calais on Sunday the 28th, that he could not

be ready for them till the Friday following. On that Friday they were far away to the north, the English pursuing. After the fight off Gravelines there were a hundred and ten (some state a hundred and twenty) sail left of the whole Spanish navy. Coming to an island at the north of Scotland, the general gave orders that they should make the best of their way to any part of the Portuguese or Spanish coast. Ships, having lost their anchors, their masts shot through, their hulls riddled with shot-holes, had sunk on the coast of Scotland and in the open North Sea, or were cast on the shores of the Western Isles. About the 20th of August there came on a great storm which divided the fleet; and, ten days after, another storm scattered them around the shores of Connaught and Kerry. The duke of Medina kept out in the open sea, and entered the Bay of Biscay about the end of September. A few ships reached Spain, under the command of Recalde, in a shattered condition. Some of the wretched men who were shipwrecked were murdered by the wild Irish; and some, more disgracefully, were put to the sword by order of the lord deputy. The Spaniards lost eighty-one ships in this expedition, and upwards of thirteen thousand five hundred soldiers.

In the midst of the English triumph Leicester died, and the private sorrow of the queen retarded her participation in the public joy. But on Sunday the 24th of November, Elizabeth rode in triumphant state to St. Paul's. On that day there were also given in every church of the land "public and general thanks unto God, with all devotion and inward affection of heart and humbleness, for his gracious favour extended towards us in our deliverance and defence, in the wonderful overthrow and destruction showed by his mighty hand on our malicious enemies the Spaniards, who had thought to invade and make a conquest of the realm."

The parliament which met in February, 1589, was naturally warlike; exulting in the past success, and resolved upon supporting the queen in the contest which was so truly a battle for national existence. Sir Christopher Hatton, the lord chancellor, told the Peers and Commons not to be deceived into a belief that England was secure, through the Divine mercy which had rendered the vast armada vain and useless. This was preparatory to asking for a subsidy; and, although there was no precedent for such a mark of confidence, two subsidies were granted in one supply, payable in four years. Philip had said that he would persevere, even if he sold the silver candlesticks which stood on his table. He resolved to build smaller vessels, and to sail direct to the English coast from his harbours in the Peninsula. The Anglo-Saxon spirit was now thoroughly roused; and any scheme for attacking Spain was sure to receive the heartiest encouragement. The government of Elizabeth was economical in the extreme; and it was indisposed to undertake any war, except a war of defence, upon a large scale. The people, therefore, were encouraged to fit out expeditions at their own cost, to which the queen lent assistance. Sir Francis Drake and sir John Norris undertook to lead a great armament for winning Portugal from the Castilians,—whom the Portuguese hated,—to place the crown upon the head of Don Antonio, an illegitimate branch of the royal line of that country which Philip had added to Spain. A great body of adventurers joined the expedition. They did not, however, sail

direct to Portugal, but attacked Corunna; burnt some ships; defeated a Spanish army; and took the lower town. At last they went on the real purpose for which the armament was fitted out. But Philip was now prepared. Every attempt at insurrection was promptly suppressed. Lisbon was defended by a large force. When the English army under Norris advanced from Peniche, their landing-place, and Drake sailed up the Tagus, they could only obtain possession of the suburbs of Lisbon; and were speedily forced to re-embark for want of ammunition and provisions. On their return they took and burned Vigo. The earl of Cumberland also fitted out seven ships at his own charge to attack the Spanish coasts. A fearful mortality amongst the men of this expedition crippled their exertions; and, though many prizes were made, the prosperous issue of the great contest was little advanced by such detached enterprises.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE Established Church had opened its arms widely, to embrace many who conscientiously differed as to doctrine and discipline. The majority accepted the invitation to abide by the religion of the State,—to form contented if not zealous members of a Church which was expressly calculated to reconcile differences. The Romanists had, after the contests of a quarter of a century, been absorbed into the ranks of the conformists, or held their own opinions in secret, or had been crushed. But in the second half of the reign of Elizabeth the power which had largely contributed to put down the more dangerous of the enemies of the reformed doctrines had, in its turn, become troublesome, if not dangerous. When the immediate fear of invasion had passed away, the Puritans went with redoubled zeal about the work which they called a Re-reformation. The age of pamphlets had now fully come. Little books that bore the title of Martin Marprelate were secretly printed and circulated in despite of authority. The clergy who returned from their seven years' exile during the time of persecution, were put in possession of many of the livings from which the Romish priests had been in their turn ejected. They very soon ceased to regard the Act of Uniformity as imperatively binding; and great irregularities in the performance of ceremonies crept in, and were for some time tolerated. But at length a rigid observance of the rubric was enforced; and the ministers who would not conform were thrust out from their benefices. They had their admirers and their followers; and their course was to form separate assemblies. In 1567 a congregation of dissenters were seized at Plumbers' Hall, and some were committed to prison. As yet, the contest had been about what the Puritans held as superstitious ceremonies. The resistance with which they were encountered upon minor points ultimately led them to condemn the episcopal constitution of the Anglican Church, and to proclaim the superiority of the Genevan model. They had a covert support among

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most influential of Elizabeth's ministers; but the queen herself was opposed to an abolition of forms to which the only serious objection was that they belonged to the rites of the earlier Church. The queen and the ecclesiastical commissioners were ultimately too strong for the moderate party of the Council. Archbishop Whitgift, who succeeded to the primacy in 1583, was determined to put down rather than conciliate the party of the Puritans. The result was, first a furious attack against episcopacy in the pamphlets of Martin Marprelate; and then severe laws against the Puritans, which had no ultimate effect but that of fortifying their opinions, and of making their cause the rallying point of civil and religious liberty. There was now little distinction between the non-conforming Protestant and the recusant Romanist in the eyes of the dominant Church. The Ecclesiastical Commission ejected ministers; the government hanged libellers; and Penry, the supposed author of the Marprelate tracts, was hastily and cruelly executed, under the statute of 1581, for seditious words and rumours against the queen. These severities were chiefly directed against the separatists from the Church who were then denominated Brownists, and afterwards Independents. In their social relations these dissenters certainly did not present an amiable aspect to the rest of the community. They made themselves obnoxious as the enemies of all innocent amusements; and, affecting "to cross the ordinary custom in everything," equally denounced the general habits of society, however harmless or indifferent, as well as its exceptional vices. In "The Anatomie of Abuses" of Philip Stubbes—a most rigid Calvinist—we are told that "reformation of manners, and amendment of life, was never more needful; for was pride, the chiefest argument of this book, ever so ripe?" By "pride" we understand him to mean what is the accompaniment of every period of general prosperity—a love of luxury and of luxurious display, not confined to the superior classes, but spread by the force of the imitative principle very widely through many inferior degrees of station. The sumptuary laws of Henry VIII. had ceased to be regarded; and the statesmen of Elizabeth meddled little with these matters. The queen herself carried her love of costly dress almost into a mania. It was the only expenditure in which she was profuse. In the more general diffusion of wealth at this time, gluttony and drunkenness assumed those forms of ostentatious display which are amongst the worst evils of social refinement. There were punishments for low debauchery, such as the drunkard's cloak. Against this growing sin, which was creeping up from the peasant and the mechanic to the yeoman and the courtier, the preachers lifted up their voices in the pulpit, and not always in vain. But we may be sure that these earnest preachers in some degree injured the good effect of their religious exhortations against real vices, by denouncing those harmless recreations which to the greater number supplied the place of grosser excitements. The court of Elizabeth was a dancing court. In 1589, at her palace of Richmond, her "ordinary exercise" was "six or seven galliards in a morning, besides music and singing." * The Puritans denounced all dancing in mixed companies of the sexes. They held that "men by themselves and women by themselves" might

* Lodge, vol. ii., p. 411.

dance without sin, "to recreate the mind, oppressed with some great toil and labour." They held, moreover, that "sweet music at the first delighteth the ears, but afterward corrupteth and depraveth the mind." In this, and in many other battles which they fought, they warred against nature, and were beaten. Music was the especial Art of the Elizabethan days. In every household there was the love of music, and in many families it was cultivated as an essential part of education. Many of the puritanic objections to the recreations of the people were originally directed against their use on the Sunday. The Christians' first day of the week being regarded by the Romanists as a holiday, the more rigid Protestants determined to adopt the strictest Judaical observance of the Sabbath, as one of the most distinguishing attributes of the Reformation. When there were daily prayers in the parish churches, and especially at holiday seasons, the old traditional sports and mummeries of the people were also offensive to some, though tolerated by many. Thus Puritanism came to do battle, not only against those amusements on Sundays, and at other especial times when the Church claimed serious thoughts, but against the amusements themselves, whenever practised. But the people, high or low, would not readily surrender these festive observances. It was useless declaiming against the Lord of Misrule, chosen by universal suffrage at Christmas or at Whitsuntide; against May-games; against Plough-Monday dances, with their "tipsy jollity;" against Church-ales, and Wakes. The object of the Church-ale was thoroughly practical. At the season of Whitsuntide there was a parish feast, which the churchwardens had prepared for by an ale-brewing; and the profit that was made by filling the black-jacks of the jovial countrymen was applied to the repairs of the church. The Wake was the annual feast to commemorate the dedication of the parish church. The Puritans were wiser in their denunciations of gaming and gaming-houses, which were amongst the corruptions of the town at this period. But drinking, dicing, bear-baiting, cock-fighting,—the coarsest temptations to profligacy,—were not such abominations in their eyes as "stage-plays, interludes, and comedies." In the latter years of the reign of Elizabeth, when the Puritans, zealous, persevering, and united, had possessed themselves of much of the municipal power of the larger cities and towns, there was frequent warfare between the civic authorities and the performers of plays. The severe moralists called them "caterpillars of the commonwealth;" the law defined those as "vagabonds" who were "not belonging to any baron of this realm, or towards any other honourable person of greater degree." The original theatrical performances were in the inn-yards of the city, such as the Belle-Sauvage. The better sort of spectators sat in the gallery which connected the inn-chambers; the larger number of the audience stood in the open yard. Gradually, hostelries were converted into theatres, and new buildings were erected for dramatic representations. At the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, the drama was emerging from the childishness and buffoonery of its first period of separation from the shows of Catholicism. Then came the transition period, in which the first rude utterings of a mimetic life were passing into the higher art of the first race of true dramatists; and the drama finally asserted its divine

origin when strength and refinement had become united in the greater assimilation of character between the courtly and the industrious classes. The age of Elizabeth may pre-eminently claim the distinction of having called up a great native literature. There was a general activity of intellect; and at that period arose the two greatest poets of any age, Spenser and Shakspere. They each essentially belonged to their time. They each, in their several ways, reflected that time. From the general elevation of the tone of "the Faery Queen," and of the other poems of Spenser's matured years, we may judge of the moral and intellectual tastes of the educated classes of Elizabeth's latter period. The works of Shakspere are imbued with the real vitality of the Christian era in which they were produced; with all the intellectual freedom which especially distinguished that era from the past ages of Christianity. There was then a select lettered class, who, having shaken off the trammels of the scholastic philosophy, were exploring the depths of science and laying the foundations of accurate reasoning. The architecture, also, of the reign of Elizabeth is essentially characteristic of the period, not only in the simple manor-house of the squire, but in the "great house" of the noble. John Thorpe, the highest constructive genius of that age, perfected that union of the Italian style with the Gothic, which produced what we call the Tudor architecture. The reign of Elizabeth, which witnessed such an outburst of our native literature, did not neglect that cultivation of ancient learning upon which sound literature and correct taste must in a great degree be built. New colleges were founded at Oxford and Cambridge. Elizabeth also founded Trinity College, Dublin. To the London Grammar Schools of St. Paul's and Christ's Church were added Westminster School, by the queen, and Merchant Tailors' School, by the great city company of that name.

On the 8th of August, 1589, Jacques Clement, a monk, stabbed Henry III. of France, who died of his wounds on the following day. The king was in arms against the great Catholic confederacy, known as the League; then exasperated by the murder of their leader, the duke of Guise, and of the cardinal, his brother. Henry of Navarre, the great champion of Protestantism, had to encounter the most determined opposition to his succession to the crown, although the undoubted heir. The duke of Mayence, the brother of the murdered Guises, took the command of the League. The king of Spain was ready with his most strenuous aid, to keep a Protestant out of the throne of France. Elizabeth of England hesitated not to give her support to the Huguenot king, who had so long battled with the most adverse fortune. She sent him a supply of money; an English force, under the command of lord Willoughby, soon after landed at Dieppe; and the king was thus encouraged to continue a contest which without this timely assistance might have been hopeless. At the great battle of Ivry a gallant army followed Henry's white plume to a complete victory. But the duke of Parma, with the forces of Spain, came to the relief of the League, and compelled Henry to raise the siege of Paris. Elizabeth again sent him succour. In April, 1591, sir John Norris landed in France with a force of three thousand men; and in July of that year, another small army, four thousand in number, under the young earl of

Essex, was also sent to the aid of Henry. But the duke of Parma, the most accomplished general of that time, again came to the relief of the League; and the expeditions of England had no satisfactory result.

The naval enterprises of this year had no more fortunate issue. A squadron of seven ships was sent, under the command of lord Thomas Howard, to intercept the Indian fleet on its return to Spain. But Philip was prepared; and had fitted out a force of fifty-five sail as an escort. The little English squadron fell in with this armament; and one of Howard's vessels became a Spanish prize. This was the first ship that Spain had taken from England during the war. It was commanded by sir Richard Grenville, the vice-admiral, who was three times wounded during the action, which lasted from three in the afternoon till day-break the next morning. At length the good ship lay upon the waters like a log. Her captain proposed to blow her up rather than surrender; but the majority of the crew compelled him to yield himself a prisoner. He died in a few days.

The mode in which the war against Spain was carried on by England made the wealth of the Indies a very insecure possession to King Philip. Rich carracks were sometimes taken and sometimes destroyed. Real treasures, such as fourteen hundred chests of quicksilver, which were found in two ships captured by a Londoner, were abstracted from the riches of the Spaniard. But this war was also costly to England; and in 1593 Elizabeth called a parliament, for she needed a subsidy. In this parliament the queen and the Commons were beginning to be at issue. Prerogative and Privilege were giving indications that the time was approaching when they would come into actual conflict. But the strength was as yet all on one side; and Elizabeth was too sagacious to use her strength unnecessarily. There was a discontented temper amongst some members of the parliament of 1593, and the queen put it down with a haughtiness which looks like unmitigated despotism. A few bold members were not daunted by this; but prepared a Bill for entailing the Succession to the Crown. This, of all other subjects, was the most disagreeable to the queen; and four of the members were committed to prison for their hardihood. The courage of the Puritans was not subdued by this severity, for Mr. Morice brought in a Bill for correcting the abuses of the Ecclesiastical Court. The queen sent for the Speaker, who delivered a message to the House, that her majesty commanded that "no bills touching matters of state, or reformation in causes ecclesiastical, be exhibited." The same day Morice was committed to custody, and, according to some statements, was in confinement when he died in 1596.

In 1593, Philip was conspiring with the earls of Angus, Errol, and Huntley, to send an army to operate with them in re-establishing Romanism in Scotland, and to march upon England with a united force for the same purpose. James was unwilling to believe in this conspiracy, and suspected Elizabeth of a design to promote discord between himself and his friends. But after "many an indignant remonstrance from his neighbour queen," he at length took arms against the "Spaniolised rebels," and this danger was past. But Philip had in his armoury another weapon against Elizabeth. He bribed her domestic physician, Roderigo Lopez, a

Portuguese Jew, to poison her. Lopez had two Portuguese refugees as confederates. They were convicted, and hanged on the 7th of June, 1594. The discovery of this atrocious scheme was due to the perseverance of Essex.

In 1593, Henry IV. made a formal abjuration of those Protestant opinions for which he had so long gallantly fought. Without this concession he would probably never have succeeded in tranquillising France. But he did not, as many apostates have done, persecute the religion which he had forsaken. By the edict of Nantes, he granted toleration to the Protestants, in 1598. Elizabeth, although displeased at the position Henry had taken, still continued to render him aid in his war with Spain—the common cause of each country. An English naval armament assisted him, in 1594, in taking Brest from the Spaniards. In the attack upon this fort, sir Martin Frobisher was mortally wounded. Sir Francis Drake and sir John Hawkins sailed in 1595, with six of the queen's ships, and twenty others, fitted out at private charge, having on board a considerable land force, commanded by sir Thomas Baskerville. They made an assault on Porto Rico; but they were repulsed. Hawkins soon after died. Drake went forward, and landed at Nombre di Dios, in the isthmus of Darien. The Spaniards were prepared, as at Porto Rico. The enterprise failed, and the great admiral succumbed to sickness and to disappointment. Baskerville returned home, after having fought with a Spanish fleet off Cuba, with no decisive results on either side.

In the year 1596, Philip was making preparations for another invasion of England; and the lord high admiral, Howard of Effingham, counselled that the blow should be anticipated by an attack upon Spain herself. Essex was appointed commander of the expedition, but somewhat restrained by a council of war. The English fleet sailed from Plymouth on the 1st of June, 1596; and attacked the galleys in the harbour of Cadiz. Against the orders which had given the honour of leading the attack to Raleigh and lord Thomas Howard, Essex broke through the midst of the fleet in which he had been stationed, and was soon in the heat of the action. The Spanish ships fled to the protection of the guns at the fort of Puntel, where some were set on fire by their own crews. The English admiral refused to accept a price as the ransom of the remainder; and they were all burnt by the Spanish commander. Essex now led his men to an attack upon the town of Cadiz, which was strongly fortified. The town was taken, and given up to plunder. But Essex, departing somewhat from the brutal spirit of ancient warfare, exerted himself as strenuously to prevent slaughter as he had done in leading the attack. The town was burnt, after the unhappy inhabitants had been permitted to withdraw. It was the wish of Essex to hold Cadiz; but he was overruled by the council. The fleet returned to England, with no greater success than the large destruction which had been effected of the resources of Spain, whose loss was estimated at twenty millions of ducats. In the following year another naval armament was fitted out against Spain, under the command of Essex and Raleigh; but the only success that saved the expedition from disgrace was the profitable capture of three ships returning from the Havannah.

A new parliament was called to meet on the 24th of October, 1597, which sat till the 9th of February, 1598. In this session a legal provision for the poor, supplied by the assessment of all property, was perfected by bold and far-sighted legislation. The population of England at the end of the sixteenth century was probably not far short of five millions. Some of the more fortunate of the humbler classes were forcing their way into wealth. But there was a large body who never found the way even to a bare subsistence. The statute of the 39th Elizabeth provides for the appointment of overseers of the poor in every parish, who were to make a rate with the consent of the justices. This Act "approximates very closely to that passed four years afterwards (the 43rd of Elizabeth), which still continues in force, and is the foundation and groundwork of our English Poor Law." * But the Act of the 39th Elizabeth was accompanied by "An Act for the punishment of rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars." This Act repealed all previous statutes. It prescribed the whipping, the stocks, and the passing from parish to parish, as of old; but it empowered the justices assembled at quarter-sessions to erect houses of correction for the employment of vagrants, till they could be placed in some service; or, if infirm of body, in some alms-house. The increase of London through the rapid progress of commerce, and of Westminster as the seat of government and of legal administration, constantly brought thither a large class of "valiant and sturdy rogues, masterless men, vagrants, and maimed soldiers." † Cutpurses there were in abundance. There were gangs of thieves "under Pancras," and at "Hyde Park Corner." Within the city walls there was watch and ward, not altogether ineffectual; but the suburbs were wholly unprotected. A dense population was beginning to crowd into obscure alleys. In 1580 a proclamation was issued against the erection of new buildings in London. The increase of the poorer classes was sought to be prevented in the country districts upon the same principle. In the times of Elizabeth the gallows consumed about three hundred annual victims; but the hangman of Henry VIII. had to operate upon two thousand in each average year. In the 39th Elizabeth the government also placed the endowment of hospitals or alms-houses upon a new footing.

As early as 1563 the legislature had declared that the statutes for the regulation of wages could not be enforced, on account of the advancement of prices. The influx of the precious metals had begun decidedly to produce this effect; and, concurrently with that increase, the condition of the great body of the people was greatly improving, so that there was a more universal demand for every necessary of life. This demand produced a consequent rise of price. But the improvements were too slow,—the amount of agricultural produce too entirely dependent upon good or bad seasons,—so that the utmost misery was occasionally produced by excessive fluctuations in price. The plague was a necessary attendant upon any dearth approaching to famine. The general health of the people was habitually inferior to the sanitory condition of our own days.

* Sir G. Nicholls, "History of the English Poor Law," vol. i., p. 185.
† Stow.

In August, 1598, died William Cecil, lord Burleigh, the faithful counsellor of Elizabeth for forty years. In his last illness Elizabeth sent him a cordial, saying "that she did entreat Heaven for his longer life; else would her people, nay herself, stand in need of cordials too."* Months after his death, it was written of the queen that her highness "doth often speak of him in tears, and turn aside when he is discoursed of."† Within a month of the decease of Burleigh died Philip II. Henry IV. had concluded a separate peace with Spain; for which act, though probably one of imperious necessity, Elizabeth called him "an antichrist of ingratitude." The death of Philip caused no abatement of the hostility between the Protestant queen and the Most Catholic king. In 1599 Spain again threatened invasion; and extensive preparations for resistance were made with the usual alacrity. The weak place of Elizabeth's dominions was Ireland; which, with its rude native population, under the control of the Romish priesthood, and with the ancient families of their Anglo-Irish oppressors, haters of Protestantism, was a perpetual trouble to the English government. Ireland yielded no revenue to England; she absorbed a large annual amount of the queen's treasure for her defence. Sir Henry Sidney was engaged for eleven years in keeping down the animosities of the Desmonds and the Ormonds; in repressing insurrections and rebellions; in doing a little, but only a little, for the general civilisation of the people. Lord Gray succeeded Sidney, and had the same chronic difficulties to contend with. The attempt of the elder lord Essex to colonise some forfeited lands was a ruinous failure. Spenser, who made his few years' residence on the banks of the Mulla famous, had his house burned over his head, and his child slaughtered. The neglect and misrule of previous centuries were visited upon those who, in the second half of the sixteenth century, desired "to turn so goodly and commodious a soil to good uses," by "reducing that nation to better government and civility."‡ The footing of the English was still confined to the pale. Beyond that narrow region there was barbarism; within it, the foolish oppression of the landlords, the inconstancy of the tenant, kept Ireland miserable, rebellious, the scourge of England, for three centuries. The first remedy for the evils of Ireland at the end of the sixteenth century was to put down rebellion with a sufficient force. Hugh O'Neale, earl of Tyrone, had been for some time in insurrection against the English government. He had received arms and military stores from Spain; he was the leader of all who, according to Spenser, were "waiting when the watchword should come that they should all arise generally into rebellion." As yet he had met with no adequate resistance. Sir John Norris died of fatigue and vexation in this troublesome warfare. Another commander, sir Henry Bagnal, was defeated with great loss, and himself killed, in an attempt to relieve the fortress of Blackwater, which was besieged by Tyrone's men. After a foolish quarrel with the queen, Essex, probably to remove him without disgrace, was appointed to the lord lieutenancy of Ireland, with higher powers than had ever before been granted to that great office. At

* Harrington, "Nugæ Antiquæ," p. 237. † Ibid., p. 244.
‡ Spenser, "View of the State of Ireland."

the end of March, 1599, he left London for Dublin, surrounded by a train of nobles and knights, and greeted by the acclamations of the people, with whom he was an especial object of regard. Essex swore that "he would beat Tyr-Owen in the field, for nothing worthy her majesty's honour hath yet been achieved."* He had a force of sixteen thousand men when he marched out of Dublin on the 10th of May. From some extraordinary vacillation, instead of leading his force against Tyrone, he made a progress of seven weeks through Munster; now and then skirmishing with small parties of rebels, and displaying his superfluous energy, "flying like lightning from one part of the army to another;" and having his love of popularity abundantly gratified by his reception in the towns. Essex remained at Dublin from the 3rd of July till the 28th of August, and then set forth into Ulster to do battle with Tyrone. After a skirmish, the queen's army and the rebel's army were in sight of each other; and Tyrone sent a message that he desired her majesty's mercy, and asked that the lord lieutenant would hear him. There were two conferences, and the result was an armistice for six weeks. "This being concluded," says Harrington, "on the 8th of September, on the 9th the lord lieutenant dispersed his army." Tyrone retired with his forces. On the 17th of September, Elizabeth wrote a letter to Essex, disapproving of his proceedings in the strongest terms. The impetuous nature of the man would not endure this reproof. He saw, and perhaps justly, that his rivals, Robert Cecil and Raleigh, were working his downfall; and, in a blind confidence in the queen's favour, he took the fatal resolution of leaving his command in Ireland. Elizabeth at first received him graciously, but in the evening he was commanded to keep his chamber. On the next day he was examined before the council, and, instead of being restored to favour, was commanded from court, and committed to the "free custody" of the lord keeper, and was afterwards under the same restricted liberty at his own house. He was again examined before commissioners; and received the severest censure in being suspended from his offices of privy councillor, of lord marshal, and of master of the ordnance. He was released from custody in August, but was still commanded not to appear at court. Under these indignities the mind of Essex lost all balance. There can be no doubt that he contemplated removing the queen's advisers by force; believing them to be, as they to a great extent were, his personal enemies. The wary Cecil was in secret correspondence with the king of Scotland, but the incautious Essex had not scrupled to contemplate the possibility of compelling the government into the recognition of James as the future king of England; and had even proposed to Mountjoy, the lord deputy of Ireland, to bring over a body of troops for that purpose.

On Sunday morning, the 8th of February, the earls of Rutland and Southampton, the lords Sandys and Monteagle, with about three hundred gentlemen, assembled at Essex House, in the Strand. Essex had sent round to say that his life was threatened by Raleigh and Cobham. The queen was apprised of this remarkable gathering, and she despatched the lord keeper, the comptroller of the household, the lord chief justice, and

* Harrington, p. 246.

the earl of Worcester to demand the cause of this assembly. They were admitted by the wicket, without their servants, and found the court full of men. The lord keeper declared their errand, to which Essex replied that his life was sought, and that he had been perfidiously dealt with. These high officers assured him that he should have honourable and equal justice. A great tumult ensued, and, at last, Essex left the lord keeper and the others in custody, and drawing his sword, rushed out of his house, followed by a large number of his adherents, and shouting "For the queen, for the queen, a plot is laid for my life." Not a sword or a musket was brought forth to give him assistance. Disheartened, the unhappy nobleman and his friends attempted to return from the city; but they found the street barricaded with empty carriages. At Ludgate the chains were drawn; and a party of soldiers opposed their progress. A fight ensued, in which several were killed. Essex escaped by water to his own house; which he attempted to defend, with those who got in with him. But no succour from the city reached him, and they surrendered. Essex and Southampton were that night removed to the Tower.

On the 19th of February the two noble friends were put upon their trial, in the court of the lord high steward. The facts against them were too clearly proved to allow of any verdict of the Peers but that of Guilty. They were tried upon the old statute of Edward III. Coke, the attorney-general, bitterly alluded to that part of the indictment which accused Essex of aiming to be king, saying of him, "He of his earldom shall be Robert the Last, that of a kingdom sought to be Robert the First." Essex, to this charge, made his denial in these words: "And thou, O God, which knowest the secrets of all hearts, knowest that I never sought the crown of England, nor ever wished to be of higher degree than a subject." Francis Bacon was one of the queen's counsel, and he was officially employed against Essex in this trial. He was bound to Essex by no common obligations. The generous earl had struggled against the ill-will of the Cecils to advance Bacon's fortunes, in season and out of season. Yet upon the trial Bacon said stronger things against his friend than were urged by his bitterest adversaries. Bacon, in the "Apology" which he wrote of his conduct, says, "that which I performed at the bar in my public service, by the rules of duty I was bound to it honestly and without prevarication." The earl of Essex was beheaded within the walls of the Tower on Wednesday morning, the 25th of February. There were few persons present at the execution, which was stated to have been in private by his own desire. His end was truly "pious and Christian," to use the words of Camden. Hume tells a circumstantial story of a ring given by Elizabeth to the unfortunate earl in the height of his favour, which ring sent to her as a token of his distress might entitle him to her protection. The narrative, which is of doubtful authenticity, goes on to say that this ring fell into the hands of the countess of Nottingham, whose husband, an enemy of Essex, forced her to conceal it; but that lady Nottingham, on her deathbed, revealed the whole to Elizabeth, who exclaimed, "God may forgive you, but I never can," and was so overcome, that she refused all sustenance from that instant. Lord Southampton, who had been found guilty and sentenced to death at the

same time with Essex, was spared from the scaffold, but was confined during the remainder of Elizabeth's reign. Sir Gilly Meyrick, Henry Cuffe, sir Christopher Blount, and sir Charles Danvers, were executed as adherents to the conspiracy.

Lord Mountjoy was more fortunate than Essex in his Irish administration. The Spaniards had landed in Ireland to assist the Roman Catholic insurgents. They took up a strong position at Kinsale, with four thousand troops. Tyrone came to the assistance of the Spanish commander, with six thousand Irish, and some foreigners. Mountjoy defeated him; and the Spaniards capitulated. Tyrone, in 1602, surrendered, upon a promise of life and lands.

At a Convention of the Scottish estates, in June, 1600, the king proposed that a tax should be levied, for the purpose of asserting his claim to the succession to the crown of England. This demand met with the most strenuous resistance. Amongst those who led the opposition was the young earl of Gowrie, who had recently returned from the court of Elizabeth. On the morning of the 5th of August, James was going forth from his palace at Falkland to hunt, when Alexander Ruthven, the younger brother of Gowrie, desired to speak with him privately. He whispered something about an unknown man having found a treasure, which was in Gowrie House, at Perth. After the chase, James rode off to Perth with young Ruthven. Gowrie, with James's suite, went into the pleasure garden. Alexander Ruthven then told the king it was now time to go and look at the gold. They went together through various apartments, Ruthven locking the doors as they passed along. At length they reached a small round room; and then Ruthven, removing a curtain, disclosed a portrait of his father, and asked James who murdered him. He then ran upon the king, and attempted to bind him. A desperate struggle ensued; in which James managed to reach the window and cry out for help. Some of the courtiers rushed up the great staircase; but found the door locked; others reached the round chamber by a back door, and found the king still struggling with Ruthven. The youth was soon killed. Gowrie himself rushed frantically to the gallery where some of the attendants of James were assembled, and was quickly slain. It was a popular belief that the king conspired against the Gowries, and not the Gowries against the king.

The last parliament of Elizabeth met on the 27th of October, 1601. On the 20th of November, a bill was brought in by Mr. Lawrence Hyde, entitled, "An Act for the explanation of the Common Law in certain cases of Letters Patent." On the 25th, the Speaker announced that the queen had determined on the abolition of all patents. The House was in a fever of rapture at the declaration of the queen; and it was moved that the Speaker should convey their thanks to her majesty. On the 30th, a hundred and forty members of the House were received by Elizabeth, who, in her answer to the Speaker's address, said, "Mr. Speaker, you give me thanks, but I doubt me, I have more cause to thank you all, than you me: and I charge you to thank them of the House of Commons from me: for had I not received a knowledge from you, I might have fallen into the lap of an error, only for lack of true information . . . I have ever used to

set the last judgment-day before mine eyes, and so to rule as I shall be judged to answer before a higher Judge. To whose judgment-seat I do appeal, that never thought was cherished in my heart that tended not to my people's good . . . . Though you have had, and may have, many princes more mighty and wise, sitting in this seat, you never had, or shall have, any that will be more careful and loving." This was the last address of Elizabeth to the Commons of England. In March, 1603, the queen was sinking fast. She died at three o'clock in the morning of the 24th of March. On the night before, she was entreated to name a successor. Her reply was equivocal. Cecil, however, affirmed that she declared by signs that the king of Scots should succeed her; holding her hands joined over her head, in manner of a crown, when his name was mentioned.

Before ten o'clock of that day, James, king of Scotland, was proclaimed as Elizabeth's successor. Cecil, and others of the Council who were favourable to the claim of James to the English throne, were about the queen during her last illness, and lost not a moment in taking the important step of proclaiming him to the people. On the 3rd of April, James, having attended the service in the High Church of St. Giles, delivered a farewell harangue to the congregation; and on the 5th he took his departure from Edinburgh. His queen, Anne of Denmark, and his children, were left behind. During his journey of thirty-two days from Edinburgh to London, he showered the honour of knighthood on two hundred and thirty-seven gentlemen who were presented to him. The king entered London on the 7th of May. Meanwhile Elizabeth had been followed to her grave at Westminster by fifteen hundred gentlemen in mourning. Before James reached London a petition was presented to him, signed by eight hundred and twenty-five ministers from various counties, desiring the redress of ecclesiastical abuses. In the State Paper Office there is a memorial to him from the Catholics of England, imploring "the free exercise of their religion, in private if not in public, by sufferance if not with approbation."* There can be no doubt that, before the death of Elizabeth, James had promised that the Roman Catholics should be tolerated. That the king had no large views of toleration was soon evident. The coronation took place on the 25th of July, amidst the gloom and consternation of the people of London, for the plague was making the most fearful ravages in the city. Ambassadors came from the United Provinces, from the archduke of Austria, and from Henry IV., to congratulate the new king of England. To all of them James made professions of peace.

At the death of Elizabeth, the rivalry which had sprung up between Robert Cecil and Raleigh was to have its triumph, in the confirmed favour of James to the minister with whom he had for some time been in secret communication. The wily Secretary of State was far too strong for the bold Captain of the Guard. So Raleigh was deprived of his offices; and within a few months was under a charge of high treason. On the 17th November, 1603, a Special Commission was held at Winchester, the plague

* "Calendar of State Papers," edited by Mrs. Green, p. 5.

then raging in London and other parts. Sir Walter Raleigh had been indicted on the previous 21st of August, upon a charge of high treason; the overt acts alleged being that he had conferred with lord Cobham as to advancing Arabella Stuart, a near relation of the king, and descended equally from Henry VII., to the crown of England, dispossessing the king; and that it was arranged that lord Cobham should go to the king of Spain and the archduke of Austria, to obtain six hundred thousand crowns for the support of Arabella's title. Raleigh pleaded not guilty. The conduct of the Attorney-General upon this trial, was such as made even Cecil remonstrate against his unfairness. There is an account of the trial, supposed to be written by sir Thomas Overbury, in which he contrasts the conduct of Coke, behaving himself "so violently and bitterly," and using "so great provocation to the prisoner," with the calm and noble demeanour of Raleigh. The charge against Raleigh rested solely upon the accusation of lord Cobham, of which a contemporary letter-writer says, it "was no more to be weighed than the barking of a dog." Raleigh demanded that Cobham should be confronted with him. He contended that by the law of treasons two witnesses were necessary to conviction. His eloquence was unavailing. He was found guilty, and sentenced to death. Raleigh was unpopular, for he was proud; but his trial produced a complete change in the general feeling. Cobham, Grey, and Markham were also found guilty, and were brought upon the scaffold to die. After a theatrical mummery these were reprieved, and wore out long years of imprisonment. Raleigh was also reprieved, and was confined in the Tower till 1616. Those twelve years of captivity were not spent in vain repining. In his prison chamber he wrote his "History of the World"—a noble book, worthy of the man and of the days in which he had gloriously lived. The conspiracy in which Raleigh, Cobham, and Grey were accused of engaging was known as the "Main." There was at the same time another alleged conspiracy, known as "the treason of the priests," or the "Bye," the object of which was to seize the person of the king. The priests, and a man named George Brooke, were found guilty of the "Bye" plot, and were executed.

On the 14th, 15th, and 16th of January, 1604, the king summoned to Hampton Court the archbishop of Canterbury, eight bishops, five deans, and two doctors, who were to sustain the ceremonies and practices of the Church, and to oppose all innovation. To meet them, four members of the reforming party were summoned, including Dr. Reynolds, a divine of acknowledged learning and ability. James, in his insolent demeanour to these representatives of a growing party in the English Church, thought to avenge himself of the humiliation he had been occasionally compelled to endure from ministers of the Scottish Kirk. He was the chief talker in these conferences. A few alterations were made in the Common Prayer Book; and a new version of the Holy Scriptures was ordered to be undertaken.

On the 19th of March, 1604, the two Houses were assembled. In the proclamation by which the king called parliament together, he had, in his grand style of common-places, chosen to prescribe the sort of men the people were to choose for their representatives; and he proclaimed, "We

notify by these presents, that all returns and certificates of knights, citizens, and burgesses, ought and are to be brought to the Chancery, and there to be filed of record; and if any shall be found to be made contrary to this proclamation, the same is to be rejected as unlawful and insufficient, and the city or borough to be fined for the same." Sir Francis Goodwin had been returned for Buckinghamshire, in opposition to sir John Fortescue, who was favoured by the government. An outlawry had been found to have formerly hung over him; and the election of Goodwin being declared void, a new writ was issued from Chancery. The House restored Goodwin to his seat; and then James, in his impatient ignorance of the spirit of the English monarchy, told the Commons that "they derived all matters of privilege from him, and from his grant;" and that precedents were not to be credited, when derived from "the times of minors, of tyrants, of women, of simple kings." The dispute went on; and then this interpreter of the spirit of the old free monarchy of England said, "We command, as an absolute king, a conference with the judges." The matter ended by both elections being set aside. The House of Commons, before separating, made a solemn record of their opinions, and a justification of their proceedings, in an "Apology of the House of Commons made to the king, touching their Privileges." But it was not only upon the question of their privileges that the Commons were not in accord with the Crown. There had been, with the king's assent, a novel code of canons established in convocation, which aimed at excluding non-conformists from civil rights, and setting up an unconstitutional authority over the laity, as well as the clergy. The Commons, in a conference with the Lords, remonstrated against such an innovation. In the "Apology," they said to the king, "Your majesty would be misinformed if any man should deliver that the kings of England have any absolute power in themselves, either to alter religion, which God defend should be in the power of any mortal man whatsoever, or to make any laws concerning the same, otherwise than, as in temporal causes, by consent of Parliament."

During this session a parliamentary title was given to king James and his descendants by an Act for "a most joyful and just recognition of the immediate, lawful, and undoubted succession, descent, and right of the Crown." The natural and wise desire of the king for an Union of the two countries was not very cordially met; but, at length an Act was passed, appointing Commissioners to treat with the Scots upon this great question. In a petition to the king during this Session, the Commons asked for a total abolition of purveyance, which was the relic of a condition of society which had passed away. Elizabeth herself called the purveyors harpies. The evil when James came to the throne had become intolerable. This petition was not offensive to the king, for he hoped to make good terms for himself by the concession of this remnant of feudal prerogative; but nothing was done. The question of wardship was also postponed, at the desire of the House of Lords. The temper of parliament, as was the temper of the people, was favourable to the quiet rule of the new king. But it was directly opposed to his notion of a divine right, which gave him, in the exercise of his prerogative, an absolute power such as he was prompt to claim. He was told in distinct

terms that the loyalty of the people was associated with the care which the sovereign had of their welfare.

In August, 1604, a treaty of peace was concluded between James, king of England, the king of Spain, and the archdukes of Austria. The policy of the country was wholly changed in the change of its sovereign. The old friendship with the Netherlands was abandoned. The king of England engaged to give no further aid to the Hollanders, or other enemies of the king of Spain and the archdukes. The commercial treaty, which was connected with the treaty of peace, contained clauses which the Hollanders felt were to their disadvantage. Enmity was thus to spring up between the two countries in which the struggle for the Reformation had been carried on most cordially and strenuously.

Previous to the accession of James, the sovereign, in the unaltered style of ancient feudal assumption, had the title of "King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland." On the 24th of October, 1604, James was proclaimed "King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland."

CHAPTER XXII.

On the night of the 26th of October, 1605, Robert Cecil, now earl of Salisbury, was at his post at Whitehall, when a Catholic peer, lord Mounteagle, demanded an audience. A strange incident had occurred on that night, according to the communication made to the secretary of state. Lord Mounteagle had a house at Hoxton, from which he had been absent a month, when he suddenly arrived that evening to supper. "One of his footmen, whom he had sent of an errand over the street, was met by a man of a reasonable tall personage, who delivered him a letter, charging him to put it in my lord his master's hands." The letter was read aloud, in the presence of the lord's attendants. It was without date or superscription, and contained a warning to Mounteagle, "to devyse some excuse to shift of your attendance at this parleament, for god and man hathe concurred to punishe the wickednes of this tyme * * they shall receyve a terrible blowe this parleament and yet they shall not seie who hurts them; this councel is not to be contemned because it maye do yowe good and can do yowe no harme for the dangere is passed as soon as yowe have burnt the letter." The conspirators themselves attributed this warning to Francis Tresham, the brother-in-law of Mounteagle. "They were convinced that Tresham had no sooner given his consent than he repented of it, and sought to break up the plot without betraying his associates." * Thomas Winter, one of those actively concerned in the plot, had been a confidential attendant upon Mounteagle; and Thomas Ward, the man who read the letter aloud at Mounteagle's supper, went the next morning to

* Dr. Lingard's "History," vol. ix., p. 69, 8vo. edit.

Winter and urged him to fly. A man of the name of Thomas Coe appears to have previously made a communication to Salisbury, which conveyed "the primary intelligence of these late dangerous treasons." The wariness with which Salisbury conducted his operations from the moment that Mounteagle came to him, completely threw the conspirators off their guard, even when they knew that the letter to Mounteagle was in the hands of the vigilant minister. When the king came to London, the secretary presented to him the ominous letter which he had then had six days in his possession. The official "Discourse of the Manner of the Discovery of the late intended Treason," claims for James the right interpretation of the riddle, "For the danger is passed as soon as you have burnt the letter." The king read the mysterious sentence thus :— The danger is to be sudden and quick—"as quickly performed and at an end, as that paper should be a blazing up in the fire." Thence, held the king, according to the "Discourse," it should be "by a blowing-up of powder." On Monday, the 4th of November, the lord chamberlain, with a party, of whom lord Mounteagle was one, entered the vaults under the parliament chamber. They observed a large store of coals and wood in a cellar ; and standing carelessly there they saw "a very tall and desperate fellow." The lord chamberlain asked who the fuel belonged to : and the man answered that they belonged to his master, Mr. Percy, who had rented the cellar for a year and a half. A little before midnight on the eve of the 5th of November, a Westminster magistrate, with a strong body of attendants, repaired to the cellar under the parliament house. A man just stepping out of the door was seized and searched. Slow matches and touchwood were found upon him ; and a lantern, with a light within its dark covering, was in the cellar. The heaps of billets were quickly removed, and beneath them were thirty-six barrels of gunpowder. The prisoner was led to Whitehall. A council was hastily assembled in the king's bed-chamber. The resolute man was beset with hurried interrogatories by king and peers. His name he said was John Johnson ; he was a servant of Thomas Percy ; if he had not been apprehended that night, he had blown up the parliament house, when the king, peers, bishops, and others had been assembled. The night was passed in the examination of the prisoner ; but nothing could be obtained from him that could commit his accomplices. In the morning he was taken to the Tower. Two of the conspirators had left London on the 4th. Two others fled the instant they knew that the pretended servant of Percy was seized. Two more lingered till the morning. It had been arranged that a general rendezvous should take place at Dunchurch, on the 5th of November, after the great act of vengeance should have been accomplished in London. A party was collected on the 5th at the house of lady Catesby, at Ashby St. Legers, when the five who had fled from London rushed in. Taking with them all the arms they could collect, they rode off to Dunchurch. Here they found a large assembly, with sir Everard Digby at their head. On that night the chief conspirators were left alone. Robert Catesby, Thomas Winter, and John Wright "first devised the plot, and were the chief directors of all the particularities of it." He who called himself John Johnson, but was compelled by torture to disclose his real name of Guido

Fawkes, was the son of a notary of York, who was registrar of the consistory court of the cathedral. Guido was brought up as a Protestant, at the free school there. He became, however, a zealous Papist. Guido Fawkes and Thomas Winter came to London together in 1604; and a few days after there was a remarkable meeting between Catesby, Wright, Winter, Fawkes, and a new malcontent, Thomas Percy, a relation of the earl of Northumberland. These fanatics gave each other an oath of secrecy, "in a chamber where no other body was;" and, going "into the next room, heard mass, and received the blessed sacrament upon the same." The object for which the oath was taken was then disclosed by Catesby to Percy, and by Winter and Wright to Fawkes. They hired a house next the parliament-house, of which Fawkes received the keys. But the parliament was prorogued to February, 1605; so they departed to the country for awhile. They then took another house at Lambeth, "where," said Winter in his confession, "we might make provision of powder and wood for the mine, which being there made ready, should in a night be conveyed by boat to the house by the parliament, because we were loth to foil that with often going in and out." The charge of this Lambeth house was given to Robert Keyes. A fortnight before Christmas, Percy and Wright joined Catesby, Winter, and Fawkes; and these five gentlemen, delicately nurtured, began their work. They had to get through a stone wall three yards in thickness. Their labour was far beyond what they had expected; and they sent to Lambeth for Keyes, and obtained the adhesion to their plot of Christopher Wright, the brother of John. These men were enthusiasts. They had little sense of fatigue, in the confidence that they were engaged in a holy work to which they were called by the immediate voice of heaven. They were all followers of the Jesuits. In February, 1605, they obtained possession of a cellar immediately under the parliament chamber. This was quickly filled with barrels of gunpowder, covered over with faggots and billets. In May all their stores were carried in, and, locking the cellar, they departed from London. Fawkes went to Flanders to see if any foreign plotting looked promising. Catesby employed the summer in raising a troop of horse, for service in Flanders, as a part of an English regiment levied by the Spanish ambassador. This troop was officered by Catesby's immediate friends. The conspiracy widened by the introduction to its secrets of sir Everard Digby, Ambrose Rookwood, and Francis Tresham. Digby was only twenty-four years of age, and was evidently a weak tool of the Jesuits, whom he secreted in his house. Rookwood was also a young man, who had been repeatedly prosecuted for harbouring priests. Tresham was the cousin of Catesby, and had taken a prominent part in the Essex conspiracy, when he very narrowly escaped arraignment and execution. When, after the seizure of Fawkes, the more timid adherents to the conspiracy had departed, and left the bolder spirits to their own resolves, these daring confederates determined at once to march with their armed retainers, in the hope to excite a general insurrection of Roman Catholics in the midland counties, and in Wales. They set out from Dunchurch at ten o'clock on that same night of the 5th, having despatched a letter to the Jesuit Garnet, who was in the neighbourhood with sir Everard Digby's

family. They marched through Warwick, where they helped themselves to horses, on to Alcester; and having seized some armour at lord Windsor's, on Wednesday night they had reached Holbeach, the house of Stephen Littleton, one of their friends. Their numbers were gradually diminished by desertion. Not one man joined them. The conspirators were pursued by the sheriff of Worcestershire with his *posse comitatus*. Digby fled from them at Holbeach, and was seized at Dudley; for the hue and cry had gone through the country. Those who remained at Holbeach prepared to defend the house against assault. Several of them were killed in the conflict which ensued, and the rest were taken prisoners.

Previous to the trial of the principal conspirators who remained alive, there had been twenty-three days occupied in various examinations; during which the general progress of the conspiracy had been slowly extracted from the confessions of the prisoners. Treshan was not arrested till the 12th of November, and he died in the Tower before the trial. It was the great object of the government to obtain evidence that would inculpate the Jesuit missionaries. All the conspirators, with the exception of Thomas Bates, a servant of Catesby, persisted in denying the privity of the Jesuits to the enterprise. In the indictment, Henry Garnet, clerk, of the profession of Jesuits, otherwise called Henry Walley; Oswald Tesmond, otherwise called Oswald Greenway and Oswald Fermour, of the aforesaid profession; and John Gerrard, otherwise called John Brooke, also of the same profession, are included as principals with the other conspirators. A proclamation was issued for their apprehension on the 15th of January. Tesmond, more commonly mentioned as Greenway, and Gerrard, escaped beyond sea.

The trial of Robert and Thomas Winter, Guido Fawkes, John Grant, Ambrose Rookwood, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, took place in Westminster Hall, on the 27th of January, 1606, before a Special Commission. They all pleaded "not guilty," although each of them had been brought to acknowledge the chief facts set forth in the indictment. Fawkes and the others were necessarily condemned, and sentenced to the penalties of treason. Sir Everard Digby was tried and found guilty at Northampton. They were all executed on the Thursday and Friday following the 27th of January. Garnet was discovered in concealment at Hendlip House, near Worcester. He was examined before the Privy Council on the 13th of February, and the examination was often repeated. But no blandishments and no threats could induce him to confess his participation in the plot. Evidence of some kind was obtained by stratagem, and Garnet at length acknowledged that the design of blowing up the house of parliament on the first day of the Session had been revealed to him by Greenway, who had received it in confession from Catesby and Wright. He maintained, however, that he had endeavoured to turn Catesby from his purpose. The trial of Garnet took place on the 28th of March. He defended himself with ability and courage. He was found guilty, and received the usual sentence for treason. After his condemnation his examinations were renewed. He was condemned on the 28th of March, and was not executed till the 3rd of May. Another Jesuit, Oldcorne, *alias* Hall, had been tried

at Worcester, and was executed on the 7th of April. The parliament, which was to have met on the 5th of November, 1605, was prorogued to the 21st of January, 1606. In this parliament it was enacted that all Roman Catholics who had been convicted of recusancy, and all who had not received the sacrament twice in twelve months in a Protestant church, were also required to take an oath of allegiance. In this oath, the pretended power of the pope to absolve subjects from their obedience was to be expressly renounced. In spite of the threatenings of the pope, many of the Catholic clergy, and all the Catholic peers with one exception, accepted this test of their obedience to the civil government.

In addition to his own inordinate expenses, the sums which James bestowed upon his minions would appear incredible if their amount did not rest upon the most trustworthy authority. His early favourites were needy Scotsmen who had followed the court to England. His folly in this costly favouritism provoked the indignation of the House of Commons, and was one of the main causes that his laudable anxiety for a perfect Union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland was constantly defeated. The prodigality of the king was carried to such an extent, that the government was precipitated into dangerous courses to find the means of its gratification. According to the practice of the Plantagenets, an aid was asked of the subject when the king's eldest son was knighted. James levied this tax when prince Henry was created prince of Wales in 1610,—although the prince was justly popular, the tax was paid with great repinings.

The colonisation of North America was still the hope of generous statesmen and bold mariners. Voyage after voyage was undertaken. Bartholomew Gosnold, having been the first to cross the Atlantic by a direct course in 1602, discovered the promontory to which he gave no dignified name, Cape Cod; and he laid the foundation of the first New England colony on Elizabeth island. Martin Pring, in 1603, surveyed the coast of Maine. George Weymouth, in 1605, ascended the western branch of the Penobscot. In 1606, James granted the first Charters for colonising North America, to a London Company, and to a Plymouth Company. That same year, the London or South Virginia Company sent out three ships, with one hundred and five men who were to remain as settlers. A storm drove these adventurers into the magnificent anchorage of Chesapeake Bay. The two headlands were named Cape Henry and Cape Charles; and having ascended a fine river which they named after their king, they planted their colony in a pleasant spot, and called it James Town. Newport, the commander of the ships, and James Smith, ascended the James river, and saw the Indian chieftain, Powhatan. The savages were hostile to the strangers: "the emperor of the country," as Powhatan was styled, protected them. But gradually the colonists, unused to manual labour, perished of want and disease. Newport left for England. Some of the leaders had serious contentions. But Smith, who was endowed with many of the high qualities of the Elizabethan age, rallied the hopes of the dispirited, and calmed the jealousies of the quarrelsome. His fortitude never failed. He explored the interior. He constructed a map of the country, which is still in existence. He established a communication with native tribes. A second body of emigrants came to join the

Virginian colony. A new Charter was granted in 1609. The rage for emigration extended. Other ships arrived, with men of broken fortunes and dissolute gallants. Smith still maintained his authority over the useless members of the community. But he was disabled by an accident, and he returned impoverished and enfeebled to England. The settlement was about to be abandoned when, in 1610, a new body of emigrants arrived under the leadership of lord Delaware, who had been appointed governor of Virginia. There was again a glimmering of prosperity; but ill-health compelled the return of the wise governor to England. In 1611 the Council at home exerted itself to prevent the great scheme of American colonisation from utterly failing; and six ships, with three hundred emigrants and abundant supplies, arrived at James Town, under sir Thomas Gates. A distribution of land to each emigrant as his private property gave a new stimulus to industry. The colony prospered. Its members found more certain riches than mines of gold, in the cultivation of tobacco. Their prosperity was confirmed by their free institutions. Indian tribes submitted to the settlers. The congregation of separatists from the Church of England, who, with their pastor John Robinson, had become exiles in Holland in 1608, had thought much of the settlements in North America. They had obtained a patent from the London Company, and they raised funds, on very hard terms, from London merchants. They purchased the Speedwell, a vessel of forty tons: and hired the Mayflower, of a hundred and eighty tons. On the 22nd of July, 1620, having left some of the brethren at Leyden, they embarked at Delft-Haven. After a long and stormy voyage, they reached the northern shores of Virginia in November. On the 11th of December, an exploring party landed in Massachusetts Bay, at a spot which they afterwards determined to call Plymouth.

On the last day of the sixteenth century a Charter was granted by Queen Elizabeth to a body of adventurers, styled "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies." During the reign of Elizabeth the success of the new company was very doubtful. Their privileges were invaded by James at the beginning of his reign. But in 1609 their Charter was renewed without limitation of time; several voyages were attended with large profits; and in 1612, the Englishman planted his foot in India, having obtained permission from the Great Mogul to establish a factory at Surat. In 1615 an English ambassador, sir Thomas Roe, was sent to the court of Agra; and there he was resident till 1619.

The House of Commons had stood up, session after session, to protest against the theories of the king that he was absolute; and to make him comprehend that there was a power superior to his arbitrary will. Whenever the king wanted a subsidy, the Commons immediately preferred a petition for redress of grievances. In November, 1610, James had become tired of the word grievance. He would dissolve parliament. He had been patient, but "he cannot have asinine patience." He was for punishing those members who had uttered offensive speeches, some of which he thought amounted nearly to treason.* The parliament was dissolved on

* "Calendar of State Papers."

the 9th of February, 1611, after having sat nearly seven years. In the first session of 1610, the Treasurer had communicated to the Lords the intelligence of the murder of Henry IV. of France. Cecil said that this king was an assured friend to their sovereign and to this realm; and an especial defence and wall between the reformed religion and its opponents in Christendom. England had now no foreign policy, but that of an almost ignominious neutrality. The cause of Protestantism in Europe, which was at the same time the cause of civil liberty, had lost its great leader when Elizabeth died. For the rights of conscience James had not the slightest regard. He exhorted the States of Holland to persecute Vorstius, an Arminian professor at Leyden. In 1612 he signed a writ for the burning in Smithfield of Bartholomew Legate, an Arian, whose errors he had vainly attempted to remove by argument.

In Ireland the great bulk of the people still clung to the Roman Catholic worship. They were met by a stricter execution of the laws against recusants and priests, as far as juries could be found to enforce them. In the meantime much had been done to bring the whole of the kingdom under the dominion of one system of law. The possession of lands by the chieftains was regulated according to English tenures; and the tenants were relieved from many of the exactions of their lords. The great chieftains, Tyrone and Tyrconnel, had submitted to the government of James, and had been graciously received at the English court. But in 1607 they suddenly departed from Ireland, with their families. They had embarked in treasonable schemes which they had no power to carry through. Tyrone became a pensioner of Spain and of the pope, and died in 1616 at Rome. The two earls having been attainted of treason and outlawed, their lands, to the extent of five hundred thousand acres, were forfeited to the crown. It is to the honour of the government of James that this opportunity was judiciously employed in accomplishing what is called "the plantation of Ulster." The lord-deputy, sir Arthur Chichester, carried through this project with great energy and prudence. The scheme soon became mixed up with a manœuvre to put some money into the royal treasury. A new title of honour, intermediate between a baron and a knight, was to be bestowed upon two hundred gentlemen possessing lands to the yearly value of 1000*l.*; and they were each to pay into the treasury for the patent the sum of 1095*l.*, being the estimated cost of thirty soldiers to defend the settlers in Ulster for three years. The project took to a certain extent. In ten years ninety-three patents of baronetcy were sold; but the price paid for them was employed in other purposes than the military protection of the colony. King James, to award him no more than justice, was favourably disposed to any large enterprise of public improvement; always provided that it offered him a chance of personal gain. We are indebted to him in some degree, for a benefit which London enjoys to this day—the supply of pure water by the New River.

If James had died childless, Arabella Stuart would have been the lineal heir to the crown. During the reign of Elizabeth she was occasionally at court. After the accession of James she appears to have been in much favour. In 1610 it was discovered that William Seymour, the second son of lord Beauchamp, was endeavouring to gain the lady Arabella as his

wife. They were brought before the Council, and protested that they never intended marrying without the king's consent. In a few months they were privately married. The husband was sent to the Tower; the wife was placed in official custody. On the 3rd of June, 1611, she fled from Highgate, disguised as a man. Seymour meanwhile had escaped from the Tower, also in disguise. Arabella was captured on board a French bark by an English pinnace that had been sent in chase of the fugitives; and she was carried to the Tower. Seymour escaped to Ostend. The jealousy of King James would never permit him to show any mercy to his unhappy cousin. She died in the fourth year of her imprisonment, worn out with a grief which ended in mental derangement.

In May, 1612, died Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury. "He was a good statesman, and no ill member of the Commonwealth," says sir Simonds D'Ewes; but he died amidst "a general hate, almost of all sorts." Robert Carr succeeded Cecil, not as prime minister; but he was all-powerful as prime favourite. Before the death of Cecil, the king's minions had not ostensibly influenced public affairs. For four years after that minister's death, Carr ruled supreme. In 1613 he married the divorced wife of the young earl of Essex. The odious circumstances which attended the divorce of lady Essex, that she might be bestowed upon Carr, then created earl of Somerset, brought equal disgrace upon the king who urged the divorce, and upon the Ecclesiastical Court which decreed it.

On the 6th of November, 1612, Prince Henry, then in his nineteenth year, died, after a short illness. There was an outcry that he had been poisoned. The popularity of the prince, who was an especial hope of the strict religious section of the nation, was offensive to the king; and between Henry and Somerset there was decided enmity. But whatever might be the cause of prince Henry's death, his father lost no time in grief. There had been a negotiation for marrying Henry to a princess of France; and within three days of his death Rochester directed our ambassador, who had the decency not then to propound the matter, to make overtures for the marriage of the same princess to the king's remaining son, Charles. Henry was buried at Westminster on the 7th of December, and on the 14th of February following, the princess Elizabeth was married at Whitehall to Frederick, the elector palatine. The king again demanded a feudal aid on this occasion, as he had demanded one when his eldest son was created prince of Wales. From the twelfth child of the princess Elizabeth the House of Brunswick inherits the crown of this kingdom. The parliament which, after an interval of four years, met on the 6th of April, 1614, was called, not for any purpose of general legislation, but in the expectation that by proper management it might relieve the king's necessities. Bacon, then attorney-general, sir Henry Neville, and some others, undertook to bring the Commons into a gracious frame of mind, by inducing the king to relax some of his claims of prerogative, which were called grievances, and thus to obtain a liberal supply. The scheme could not be concealed; and hence these politicians obtained the name of "undertakers." The scheme of the undertakers was entirely unsuccessful. James uttered smooth words and made specious promises; but the Com-

mons, with one voice, passed a vote against the king's right of imposing customs at the outports, without the consent of parliament. A supply was demanded, under a threat that if it were not given the parliament should be dissolved. The house passed to the question of impositions. There were various bills in progress. After a session of two months of stormy debate, the parliament was dissolved, without a single bill being passed. No other parliament was called till 1621. The king had to supply his necessities by fines in the Star-chamber, and by exercises of the prerogative which were galling and oppressive. His first great resource was a Benevolence. By the death of the earl of Northampton, within a week of the dissolution of parliament, the office of Lord Privy Seal having become vacant, the king and his courtiers had an opportunity for a scramble to recruit their finances. Some of the high offices were sold. Sir Fulk Greville paid 4000*l.* for the chancellorship of the exchequer. Inferior places went to the highest bidder. George Villiers, one of the sons of a Leicestershire knight, who became cup-bearer, was a dangerous rival to Somerset, who sold him the office. In a few weeks, says Clarendon, he mounted higher, "and, being knighted, without any other qualification, he was at the same time made gentleman of the bedchamber, and knight of the order of the garter; and in a short time, he was made a baron, a viscount, an earl, a marquis, and became lord high admiral of England, lord warden of the cinque-ports, master of the horse, and entirely disposed of all the graces of the king, in conferring all the honours and all the offices of three kingdoms without a rival."

The marriage of the earl of Somerset with the divorced lady Essex, on St. Stephen's day, 1613, had been preceded by the death in the Tower of Somerset's friend, sir Thomas Overbury. In less than two years, sir Ralph Winwood, the secretary of state, was labouring to discover the suspected murderers of sir Thomas Overbury. Suspicion pointing to the once favourite of the king—of whom, according to Clarendon, his majesty "begun to be weary"—all the state machinery was put in action to bring the murder home to the instigators and the perpetrators. Coke, the lord chief justice, is stated by Bacon to have taken three hundred examinations. On the 19th of October, on the 9th of November, and on the 16th of November, 1615, Richard Weston, James Franklin, Anne Turner, and sir Jervis Elvis, were arraigned and condemned at Guildhall, and were executed. The countess of Somerset was committed to the Tower, where she gave birth to a daughter; and her husband was also committed. On the 24th of May, 1616, the countess was arraigned before the peers. She pleaded guilty, and was sentenced to death. The motive which induced her to be accessory to this crime was set forth by the chief justice in a report to the king. The examinations, he said, disclosed that lady Francis, countess of Essex, had employed sorcery for the double purpose of estranging the affections of her husband and winning those of Rochester; that Overbury, who had exhorted Somerset not to think of a divorce for the wife of Essex, to be followed by his own marriage, was, through the management of the deceased earl of Northampton, committed to the Tower; that Wade, the lieutenant of the Tower, was removed to make room for Elvis; that Weston was recommended as warder of the prisoner; that the countess, by the aid of Mrs.

Turner, procured poisons from Franklin; and that by Weston they were administered, with the connivance of Elvis.

The earl of Somerset was put on his trial on the day after his countess had confessed her guilt. He was convicted; and was sentenced to die. In a few days his wife received a free pardon, which was afterwards extended to himself. He obtained a large pension; and only lost his great offices. Somerset's trial was undoubtedly so managed by Bacon "as to prevent him making any imprudent disclosure, or the judges from getting any insight into that which it was not meant to reveal."* That Somerset was guilty of being accessory to the murder of Overbury is very little to be doubted. That the murder was for the concealment of some terrible secret can as little be questioned. How far James was implicated in these dark affairs, is one of the mysteries which were involved in the death of Overbury. But that the king had great fears of what Somerset might reveal is sufficiently proved in a remarkable account given by sir A. Weldon, in a little book entitled, "The Court and Character of King James," which, he says, "is the very relation" of More, the lieutenant of the Tower, in the room of Elvis. Weldon's account is confirmed by four letters to More in the handwriting of King James, which were published in 1835.

The conduct of sir Edward Coke upon these Somerset trials was probably not such as won the favour of the king, especially if an expression which he is said to have used during the proceedings be authentically stated. It was: "God knows what became of that sweet babe prince Henry, but I know somewhat." The chief justice was not so inclined to sustain the prerogative as some of his brother justices. In 1615 Coke opposed his legal knowledge to the preliminary proceedings in a detestable act of tyranny. Edmund Peachum, a clergyman in Somersetshire, had his study broken open; and a manuscript sermon being there found, in which there was strong censure of the extravagances of the king and the oppressions of his officers, the preacher was put to the rack, and interrogated "before torture, in torture, between torture, and after torture." He was suspected of treason; but this horrible severity could wring no confession from him. The unhappy man was, however, tried and condemned; but he died in gaol. Coke's greatest offence was in demurring to the authority of a letter which Bacon had written at the king's desire, to direct that the Court of King's Bench should not proceed to judgment in a case which concerned the validity of the grant of a benefice to a bishop, in connexion with his bishopric. Coke was very shortly after first suspended from his office, and then dismissed.

In 1618, the great religious body termed Puritans were offended by a proclamation that all lawful recreations, such as dancing, archery, leaping, May-games, might be used on Sundays after divine service. They associated this injudicious measure with the king's visit to Scotland to enforce episcopacy upon a reluctant people.

Sir Walter Raleigh had been a prisoner in the Tower somewhat more than twelve years. To a man of such activity of mind even imprisonment

* "Constitutional History," vol. i., p. 353, note.

would not be unhappiness. His wife was permitted to dwell with him. He had access to the Lieutenant's garden. But in the midst of the tranquil studies, and useful diversions which occupied him, the dream of a gold-mine in Guiana never ceased to haunt his imagination. At length he obtained permission to employ the liberty which was promised to be granted to him, through the mediation of Villiers, in again attempting to work the gold mine in the existence of which he firmly believed. When he was released from his prison on the 20th of March, 1616, he risked in this scheme all he possessed in the world. James stipulated for a share of the profits of the enterprise. Raleigh got together a squadron of fourteen vessels, and he set sail on the 28th of March, 1617, having received a commission by which he was constituted general and commander of the expedition, and governor of the country. The outward voyage was unpropitious. There was sickness in the ships, of which many of the voyagers died. They landed in Guiana on the 12th of November; and on the 14th Raleigh wrote in a hopeful spirit to his wife. But in a short time he began to have glimpses of the treacherous nature of the sovereign in whose name he had gone forth to "make new nations." James had obtained from him the most minute details of his plans; and the king had communicated them to Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, who had sent them to his court at Madrid. The king's commander had been promised a free passage through the country. He found it fortified against him. He was himself weak from sickness, and was obliged to be carried in a litter. He sent his faithful follower, Captain Keymis, to sail up the Orinoco with a part of the squadron in the direction of the mine. Keymis landed in the night near the Spanish town of Santa Thome, near the mine. The Spaniards attacked his encampment; and a battle ensued. After much slaughter, the English drove back their assailants to the town; and the Spaniards coming out in fresh force, the son of Raleigh was killed. The governor of the town, a kinsman of Gondomar, also fell. The English burnt Santa Thome, in which they found refining houses, and two ingots of gold. But the passes to the mine were defended by too strong a force to enable Keymis to accompliah the great object of the expedition. When he returned with his diminished crew, the reproaches of his commander led the unfortunate man to commit suicide. The great spirit of Raleigh was crushed. He saw nothing before him but reproach and danger. He conducted his fleet, with mutinous crews, to Newfoundland, and then sailed homeward. Two friends, the earls of Pembroke and Arundel, had pledged their honour for his return, and he would not be a cause of trouble to them. Gondomar was now supreme at the English court, negotiating a marriage between prince Charles and the infanta of Spain. The destiny of Raleigh was in the hands of the malignant Spaniard and the revengeful king. Raleigh was arrested at Plymouth; and after some stratagems to escape to France, and to obtain delay, having feigned madness, he was conducted to his old prison of the Tower. He was examined before commissioners, upon the charge that he fraudulently pretended that he went to discover a mine, when his real object was to make a piratical attack upon the Spaniah settlements. He denied these charges with constancy and boldness. It was determined at length that the prisoner should be

executed under his former sentence, by a writ of privy seal directed to the judges. But they held that their warrant for execution could not be issued, after so long a time had elapsed since the judgment, without bringing up the prisoner to plead. Raleigh, suffering under an ague, was brought on the 24th and again on the 28th of October to the King's Bench at Westminster. Execution was granted. Raleigh asked for a little delay to settle his affairs and his mind. He was brought out of his prison the next morning to die upon the scaffold, in the Old Palace Yard at Westminster. The end of this heroic man was worthy of the last of Elizabeth's heroes.

The execution of Raleigh took place at a time of extraordinary excitement in connection with foreign events. Bohemia had been in insurrection upon a question of the possession of some lands of the church which were held by Catholics; and the quarrel was under arbitration at the instance of the emperor Mathias when he died. Mathias was also king of Bohemia; and the archduke Ferdinand was chosen emperor. He had been recognised as successor to the throne of Bohemia; but he was a determined zealot of Catholicism; and the Bohemians, who held that their crown was elective, offered it to the Elector Palatine, who had been one of the arbitrators to settle the difference which had led to their insurrection. Frederic, after some hesitation, accepted the dangerous promotion, and was crowned at Prague, in November, 1619. The resolve was the signal for a general array of hostile forces throughout Europe. The Protestants of England were roused to an enthusiasm which had been repressed for years. Volunteers were ready to go forth full of zeal for the support of the Elector. James was professing an ardent desire to Protestant deputies to assist his son-in-law; and at the same time vowing to the Spanish ambassador that the alliance with his Catholic master, which was to be cemented by the marriage of prince Charles to the infanta, was the great desire of his heart. At length the Catholic powers entered the Palatinate; and the cry to arm was so loud amongst the English and the Scotch, that James reluctantly marshalled a force of four thousand volunteers, not to support his son-in-law upon the throne of Bohemia, but to assist in defending his hereditary dominions. The scanty assistance came too late. Frederic was defeated by the Austrians at Prague, on the 7th of November, 1620, which decisive battle entirely destroyed his slight tenure of power in Bohemia. He was very shortly after driven from the Palatinate, which was handed over to the tender mercies of the conquerors. The union of the Protestant princes was broken up. During the excitement of this conflict, James issued a proclamation forbidding any of his subjects to discourse of state-matters, either foreign or domestic. The Spanish ambassador, who dwelt in the bishop of Ely's house in Holborn, was obliged to have a guard of soldiers to protect him; and "when he passed at any time through London in his horse-litter, many were the curses and execrations the people bestowed upon him."

The parliament of 1621 was in no complacent mood. They gave the king a small subsidy in return for unusually gracious speeches; and then went boldly about the redress of grievances. They revived the use of the terrible word "impeachment," which had gone out of men's mouths for

nearly two centuries. Monopolists were the first attacked with this constitutional weapon. Yelverton, the attorney-general, was connected with the prevailing corruption, and when detected denounced Villiers as his enemy. The judge of the Prerogative Court was impeached for venality; and the bishop of Llandaff for being accessory to a matter of bribery. Upon the highest branch of this rotten tree sat Francis Bacon, viscount St. Alban's, the great lord chancellor. He was charged by the Commons, before the Lords, with twenty-two acts of bribery and corruption. He attempted no defence. He saw that the court would not shield him, even if it had the power. He made a distinct confession in writing of the charges brought against him; and when a deputation from the Peers asked if that confession was his own voluntary act, he replied, "It is my act, my hand, my heart. O my lords, spare a broken reed." The sentence of the parliament was that the viscount St. Alban's, late lord chancellor, be fined 40,000*l.*; be imprisoned in the Tower during the king's pleasure; be made incapable to bear office in the commonwealth, to sit in parliament, or to come within the verge of the court. The king remitted the fine, and released the fallen man after an imprisonment of a few days. The House was in a fever about the Palatinate; and when it became known that a Roman Catholic barrister, Edward Floyd, had expressed his joy that "goodman Palsgrave and goodwife Palsgrave" had been driven from Prague, they went beyond their powers in passing a heavy sentence upon the unhappy man without hearing him. He appealed to the king, denying the accusation against him. He was then arraigned before the Lords, who confirmed the sentence, with additional severities. Whipping, which was a part of this sentence, was remitted on the motion of prince Charles. Floyd underwent the other unjust punishment,—to pay a fine of 5000*l.*, and to be imprisoned for life.

The court had manifested no zeal about the question of the Palatinate; but the Commons made a solemn protestation, which was entered in the journals, that they would spend their lives and fortunes in the defence of their religion, and of the cause of the Elector. The Houses met again, after an interval of five months, on the 20th of November. It was announced that troops had been sent for the defence of the Palatinate under sir Horace Vere. The Commons voted a small subsidy, which was totally inadequate to any vigorous exertions. The clamour for warlike operations was not seconded by any liberality which could rouse James to exertion. The parliament had no confidence in a king who shuddered at a drawn sword.

Spain had agreed to co-operate in an attack upon Algiers, to suppress the outrages of the Barbary pirates; but she sent a very insufficient force to join the English flag. James directed the commander of his fleet, sir James Mansell, not to risk his ships. The Algerines, having had only a few boats burnt, defended their harbour, and Mansell came home with nothing achieved. The English merchantmen were now the prey of the African pirates, and the country bitterly complained of the national losses and the national dishonour. When the parliament re-assembled, it was in no conciliating humour. Lords Essex and Oxford had returned from the Palatinate, and proclaimed that the country of the Elector and the

Protestant cause were lost for want of timely aid. The Commons drew up a petition, prepared by Coke, against the growth of popery, urging that prince Charles should marry one of his own religion, and that the king should turn his attention towards that power which had first carried on the war in the Palatinate. That power was Spain. James had heard of this motion, and he anticipated the receipt of the petition by sending a violent letter to the Speaker, commanding the House not to meddle with any matter which concerned his government, or the mysteries of state. On the 18th of December, 1621, the Commons deliberately recorded their opinions as to their privileges in a memorable protestation, in which great men were concerned—Coke, Pym, Selden. Eminent peers, for almost the first time in the history of the country, took part with the Commons against the Crown. The king dissolved the parliament, and imprisoned the earl of Oxford, and the leading members of the Commons. He then again resorted to a Benevolence.

James went on with his Spanish negotiation in utter defiance of the public feeling. In February, 1623, London was startled with the extraordinary news that the prince of Wales, and Villiers, now marquis of Buckingham, had gone off privately for Madrid. The negotiation for the marriage with the Spanish princess had been nearly concluded by the earl of Bristol, a special ambassador to the court of the young King Philip IV., the brother of the infanta. A dispensation from the Pope was only waited for; and James had himself written to his Holiness to urge the favour. He promised all sorts of toleration; and to give an earnest of his disposition, suddenly released from prison a large number of Popish recusants, to the great anger of the Puritans. The motives for the strange proceeding of the prince and the favourite remain a mystery. Charles took the name of John Smith, and the marquis was Thomas Smith. They reached Paris, and in their disguise had a peep at the court, and saw the princess Henrietta Maria, the lady whose good or evil destiny to be the future queen of England overruled that of the Spanish princess. On the 7th of March, they arrived at Madrid. The prince and his companion were seven months absent from England. To attempt to follow out the course of the intrigues that took place during this period, would be far beyond our limits. After a long course of deceit either to the court of Spain or to the people of England, or to both, Charles and Buckingham returned home. The ministers of Spain had interposed many vexatious delays whilst Charles was at Madrid, and had attempted to take advantage of his presence. The marriage-treaty was broken off, and there was universal rejoicing. Parliament met on the 19th of February, 1624. The king was all graciousness. It was resolved that a grant to the extent of £300,000 should be made, for the specific purpose of recovering the Palatinate; and the war was thus necessarily a war against Spain, united as she was with the other branch of the house of Austria in holding the dominions of the Elector and in endeavouring to destroy Protestantism in Europe. In this session of three months a great good was sought to be accomplished by the passing of a statute which declared all monopolies to be contrary to law, and all such grants to be void. In this last parliament of James, the Commons impeached Cranfield earl of Middlesex, lord treasurer of Eng-

land, for bribery and other misdemeanours. He was convicted, after a trial before the Peers, conducted by managers on the part of the Commons; was fined £50,000; and was declared incapable of sitting in parliament. Buckingham's jealousy of the lord treasurer's power is held to have contributed to this result. An army of 12,000 men was raised in England for the service of the Elector Palatine. Half the number were lost from sickness by being embarked in foul and crowded ships; and their commander, Count Mansfeldt, was not strong enough to undertake any offensive operations.

In March, 1625, King James was taken ill at Theobalds. He died on the 27th of that month, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and in the twenty-third year of his reign.

CHAPTER XXIII.

CHARLES I. was proclaimed king on the day of his father's death. We are told that "the face of the court was much changed in the change of the king;" that the grossnesses of the court of James grew out of fashion.* From the first, Charles exhibited himself as "temperate, chaste, and serious."† The personal demeanour of the king compelled a corresponding outward show in the courtiers. But Buckingham was still the first in power, and the administration of government was unaltered. The marriage of Charles with the princess Henrietta Maria of France had been arranged by a treaty in the previous reign; and it was concluded by proxy even before James was laid in the tomb at Westminster. The young queen arrived at Dover on the 12th of June. On the 18th the parliament was opened by the king. Although the bonfires had been lighted in London for the king's marriage, the union with a Roman Catholic princess was in itself offensive; and Charles had given indications of concessions to the papists which were distinctly opposed to the existing laws. The popularity of Buckingham was fast passing away. Time had revealed the concessions which had been made to Rome in the negotiations for the Spanish marriage, and the people had learnt that concessions as strong had been made that Charles might wed this French lady. Henrietta brought twenty-nine priests in her train; and mass was celebrated at the palace on Sundays and saints' days.

In the House of Commons were the old opponents of the absolute kingship of James. When a supply was asked, they came to the hated question of unredressed grievances. They granted a very limited subsidy; and would only vote tonnage and poundage for one year. The plague was raging in London, and the parliament was adjourned to Oxford. When the king grew importunate for more supplies, the Commons complained of the

* Mrs. Hutchinson. † Ibid.

mismanagement of public affairs. An abrupt dissolution took place on the 12th of August.

Seven ships had been sent to the king of France, under pretence of serving against Austria; but they were employed against the French Protestants who were defending themselves at La Rochelle. When Frenchmen were taken on board, the English sailors deserted. To counteract the disgrace of this transaction, a great fleet was to be fitted out against Spain. Writs were issued under the privy seal, demanding loans from private persons. By these and other arbitrary means, a fleet of eighty sail was dispatched from the Downs in October, under vague instructions to intercept the Spanish treasure-ships, and to land an army on the coast of Spain. The command of this armament was given to a landsman, lord Wimbledon. The ten thousand English troops accomplished nothing, and a contagious disease breaking out, some thousands of the men died.

A new parliament met on the 6th of February, 1626. Committees were appointed in both houses; and they traced the disgrace of the national flag, and the corruptions of the time, to Buckingham. When supplies were demanded, the Commons again required redress of wrongs. The king threatened that if they did not hasten for his supply it would be worse for themselves. The Commons locked their doors; and after a long deliberation resolved upon the impeachment of Buckingham. The business was committed to eight managers. The most eloquent man in the house, sir John Eliot, discharged his duty of summing up the charges, with a boldness that must have been appalling. He was instantly arrested, as well as sir Dudley Digges, who had opened the charges. The house refused to proceed to any business whilst their privileges were thus violated. Digges made some submission and was speedily released. Eliot refused any compromise. After eight days' confinement in the Tower, he again took his place in the house. The king, with the impeachment hanging over the head of Buckingham, commanded the University of Cambridge to elect the obnoxious minister to its Chancellorship, then vacant. There was a spirited resistance to this ill-timed act of power; but the election of the duke was carried by a small majority. Buckingham had replied to the articles of impeachment; and had expressed his wish for a regular trial. The king interposed, and sent a peremptory message to the Commons, demanding a supply without condition. They drew up a remonstrance; and being suddenly summoned to the House of Peers, they found commissioners of the Crown assembled to dissolve the parliament. The king was on no better terms with the Lords than with the Commons. He had caused the earl of Arundel to be arrested, during the sitting of parliament, for some private offence. The Lords asserted their privilege that no peer should be arrested while the parliament was sitting, except for treason or felony, or for refusing "to give surety for the peace." Arundel was discharged. The earl of Bristol, who was obnoxious to the court, as being the person best acquainted with the proceedings regarding the Spanish marriage, was not summoned to this parliament. The Peers insisted that the earl should take his place. He was then suddenly charged at the bar of the Lords as a traitor. The Peers demanded that Bristol should be allowed to make his accusation against Buckingham before the charge

against himself was heard. He brought forward his allegations against the duke, and afterwards made a satisfactory reply to the charges against himself.

The Commons had declared their intention to grant five subsidies, but "that meeting," says Clarendon, "being upon very unpopular and unplausible reasons dissolved, these five subsidies were exacted, throughout the whole kingdom, with the same rigour, as if, in truth, an Act had passed to that purpose. Divers gentlemen of prime quality, in several counties of England, were, for refusing to pay the same, committed to prison, with great rigour and extraordinary circumstances." Some of the more distinguished of the gentlemen who had been committed to prison sued the King's Bench for a writ of habeas-corpus. The writ was granted; but the warden of the Fleet made a return that they were committed by a warrant of the privy council, by the special command of the king, but which warrant specified no cause of imprisonment. "On Monday," says a contemporary, "the judges sat in Westminster Hall to persuade the people to pay subsidies, but there arose a great tumultuous shout amongst them, 'A parliament, a parliament, else no subsidies.'" * Commissioners were then sent out to accomplish the same result by a general loan from every subject, according to the proportion at which he was rated in the last subsidy that had been granted by parliament. In the orders that were issued to the deputy-lieutenants and justices to enforce these exactions, the king affirmed that he was threatened with invasion. This was in July, 1626. Another fleet was sent to sea, under the earl of Denbigh; and there was another series of neglects and disasters. On the 7th of August, Charles wrote to Buckingham, "I command you to send all the French away to-morrow out of the town. If you can, by fair means; but stick not long in disputing. Otherwise force them away, driving them away like so many wild beasts, until you have shipped them."† In four days the numerous priests and other attendants of Henrietta were landed in France. The queen, according to the gossiping Howel, "broke the glass-windows and tore her hair." In October came over Marshal Bassompierre, as a special ambassador, to remedy these misunderstandings. In a very short time there was war with France. It is clear that the French court had expected from the secret marriage-treaty, which James and Charles had solemnly agreed to, not only that the Roman Catholics should be tolerated, but that they should be openly encouraged, This the king, however bound by his promise, could not venture to grant. On the 20th of April, 1627, a treaty was signed between the French minister, Richelieu, and the Spanish minister, Olivarez, by which it was agreed that the two powers should unite in an invasion of England. This treaty had become known to the Venetian ambassador at Paris, who held friendly relations with the English government. Buckingham resolved to anticipate the projected attack upon England by a strenuous aid to the French Protestants, who were asserting their religious freedom in the ancient stronghold of the reformers, La Rochelle. At the latter end of July, 1627, Buckingham appeared before La Rochelle,

* Mead's Letters. † Ellis, first series, vol. iii., p. 244.

with a fleet of a hundred ships, carrying six or seven thousand land forces. He offered his assistance in the defence of the town, which Cardinal Richelieu was preparing to besiege. The inhabitants distrusted the proffered friendship, and declined to open their gates to the duke. It was then determined to occupy the adjacent island of Rhé. Buckingham and his forces landed, having driven back the troops which opposed him. But the duke wanted the skill of a general. He besieged the principal fort of St. Martin without success; and at the time when further aid from England was expected, raised the siege and retreated towards his ships. There were mutinies, after Buckingham's return in the autumn, in the fleet and army. The people refused to suffer the soldiers to be billeted on them, and opposed an impress of fresh forces. Martial law was proclaimed, and many were executed. The general discontent was increased by an inland army being retained during the winter. In this temper of the people resort was once more had to a parliament, to supply the urgent necessities created by the ill-conducted war. Those who had been imprisoned for refusing to contribute to the forced loan of the previous year were now released. Many of them were men of fortune; and the sense of the injustice which had been done to them was shown by their being returned to the parliament which met on the 17th of March. No House of Commons more powerful from the station, the wealth, and the talent of its members, was ever before assembled in England. The king opened this parliament by asking for a supply, and threatening that if denied a speedy relief to his necessities he would resort to other means. The Commons knew that commissioners had been appointed to levy impositions, if there was an inevitable necessity; and that a contract had been entered into for sending over troops and arms from Flanders, under pretence of defending the country from invasion. They resolved to grant a large supply,—five subsidies,—to be paid within a year. But in return they demanded securities that his money should be no longer exacted from the subject in the form of loans; that no person should be imprisoned or molested for refusing such loans; that soldiers should not be billeted on private persons; that commissions for martial law should be revoked or annulled. Upon these demands was founded the "Petition of Right" which became one of the statutes of the realm. The king was extremely unwilling to give up what he thought his right of arbitrary imprisonment, but after many attempts to shake the resolution of the Commons, the bill was passed; and the Houses were assembled to hear the royal assent. It was not sufficiently explicit, and the Commons returned to their deliberations. They then received a message from the king to dispatch their old business without entertaining new; and the day following another message, requiring them "not to cast or lay any aspersion upon any minister of his majesty." Then "sir Robert Philips of Somersetshire spake, and mingled his words with weeping. Mr. Pym did the like. Sir Edward Coke, overcome with passion, seeing the desolation likely to ensue, was forced to sit down when he began to speak, by the abundance of tears."* The Speaker begged to retire; and the House went into committee. Then Coke rose, and denounced the duke of Buckingham as the

* Letter from Thomas Alured, a Member of the House.

author and cause of all the miseries of the country. The Petition of Right was assented to by the king in the usual manner after the two Houses had requested him to give a satisfactory answer. The Commons passed their bill of subsidies; and then proceeded to prepare a bill to grant the king tonnage and poundage, but delayed passing it till they had delivered a remonstrance against the levy of dues upon merchandise without consent of parliament. The king stopped the remonstrance by a prorogation; and told the Commons that he drew this branch of his revenue by his prerogative, and would not submit to have his right questioned.

The war with France had assumed the aspect of a trial of strength between Buckingham and Richelieu. Without admitting the very questionable theory that they were rivals for the favour of Anne of Austria, there can be no doubt that on either side there was more than ordinary political hostility. After Buckingham's inglorious return from La Rochelle, a second expedition had gone forth from Plymouth in the spring of 1628, under the duke's brother-in-law, the earl of Denbigh. Having looked at the French fleet in the harbour, he speedily came back to report what he had seen, after the exchange of a few harmless shots. On the 28th of May, Charles wrote to the authorities of La Rochelle, urging them to hold out to the last, and solemnly assuring them of his continued support. A third fleet was equipped, after parliament had granted the subsidies; and in spite of a remonstrance of the Commons against the power of Buckingham and his abuse of that power, the duke was again to take the command. On the 23rd of August, Buckingham had been at Portsmouth and its neighbourhood for several weeks, preparing to embark for La Rochelle. He was passing through the dimly-lighted lobby of the house which he occupied in the town, when he was stabbed in the left side by a short dark man who was standing there. The duke exclaiming "the villain hath killed me," drew out the knife, and reeling against a chimney fell down dead. The villain was John Felton, a younger brother of a Suffolk family. He had served as lieutenant in the expedition to Rhè; had been disappointed of some promotion; was "of a deep melancholy, silent, and gloomy constitution;" and, according to his own dying declaration, was moved to assassinate the duke as "an enemy to the public." Felton, having boldly confessed the deed, was removed to the Tower of London; was brought to trial on the 27th of November; was sentenced upon his voluntary confession; and was executed on the 29th, acknowledging that he had been guilty of a great crime. When the king received the news of his favourite minister's untimely death, he applied himself to complete the equipment of the fleet that Buckingham was to have led to La Rochelle. In twelve days, seventy vessels sailed from Portsmouth, and thirty more quickly followed. On the 15th of September the fleet was off the Isle of Rhé. The earl of Lindsey was the admiral. In the town of La Rochelle there was the most intense suffering from famine. Fifteen thousand persons died of hunger and disease. Richelieu had raised a great mole, which prevented any supply of necessaries from the sea. The English fleet coasted up and down without any fixed purpose. Lindsey sent a fire-ship or two into the

* Sir H. Wotton.

port, and he discharged a few cannon. On the 18th of October La Rochelle was surrendered, in despair of receiving any help from the lukewarm or treacherous allies that had stimulated the Protestants to a desperate resistance to their persecutors. Lindsey took his fleet back to Portsmouth.

On the 20th of January, 1629, the Parliament was assembled. The House was soon again in a controversial attitude; and the questions of civil liberty then became embittered by religious differences. There were now two distinct parties in the Church, the Calvinistic and the Arminian. The Arminian, or High-Church party, the more powerful with the king, was proportionately weak in parliament. The opinions of the Puritans had become allied with the cause of constitutional freedom; for it was amongst the High-Church party that the intemperate assertors of the divine right of kings were to be found. Archbishop Abbot, whose principles were not in accordance with those of the Court, had been suspended, and Laud, the bishop of London, was in effect the primate. He had introduced ceremonial observances into the performance of divine worship. Oliver Cromwell, a plain gentleman, with "his countenance swollen and reddish, his voice sharp and untunable," who had been sent to Parliament from Huntingdon, with the reputation of sagacity and energy, made his first speech in this session of 1629. It is thus briefly reported, "That he had heard by relation from one Dr. Beard that Dr. Alablaster had preached flat Popery at Paul's Cross; and that the bishop of Winchester had commanded him, as his diocesan, he should preach nothing to the contrary. Mainwaring, so justly censured in this House for his sermons, was by the same bishop's means preferred to a rich living. If these are the steps to church preferment, what are we to expect!" Brief, but ominous, was this session. There was a committee formed on religion; and charges against Bishop Laud were to be presented to the king. Eliot prepared a form of three protestations,—that whoever should bring in innovations in religion, extend or introduce Popery or Arminianism; whoever should advise the levying or taking tonnage and poundage not granted by parliament; whoever should voluntarily pay the same; should be reputed a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth. On the 2nd of March Eliot brought forward these matters, in the shape of a remonstrance. The Speaker refused to read the paper; the clerk at the table refused to read it. Eliot then read it himself, and demanded that it should be put to the vote. The Speaker refused; for "he had been commanded otherwise by the king." He rose to quit the chair; but two members dragged him back, and there forcibly held him. Eliot threw his remonstrance on the floor; and placed his protestations in the hand of Denzil Hollis, who put them to the vote. They were carried by acclamation. The Commons then adjourned to the 10th of March. Three days after, Eliot, Selden, and other members, were summoned before the Privy Council; and four were committed to the Tower. They refused to answer out of parliament for what they had done as members. Three of them were subsequently indicted in the King's Bench; Eliot for words uttered in the House, and Hollis and Valentine for a tumult in forcibly detaining the Speaker in the chair. Eliot was committed to the Tower on the 5th of March, 1629, and died there, of a lingering disease brought on by confine-

ment, on the 27th of November, 1632. The other two, after eighteen months' imprisonment, were released.

On the 10th of March, Charles dissolved the parliament. Sir Thomas Wentworth, whose voice had been of the loudest amongst the Commons in opposing the misgovernment of Buckingham, saw by the death of that favourite a career opened to himself far more congenial to his nature than that of a patriot. He saw that the time was come when England would be ruled either by a king or by a parliament, and not by a well-balanced union of the monarchical and the democratic power. He chose the part best suited to his disposition, and became the ablest servant of the crown, the most dangerous enemy of public liberty. The rise of Wentworth to power was rapid. Created a viscount, he was first placed in the great office of Lord President of the North. The authority of this functionary was almost absolute. During Wentworth's presidency, the inhabitants of this great portion of the kingdom "were disfranchised of all their privileges by Magna Charta and the Petition of Right." When he removed from this theatre of arbitrary power to be Lord-Deputy of Ireland, he still held the appointment of President of the North. The Lord-Deputy Wentworth and Archbishop Laud had a perfect concord as to the principles upon which both England and Ireland were to be governed. Wentworth wrote to Laud, "I am confident that the king, being pleased to set himself in the business, is able by his wisdom and ministers, to carry any just and honourable action *thorough* all imaginable opposition." *Thorough* became the watchword of these two politicians. But there were some insuperable barriers to be removed, before this watchword could accomplish everything. The limited monarchy of England had strengthened its power by the destruction of the military organisation of the feudal chiefs; but the aristocracy, being absorbed amongst the people, became identified with the interests of the people; formed family alliances with the rich middle classes; were united with them in various administrative functions; above all, were equally taxed with the very humblest yeomen and burghers. Though parliaments had been suspended by Charles, the principle of local association remained in its original vigour, and perhaps in a more intense activity. This existence of administrative bodies throughout the kingdom rendered it impossible for any amount of absolute power to effect more than a very partial suppression of liberty of speech and action. The religious dissatisfaction with church-government had become essentially political, and this union gave a new vitality to the struggle for constitutional freedom.

We learn from the Reverend Mr. Garrard, an indefatigable correspondent of the Lord-Deputy, that, "Mr. Prynne's cause in the Star-chamber held the Lords three days, and the day of censure they rose not till three in the afternoon. He is fined five thousand pounds; adjudged perpetual imprisonment; to lose his ears, the one in the Palace-yard, the other in Cheapside; and his books to be burnt by the hands of the hangman."* Prynne's offence was the publication, in 1633, of "Histrio-Mastix, the Player's Scourge," a book of 1006 closely printed quarto pages, in which

* Strafford's Letters, vol. i., p. 207.

Laud and others pretended to have discovered a libel upon the queen. The most serious of the community had turned with disgust from all dramatic entertainments, and there were many besides the stricter Puritans who would think that Prynne was a sacrifice to the cause of public morals. William Prynne, the "Utter-barrister of Lincoln's Inn," was not the first who had provoked the vengeance of those who were rushing upon a mad career of church-government. Dr. Alexander Leighton, a Scotch divine, had written a book—"Zion's plea against Prelacy." He owned the writing of the book, when brought into the Star-chamber. Leighton was whipped; put in the pillory; had one of his ears cut off; had one side of his nose slit; and was branded on one cheek. The whole process was repeated, with the necessary variations of ear, nose, and cheek, a week afterwards. The sufferer was then imprisoned till released by the parliament in 1640. The great party that was growing daily into a visible power only acquired solidity from this external pressure.

Laud, immediately after his translation to Canterbury, apologised to Wentworth for his want of power to accomplish what they both desired. "As for the Church, it is so bound up in the forms of the Common Law, that it is not possible for me, or for any man, to do that good which he would or is bound to do. * * * * And for the State, indeed, my lord, I am for *Thorough*, but I see that both thick and thin stays Somebody, where I conceive it should not." The *Thorough* which Laud contemplated for the Church, was the introduction of what lord Falkland calls "an English popery." The "Somebody" who opposed the Thorough for the State was no doubt the king. But Charles did contrive to dash through "thick and thin" to the accomplishment of many illegal acts. When Clarendon tells us of "projects of all kinds, many ridiculous, many scandalous, all very grievous," the "reproach of which came to the king, the profit to other men," he points at the barefaced introduction of monopolies, in defiance or evasion of positive laws. There was scarcely an industrious occupation, from the sale of coals to the collection of rags, that was not made the subject of a monopoly. Many other ingenious devices were resorted to for the supply of the wants of the crown beyond its large hereditary revenues. In 1633 a commission was harassing every owner of a new house from St. Martin's in the Fields to Blackwall, by levying enormous fines, or commanding the houses to be pulled down. The supply of food and the use of coaches were interfered with, for the same intent of extorting fines; and whilst the Star-chamber was pulling down houses in London, those who pulled down cottages in the country, called depopulators, were equally fined. Such means of filling the treasury were, however, small affairs. In the spring of 1635, Garrard writes that it was resolved in full council, "to take double rates, just as much more as was taken before, of all goods imported into the kingdom." Then came a special writ to the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, requiring him, for the safeguard of the sea and defence of the realm, to issue forth writs to the several counties, cities, and towns, therein mentioned, to provide ships, men, ammunition, provision, and wages. The original writs were only sent to London and to the [illegible] towns; and required that certain maritime places should furnish [illegible] ships, or their equipments, or pay, as London had paid. In

1635, a fleet was sent to sea, for the protection of trade. In 1636, the real writs of ship-money were issued; under which the sheriffs were directed to make a general assessment in all counties and towns specified, according to the means of the inhabitants, to produce the proportions at which the several places were rated. When these writs were issued by the sheriffs in their respective districts there was a general consternation. On the 11th of January, 1636, there was a public assembly at Great Kimble, in Buckinghamshire. All the persons attending, the entire body of land-owners and housekeepers of the parish, refused to pay their assessment of ship-money. The very assessors and constables were refusers. At the head of the list is the name of "John Hampden, Esquire." Hampden was singled out to be proceeded against by the Crown upon his refusal to pay twenty shillings assessed upon his lands at Stoke Mandeville. The formal pleadings upon the writ of Scire Facias had occupied five months before the question came to be tried. Then after protracted arguments before the judges, these twelve sages of the law occupied three terms in delivering their opinions. They were not agreed in their judgment. Two of the number had from the first decided that judgment should be given for the defendant. Two others, in the next term, followed their example. One other held that the tax was lawful, but that no portion of it ought to go into the Privy-Purse. But on the 9th of June, 1637, the Chief Justices decided against Hampden; and the sentence was for the king, upon the opinion of the majority. Hampden at once became "the most famous man in England." After the judgment, the resistance to ship-money was much more general. Some refusers were punished; many were threatened; but in town and country the opposition became a very resolved manifestation of the temper of the people. Ship-money judgment for the Crown was given on the 12th of June, 1637. Two days after, William Prynne, Henry Burton, and Robert Bastwick, were sentenced by the Star-chamber to be fined 5000*l.* each, to be degraded from their professions, to be placed in the pillory, to have their ears cut off and their cheeks and foreheads branded, and to be confined for life in distant prisons. Their offences were these. Prynne had published a book against Sabbath-breaking; Burton had offended in a sermon, and in a tract had accused the bishop of Norwich of being guilty of Romish innovation; Bastwick had in a book, called "Elenchus Papismi," identified prelacy and popery.

In the summer of 1633, Charles had paid a visit to Scotland, and was there crowned. Laud, then bishop of London, accompanied him on this journey, and gave great offence by the introduction of rites at the coronation which the people considered as part of the system that the Reformation had overthrown. The Scottish affairs were separately managed by Charles himself, without any reference to the English Council. In 1637, when Laud had become archbishop, and all moderate measures for producing conformity in England had been laid aside, the Scottish Church was suddenly called upon to receive a book of Canons approved at Lambeth; and a *Service*-book was directed to be used in all places of divine worship. *Robert Baillie*, Principal of the University of Glasgow, tells us what happened on Sunday, the 23rd of June. "When the bishop and his dean, in the great church, and the bishop of Argyle, in the Grayfriars, began to

officiate, as they speak, incontinent the serving-maids began such a tumult as was never heard of since the Reformation in our nation." A threatening outburst of popular fury followed this exhibition, but no wounds were given. The country was getting hot, as well as Edinburgh. Preachers who defended the Liturgy were maltreated, and mostly by "enraged women of all qualities." Gradually the nobles, the gentry, and the "burrows" [members for boroughs] took up the supplications against the Service-book. By December, some of the most influential agreed together to oppose its use, and resist the further intrusion of Prelacy. The king, who at first had threatened the Scottish authorities, now endeavoured to moderate the people by proclamations that declared his abhorrence of Popery, and his resolution to maintain the religion then professed. But the idea of submission to the authority of the Scottish prelates was utterly rejected. The whole community then entered into a National Covenant to abjure the doctrines, rites, and ceremonies of the Romish Church, and to resist the innovations which the prelates had introduced. In the High Church of Edinburgh, on the 1st of March, 1638, this Covenant was read, and the whole congregation rose and swore to maintain what it set forth. Copies of the deed were sent throughout the land, and with tears and protestations the Covenant was sworn to and signed by hundreds of thousands.

Charles and his one fatal adviser, Laud, chose to regard the National Covenant as the affair of a rabble; and the king commissioned the marquis of Hamilton to reduce "the rascally people" to obedience. The commissioner was to allow the Scots six weeks to renounce the Covenant. If not renounced, power was to be sent from England; and the king himself would hazard his life rather than suffer authority to be contemned. The discussions between Hamilton and the Covenanters only showed how earnest and resolute they were. The commissioner went to England for further instructions. He returned with powers to announce a General Assembly and a Parliament, and to propose that the Confession of Faith, of 1589, should be signed instead of the Covenant. The Covenanters protested against this. In November, a General Assembly was convened at Glasgow. Seven days did this great meeting debate and protest. On the 28th the Marquis dissolved the Assembly, and left Glasgow. It continued its sittings till the 20th of December; and, against the opinions of a few of the moderate, declared the total abolition of episcopacy in the kirk of Scotland. On the 26th of January, Charles sent out a letter, "commanding all the nobles and gentry of England to attend his royal standard at York against the 1st of April, where he was to go to the border to oppose the Scots there."* The Scots were all firmly banded together, peer and peasant, merchant and mechanic, to maintain a cause which they held to be the cause of God and their country. The whole land was full of military preparation. The castle of Edinburgh was surprised by Leslie, one who had gained a large experience in the great Protestant war in Germany, and in whom all confided. Dumbarton Castle was seized by the earl of Argyle. Stirling was also held by a Covenanter. Onward marched the king towards York. His army, under the lords Arundel, Holland, and Essex, was very

* Baillie.

insufficient for attack or defence, though formidable enough for the plunder of their countrymen. Wentworth made prodigious exertions to keep down the Scottish settlers in Ulster; and he sent some Irish to the king's army —"a matter of fifteen hundred ragged Arabians," says Baillie. The marquis of Hamilton sailed into the Frith of Forth; but his forces were quite unequal to subdue or even to awe an armed population; and the Scots appear to have despised his "five thousand land-sojours, taken up in a violent press." The king had advanced to Berwick; and from his camp, at the English side of the Tweed, saw through a telescope, "twelve thousand Scots encamped on Dunse-Law." Before the tent of every captain was a colour bearing the Scottish arms, and a legend, in golden letters, "For Christ's Crown and Covenant." The camp was full of the kirk-ministers, whose prayers and sermons encouraged the soldiers. On the 6th of June, the earl of Dunfermline was sent to the royal camp with a petition that a meeting might be held between a few worthy men of each kingdom to settle the points in dispute. Charles assented. On the 11th of June, the Scottish deputies—consisting of four nobles, with Alexander Henderson, Moderator of the General Assembly, and the Clerk-Register of that body, arrived in the camp. A pacification was concluded on the 18th of June. Charles returned to London on the 1st of August. The Scottish army was disbanded. The fortresses were restored to the officers appointed by the Crown. But the conditions of the Covenant were inflexibly maintained in the General Assembly, and in the Parliament which met in August. Moreover, that Parliament demanded privileges which appeared to weaken the royal authority; and the king's Commissioners decided upon its prorogation. The members held that such prorogation was illegal without their own consent.

Charles at length summoned an English parliament, which met on the 14th of April, 1640. The king demanded twelve subsidies in three years —a sum equivalent to about £840,000; and he offered to relinquish ship-money, which was estimated to produce £200,000 a year. The Commons would hear of no compromise of such a nature. Ship-money was the opprobrium of the government; the people had been unconstitutionally taxed; the judgment of the Courts must be annulled, and the judges punished. The Commons would then enter upon the business of Supplies. The table of the House was covered with petitions against the abuses of the State and of the Church. The king dissolved the parliament on the 5th of May. The Convocation of the Clergy continued to sit; and large assistance was voted to the king. In that assembly Canons were framed which were well calculated to render the government of the Church more and more odious. Members of the Commons were again imprisoned. Ship-money was more rigorously enforced. Citizens were punished for refusing a loan. The counties were subjected to novel charges for the troops that were levied for another Scottish campaign. Trade with Scotland had been prohibited. The English cruisers seized Scottish merchant-ships. In March and April levies had been called out by the Covenanters. The Parliament formed a Committee of Estates which held the executive power of the realm. It was resolved to march to England with a petition, supported by an army of twenty-five thousand men. On the 20th of August

they crossed the Tweed at Coldstream, wading through the river, and marched at leisure through Northumberland. Charles, having received news of the advance of this great army, hastily left London for York. He called all the tenants of the Crown to his standard. He offered by proclamation to forgive the Scots, if they would crave pardon for the past as penitent delinquents. Wentworth, now earl of Strafford, had raised troops in Ireland that had joined the king's forces. Altogether twenty thousand men were in arms under the royal standard. There was no zeal in this army. There was little discipline. Lord Conway was selected to oppose the old campaigner, Leslie. Strafford was to have taken the command, but sickness prevented him joining the army. On the 28th of August the Scots occupied the town of Newburn. At low water two Scottish regiments crossed the Tyne. The English horse fled, and the whole army moved in great disorder to Newcastle. There was only one effort made by a gallant few to oppose the passage of the Scots across the river. Newcastle was itself abandoned at midnight. In Scotland, the Covenanters were equally successful; and Dumbarton capitulated. The castle of Edinburgh also surrendered to Argyle. The king was coming on and had reached Allerton, when he heard of the rout of Newburn; and he returned to York. After these occurrences, the king called a Great Council of Peers to attend him at York on the 24th of September. The first decision of the Council was to appoint a Commission of sixteen Peers to treat with the Scots at Ripon. After various vain attempts to come to a final understanding, a cessation of arms, for two months, was agreed to, on the 26th of October, that the demands of the Covenanters might be discussed in London by the Commissioners. During this cessation of arms the Scottish army was to be maintained by a payment of £850 per day. The Parliament was to meet at Westminster on the 3rd of November. The men who had contended in former parliaments against the insolent claims of prerogative were returned for county and borough. A very short time had been given between the issue of the writs and the elections;—an advantage to the court party. Yet the elections had completely gone against that party. The Scots, before the treaty of Ripon, had demanded "the removal of three or four persons from about the king." Strafford and Laud were especially pointed at. Strafford, though of undaunted courage, saw his danger in this parliament, and wished to retire to his government of Ireland. Charles pledged himself that not a hair of Strafford's head should be touched. Laud was suffering an agony of superstitious fear in his Lambeth palace. There was real cause for alarm in the temper of the people.

CHAPTER XXIV.

On the 3rd of November Charles opened the parliament. Clarendon tells us of the House of Commons in this first year of the Long Parliament, that "the major part of that body consisted of men who had no mind to break the peace of the kingdom, or to make any considerable alteration in the government of church or state." On the day of opening very few members were absent from their places. Charles addressed the Houses in a tone of conciliation. Sir Thomas Gardiner, recorder of London, had been designed by the king as speaker, but the city would not elect him, and Lenthall was chosen speaker. From the Fleet Prison came a petition from Alexander Leighton, who had been ten years in confinement; and another from John Lilburne, the sturdy London apprentice who had been whipped and imprisoned for distributing Prynne's books. Lilburne's petition was presented by Oliver Cromwell. From the several distant castles in which they were confined, the petitions of Prynne, and Burton, and Bastwick, reached the House. These prisoners were ordered to be brought to London. Leighton, mutilated, deaf, blind, crept out of the cell in which he expected to die, to receive some recompense for his sufferings. Lilburne had a money compensation voted to him. Prynne and Burton made a triumphal entry into London. It was voted that these sufferers should be restored to their callings; and that those who had unjustly sentenced them should pay high damages, as compensation, to each of them. Bastwick returned from Scilly at the beginning of December, with trumpets sounding, and torches burning, and a thousand horses for his convoy. On the night of Monday, the 9th of November, the earl of Strafford came to London. On the morning of Wednesday, the 11th, Pym rose in his place in the House of Commons, and, saying that he had matter of the highest importance to propose, desired that strangers should be excluded and the doors of the House be locked. He then recapitulated all that the nation had endured in the attempt to deprive them of the liberty and property which was their birthright; "these calamities falling upon us in the reign of a pious and virtuous king, who loved his people, and was a great lover of justice." There was one man more signal than the rest in bringing these miseries upon the nation—and then he named "the earl of Strafford." After many hours of bitter investigation into the actions of Strafford, it was moved, "that he might be forthwith impeached of high treason, which was no sooner mentioned than it found an universal approbation and consent from the whole House." Late as it was, the peers were still sitting. The doors of the House of Commons were thrown open, and Pym, at the head of three hundred members, proceeded to the House of Lords, and there, at the bar, in the name of the Lower House, and of all the Commons of England, impeached Thomas, earl of Strafford, of high treason, and required his arrest. Whilst the Lords were consulting, Strafford arrived, and was delivered as a prisoner to the usher of the Black Rod. He was committed to the Tower on the 25th of November. On the 18th of December,

Denzel Hollis carried a message to the Lords, impeaching Laud of high treason. The archbishop was handed over to the custody of the Black Rod, and ten weeks afterwards was committed to the Tower. Articles of impeachment were prepared against the lord-keeper Finch, and against sir Francis Windebank, secretary-of-state. They both fled the country. Five of the judges, who had declared ship-money lawful, were visited with a just retribution for their servility. They were compelled to give securities to abide the judgment of parliament, whilst the most obnoxious of them, sir Robert Berkeley, being impeached of high treason, was taken to prison from his judgment-seat in the King's Bench. On the 30th of January, the charges against Strafford were laid before the House of Lords. These were twenty-eight in number. The Scottish Commissioners, and a deputation from the Irish parliament, also put forward the same charges, of endeavouring to rule the north of England and Ireland by military power; of attempting to subvert the fundamental laws of the realm; of labouring to overthrow parliaments and parliamentary authority. On Monday, the 22nd of March, as on every succeeding day, the earl of Strafford was brought to Westminster from the Tower in a barge, accompanied by the lieutenant, with boats full of armed men; and on his landing he was guarded by the trained band. The hall was fitted up in a manner quite unusual in any previous state-trial. The members of the House of Commons were all there in committee. The king did not occupy the throne, but sat with the queen and his family in a box on the side of the throne. "The trellis, that made them to be secret, the king broke down with his own hand, so they sat in the eye of all," writes Baillie, who was present in the seats appointed for the Scotch Commissioners. The Lords were in their places daily by eight o'clock; the king was usually half-an-hour before them. Many ladies were present, in galleries allotted to them. Strafford took his place below the bar, at a desk, attended by four secretaries and his counsel. "He was always in the same suit of black, as in doole [mourning]." The sitting each day was prolonged to two, three, or four o'clock. The House of Commons had passed a vote "that the earl of Strafford had endeavoured to subvert the ancient and fundamental laws of the realm, and to introduce arbitrary and tyrannical government." To sustain this allegation was the chief object of Pym and the other managers of the impeachment; and although the greater number of the articles exhibited could not be technically brought within the Statute of Treasons, they contended that acts which tended to subvert the constitution were acts of treason against the king. On all the charges Pym spoke, having constant reference to the answers which Strafford had put in. Strafford replied; and Pym rejoined. Day after day this contest went on. On the thirteenth day of the trial, the 10th of April, Pym moved in the House of Commons that the proceedings should take the new form of a bill of attainder against the earl of Strafford. There was a rising member of the House, Henry Vane, the son of sir Henry Vane, who was comptroller of the royal household in 1639, and in 1641 was secretary of state. On that 10th of April Pym stood up, Henry Vane being in his seat, and produced a paper containing "a copy of notes taken at a junto of the Privy Council for the Scots affairs, about the 5th of May last." These notes,

which were in the handwriting of old sir Henry Vane, were obtained through young Vane's breach of his father's confidence. They were the record of a dialogue in which Laud, Hamilton, and Strafford were the speakers in Council; and the words which Strafford addressed to the king were these: "You have an army in Ireland that you may employ to reduce this kingdom to obedience." On the 13th of April, Pym read these notes in Westminster Hall. They were admitted as evidence against Strafford. Whilst the bill of attainder was debated in the Commons, the Lords continued to sit judicially in Westminster Hall, as if no such measure were in agitation. After the notes discovered by the younger Vane had been received, Strafford was called upon for his general defence upon the facts, leaving the law to his counsel. He spoke two hours and a half. His speech, which was full of passages of impassioned eloquence, wound up with these words: "My Lords, I have troubled you longer than I should have done, were it not for the interest of these dear pledges a saint in heaven left me."—Here he paused and shed a few tears.—"What I forfeit for myself is nothing; but that my indiscretion should extend to my posterity woundeth me to the very soul. You will pardon my infirmity; something I should have added, but am not able, therefore let it pass. And now, my Lords, for myself, I have been by the blessing of Almighty God, taught that the afflictions of this present life are not to be compared to the eternal weight of glory which shall be revealed hereafter. And so, my Lords, even so, with all tranquillity of mind I freely submit myself to your judgment; and whether that judgment be of life or death, '*Te Deum laudamus.*'" After these burning words, the majestic periods of Pym's reply would fall dull and cold. But there never was a grander scene than when Pym, in the presence of the king of England, proclaimed that treason against the people was treason against the throne, and intimated that the sovereign who abetted such treason was not himself safe from "a miserable end." Again and again Pym asserted his leading principle, that the offences of Strafford constituted the crime of treason, inasmuch as he had "endeavoured by his words, actions, and counsels, to subvert the fundamental laws of England and Ireland, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government." "Shall it be treason," he said, "to embase the king's coin, though but a piece of twelvepence or sixpence? And must it not needs be the effect of a greater treason to embase the spirit of his subjects, and to set up a stamp and character of servitude upon them, whereby they shall be disabled to do anything for the service of the king and commonwealth?" Pym wound up his speech with this appalling denunciation:—"The forfeitures inflicted for treason, by our law, are of life, honour, and estate, even all that can be forfeited; and this prisoner having committed so many treasons, although he should pay all these forfeitures, will be still a debtor to the commonwealth. Nothing can be more equal than that he should perish by the justice of that law which he would have subverted. Neither will this be a new way of blood. There are marks enough to trace this law to the very original of this kingdom; and if it had not been put in execution, as he allegeth, these two hundred and forty years, it was not for want of law, but that all that time hath not bred a man bold enough to commit such crimes as these." Pym had a few more formal words to utter,

but having turned round, his eyes met those of Strafford, who was intently gazing on his accuser—the friend of his earlier years—his associate in the great struggle which produced the Petition of Right. Their eyes met, and Pym faltered.

The Bill of Attainder of the earl of Strafford was passed by the Commons on the 21st of April. Fifty-nine members voted against it out of a house of two hundred and sixty-three. The Bill was carried to the Upper House by Pym, with a message "that it was a Bill that highly concerned the Commonwealth in the expediting of it." The king then went to the House of Lords, and stated that he had been present during the whole trial of Strafford; that he could not condemn him of high-treason; but, said he, "I must confess for matter of misdemeanours, I am so clear in that, that though I will not chalk out the way, yet let me tell you, that I do think my lord Strafford is not fit hereafter to serve me or the Commonwealth in any place of trust, no, not so much as that of a constable." This interference was offensive to the Commons, who deemed it a breach of privilege for the king to take notice of any Bill during its passage through parliament. The Peers, consulting with the judges whether some of the articles against Strafford, which they considered proved, amounted to treason, received an unanimous opinion that he had incurred the penalties which the law awarded to that crime. In a house of forty-five, twenty-six Peers voted Strafford guilty, and passed the Bill of Attainder.

Whilst this question was under debate in the House of Lords, the Commons were singularly moved by the disclosures which were made of the king's own participation in the design "to disaffect the army to the Parliament;" to bring it up from the north with the view to place absolute power in the Crown. The evidence of this plot, though by no means definite or conclusive, was sufficient to prove that the king had listened to a proposal of appealing to a military force to control the representatives of the people. The first resolution of the Commons was to draw up a Protestation, under oath, to defend the Protestant Church, his majesty's person and power, the privileges of parliament, and the lawful rights and liberties of the people. This was immediately sworn to and signed by every member present; was sent to the House of Peers, who all signed except two; and was circulated for general signature through the kingdom. Next, by a Bill "to prevent inconvenience which may happen by the untimely adjourning, proroguing, or dissolving this present parliament,"—the parliament was made the sole arbiter of its own duration. The royal assent was given by commission to this Bill on the 10th of May. "It is impossible to think," writes sir Philip Warwick, "how so intelligent a person as this king was, should by any persuasions, which certainly were great on the queen's side, or treachery, which certainly was great on the side of many of his great courtiers, be induced thus to divest himself of all majesty and power."* On the same day, the same commissioners consented to the Bill of Attainder against the earl of Strafford. On the 11th of May, the king sent a letter to the Lords by the Prince of Wales, in which he

* "Memoirs," p. 181.

desired that a conference might take place with the Commons, to the intent, he said, that "both Houses of Parliament consent, for my sake, that I should moderate the severity of the law in so important a case." This extraordinary postscript was added :—"If he must die, it were charity to reprieve him until Saturday." Strafford met his fate with the same resolution which had characterised the public actions of his life.

At this time the queen desired to leave the country. The princess royal was betrothed to the eldest son of the prince of Orange. A secret article of the treaty stipulated that the prince should assist the king, if the disputes with his parliament came to an open rupture. The queen, a few months later, alleging her ill-health, wished to seek a remedy in the Spa-waters. Upon the remonstrance of both Houses of Parliament she consented to remain in England.

The Parliament now went boldly and steadily forward in the work of reform. A subsidy and a poll-tax were granted; but another subsidy of tonnage and poundage was granted for a very limited time, from May 25 to July 15; so that the Commons might exercise the right of renewal, according to circumstances. This subsidy was renewed, by subsequent Acts, until July 2, 1642. In the great legislative measures of this session, the Houses were invariably anxious to rest their reforms upon the ancient foundations of law and liberty. Again and again the principle of arbitrary taxation was made to hear its death-knell. An Act was passed abolishing the court of Star-chamber; the jurisdiction of the courts of the Marches of Wales, of the northern parts of the Duchy of Lancaster, and of the county palatine of Chester. In this session the court of High Commission was also abolished; and the ecclesiastical courts were deprived of the power to inflict temporal penalties for spiritual offences. Another statute confined forests within such limits as were recognised in the twentieth year of James I. By another Act, compulsory knighthood was put an end to. In all these enactments for the removal of great oppressions, constant reference was had to the origin of the abuses.

The pacification with Scotland was concluded by Act of Parliament; and by another Act, the sum of £300,000 was agreed "to be given for a friendly assistance and relief towards the supply of the losses and necessities of our brethren of Scotland." On the 10th of August the king left London for Scotland. On the 9th of September the Parliament adjourned. The king was accompanied by two commissioners named by the Lords, and four named by the Commons, amongst whom was Hampden. There was no discourtesy between Charles and these commissioners; but they were evidently there to watch and counteract his secret designs. The king met the Scottish Parliament; sanctioned all their proceedings even to the abolition of episcopacy; and seemed bent upon securing the affections of the nation by swearing to the terms of the Covenant, and attending the Presbyterian worship. There can be no doubt that he was plotting to destroy those whom he chose to consider as his personal enemies. Montrose had been in correspondence with the king. Argyle had intercepted a letter in cypher, and the Parliament had imprisoned the daring man who was now the great supporter of the old order of affairs in the Scottish Church and State. Montrose contrived to correspond with Charles, through one

of his pages, offering to produce proofs of the secret communications of Hamilton and Argyle with Hampden, Pym, and other parliamentary leaders to bring the Scottish army into England in 1640. Hamilton and Argyle, having learnt that they were in danger of liberty or life, absented themselves. There was great alarm in Edinburgh; but the king and the Scottish parliament thought it wise to accommodate matters; and the nobles returned to receive marks of honour from Charles. "The leaders," says M. Guizot, "thought their former relations with the Scottish insurgents had been pardoned, together with the rebellion itself, by the last treaty of peace." The Act of Parliament for the pacification had recognised the expediency of an Act of Oblivion for burying in forgetfulness all past acts of hostility. Charles had given his royal assent to this statute.

During the parliamentary recess a Committee sat at Westminster; and they instituted inquiries, and authorised acts, which were certainly beyond their legislative functions. The news from Scotland led this Committee to believe, according to Clarendon, that "there was some desperate design on foot." The House of Commons re-assembled on the 20th of October. On the 25th the Lords of the Council communicated to the House that a fearful insurrection had broken out in Ireland; and shortly after the king sent a letter to the Parliament, apprising them of a "formed rebellion" which must be encountered by a sharp war; "the conducting and prosecuting which he wholly committed to their care and wisdom." A Committee of both Houses at once took upon themselves the authority thus confided to them; "the mischief whereof, though in the beginning little taken notice of," says Clarendon, "was afterwards felt by the king very sensibly." The Irish force which had been raised by Strafford had been kept together against the desire of the parliament. When this army of eight thousand papists was at length disbanded, Charles intrigued to prevent the dispersion of the men, and it became a dangerous power in a distracted country. A general rising was at length determined upon amongst some Irish chieftains and some of the ancient settlers of the Pale, for the purpose of seizing the castle of Dublin, and proclaiming that they would support the sovereign in all his rights. The plot was betrayed as far as regarded the attack upon Dublin Castle, but the conspirators in Ulster, rendered desperate by this failure, were in open insurrection on the 22nd of October. Sir Phelim O'Neal was at the head of thirty thousand men. The puritan settlers of the north were especially obnoxious to those who were in arms, and what was intended to be an insurrection, for the redress of civil wrongs and the removal of religious disabilities, soon became a general massacre of Protestants. Multitudes fled towards Dublin as their only city of refuge. Clarendon says that about forty or fifty thousand of the English Protestants were murdered. Troops at length arrived from England; and after months of horror the insurrection was quelled. The king could never wholly remove the belief that he had instigated this fearful rising, or had connived at it. The Irish insurgents themselves pretended that they acted under the royal authority.

In his progress from Scotland, Charles was received with demonstrations of respect and affection. He was to reach London on the 25th of November, and there to dine with the lord mayor, who was a devoted royalist. Cla

rendon says, "Gourney, the lord mayor, was a man of wisdom and courage, and expressed great indignation to see the city so corrupted by the ill artifices of factious persons; and therefore attended upon his majesty, at his entrance into the city, with all the lustre and good countenance it could show, and as great professions of duty as it could make or the king expect." The reception of Charles by the city appears to have given him confidence in making a demonstration of his disposition towards the Parliament. He withdrew the guard which Essex had appointed for the security of the two Houses. The parliamentary leaders chose the moment of the king's return to greet him with the strongest remonstrance against the whole tenour of his past government. The debate on this Remonstrance began at nine o'clock of the morning of the 22nd of November. It went on through that day till it grew dark. Candles were called for. Twelve hours of passionate talk, and yet no rest. The Remonstrance was adopted by one hundred and fifty-nine votes against one hundred and forty-eight. The struggle of parties quickly began to assume a more formidable character. The conviction in the mind of the king that he had a right to be absolute had never been removed or lessened by the events of the past twelve months. The resolution of the Commons that he should not be again absolute was as strong as ever. Men of great influence now changed their sides. The earl of Holland went over to the popular party. The earl of Essex and the earl of Leicester also took their side with those who were considered the king's enemies. On the other side, Mr. Hyde, though without office, had become an adviser of the king. So, also, sir John Colepepper, one of the most able of the parliamentary leaders.

The Remonstrance of the Commons was presented to Charles at Hampton Court on the 1st of December. He received it with temper. The Remonstrance was published; and the king's answer to it, written by Hyde, was also published. Two days after the Committee of the House of Commons had been at Hampton Court with the Remonstrance, the lord mayor and a select number of aldermen of London arrived there with an address. The lord mayor implored the king and the queen to return to Whitehall, "to give a good quickening to the retail trade;" and the king said he would return. And so the king and his family, at the sole instance of the obedient portion of the corporation of London, returned to the palace of Whitehall a few days after, "there to keep their Christmas," as the king had promised. It was an awful Christmas and an awful new year. The king gave a sanction to the opinion that he contemplated a resort to force, in his injudicious appointment of a Romanist and a desperado, Colonel Lunsford, to be governor of the Tower. The Commons requested the Peers to join them in a petition against this appointment; but the king superseded Lunsford upon the private advice of the Peers. The popular cry finally set in against the bishops. A bill was before the Lords, which had been carried in the other House six months before, for taking away the votes of bishops and removing them from the House of Peers. This measure was supported by many who had no desire to subvert the Church, or to establish an ecclesiastical democracy. Falkland was one of those who went to this extent. In August, thirteen of the bishops had been impeached by the Commons, for having taken part in passing the Canons

of 1640. The archbishop of Canterbury was still imprisoned in the Tower. The demonstrations of the Corporation of London now became less favourable to the king. As the audacity of the multitude increased, so did the fury of the cavaliers. Colonel Lunsford, disappointed of his governorship of the Tower, and other officers, were now engaged in skirmishes with the apprentices and such leaders of the daily mobs. "From these contestations the two terms of Roundhead and Cavalier grew to be received in discourse," says Clarendon. Soon the bishops themselves became mixed up in the affray. Hearing a youth in the street vociferating "No bishops," Williams, the fiery archbishop of York, seized him, and there was a great scuffle, in which the archbishop's robes were torn from his back. He returned to his house, the deanery of Westminster, and drew up a protestation, which was signed by twelve bishops, and forthwith carried to the king at Whitehall, who directed the lord keeper to present it to the Peers. The immediate result was that the Commons accused of high treason all those who had signed the paper; and the whole twelve were committed. Imprudent and illegal as was this protest, it was a bold stretch of party-feeling to call it treasonable.

With these fearful contentions around the king's palace and the houses of parliament, the Commons again petitioned the king for a guard under the command of the earl of Essex. This guard the king refused, except it were under an officer appointed by himself. On the 31st of December, it was voted in the Commons, "That the House be resolved into a Committee on Monday next, January 3rd, to take into consideration the militia of the kingdom." The power of nominating the officers of such a force was necessarily a part of the royal prerogative. The requisition of the Commons to place the command of the militia in the hands of lords-lieutenant of each county, to be nominated in a bill, and to obey the orders of the two Houses, was undoubtedly an undue invasion of the rights of the Crown. But, on the other hand, we must not forget that in the case of Charles he had manifested a disposition, which Strafford had distinctly encouraged, to employ an army to make himself absolute.

At this period of tumult and alarm Colepepper became chancellor of the exchequer; and Falkland secretary of state. But lord Digby, whom Clarendon represents as a man of great vanity, ambition, and self-confidence, had more influence over the king than these able and moderate advisers. Thus, says Clarendon, "a very unhappy counsel was proposed, and resolution taken, without the least communication with either of the three who had been so lately admitted to an entire trust." On the 3rd of January, the attorney-general, sir Edward Herbert, appeared at the bar of the House of Lords, and in the king's name accused of high-treason, lord Kimbolton, and five members of the Commons. These members were Pym, Hollis, Hampden, Haslerig, and Strode. The attorney-general desired that these persons should be placed in custody, and a secret committee appointed to examine witnesses. On the same day a serjeant-at-arms appeared at the bar of the House of Commons, and required the Speaker to place five members in his custody, whom the king had accused of high-treason. The five members remained in their places, silent. The Speaker commanded the serjeant to retire; and sent a deputation to the

king, of which Falkland and Colepepper formed part, to say that so important a message should receive their most serious consideration, and that the members should be ready to answer any legal charge. On the 4th, the five members of the Commons were in their places, when it was made known that the king was coming down the street from Whitehall, escorted by three or four hundred armed persons. The five accused retired, to prevent bloodshed. The king entered alone, the armed men remaining in Westminster Hall. Sir Ralph Verney, member for Aylesbury, has left a graphic note of this great historical scene. The king said he came for these five gentlemen, and he called Mr. Pym and Mr. Hollis by name, but no answer was made. "Then he asked the Speaker if they were here, or where they were? Upon this the Speaker fell on his knees, and desired his excuse for he was a servant of the House and had neither eyes nor toungue to see or say anything but what they commanded him." Charles then departed, telling the House that he expected they would send the accused members to him, and promising that they should have a fair trial. When the king left, the members for a few seconds sat in mute astonishment; but the cry of "Privilege, privilege," then burst forth, and the House instantly adjourned. The accused members proceeded to the city. The night was one of general alarm. The citizens formed themselves into armed patrols. The cry was that the Cavaliers were coming to fire the city. At Whitehall there was terror and despondency. The Commons assembled on the 5th, and, declaring the king's coming "in a warlike manner" a high breach of privilege, adjourned for six days, appointing Committees to sit in the city. One Committee occupied Grocers' Hall, another occupied Merchant Taylors' Hall. Charles himself on that morning rode into the city without any guards. He had written to the lord mayor to summon a Common Council in Guildhall. He told them that he came amongst them without a guard, to show his affection; "that he had accused certain men of high-treason, against whom he would proceed in a legal way; and therefore he presumed they would not shelter them in the city." Clarendon adds, "he departed without that applause and cheerfulness which he might have expected from the extraordinary grace he vouchsafed to them." There were four more days of fear and vacillation whilst the king and his family remained in the capital. The Common Council sent a petition to the king, complaining of the attempt to arrest the members. He made an answer which only increased the discontent. On the 8th he issued a proclamation to arrest lord Kimbolton and the five Commoners. The parliamentary committees in the city met the proclamation by great preparations to bring the members back in triumph to Westminster. The courtiers now became alarmed for the personal safety of the king and queen. On the evening of the 10th Charles left Whitehall for Hampton Court.

At two o'clock of that day se'nnight on which the king had entered the House of Commons, the accused members were brought back to the Parliament-stairs in triumph. The House of Commons having met, the sheriffs of London were called in, and received the thanks of the Speaker. The masters and officers of ships, who had formed the river-guard to the members, were also thanked. The freeholders of Buckinghamshire, to the

number of four thousand, had arrived in London to offer their services for the defence of parliament. A deputation from these freeholders went the next day with a petition to the king, in which they prayed that their representative, Mr. Hampden, and the other members who laboured under a "foul accusation," might enjoy the just privileges of parliament. The king replied, "that because of the doubt that hath been raised of the manner, he would waive his former proceedings, and proceed in an unquestionable way." On the day when the Buckinghamshire petition was presented, lord Digby and colonel Lunsford appeared with a body of men in arms at Kingston. The parliament proclaimed them traitors. Digby fled beyond sea; Lunsford and his cavaliers attended the king to Windsor.

Charles invited the Houses, on the 20th of January, to reduce all their complaints to one specific relation. The Peers hailed this as an omen of peace; the Commons would put no faith in the king's desire for conciliation, unless he would transfer the military commands of fortresses and the militia to those who possessed the confidence of parliament. The king gave a decided refusal. The House then directed, by Ordinance, that Goring, the governor of Portsmouth, and Hotham, the governor of Hull, should hold those garrisons "for king and parliament," and surrender to no one but under the authority of the parliament. The Houses passed a Bill for regulating the militia early in February. About the same time the Bill was carried "for disabling all persons in Holy Orders to exercise any temporal jurisdiction or authority." To this Bill, the king at length gave his assent. The Bill for the militia he rejected. The queen urged her husband to accept the one bill and reject the other. On the 16th of February her majesty, escorted by the king to Dover, took her departure for Holland. She carried with her the crown-jewels; and her real purpose was to raise forces for resisting the demands of the parliament. There are many letters from the queen to the king, during her absence, which show how she laboured to strengthen Charles's infirmity of purpose. The breach between the king and the parliament upon the question of the militia was more and more widened. Commissioners were received again and again, and the matter could not be accommodated; nor would the king, at the earnest entreaty of the Houses, return to London. Royalist forces had been raised in the north by the marquis of Newcastle. On the 23rd of April the king suddenly appeared before Hull at the head of a strong body of horse, and demanded admittance into the town. Sir John Hotham went on the ramparts, and falling on his knees begged the king to excuse a refusal to the demand, for that he, as governor, had sworn to keep the place at the disposition of the parliament. Charles was compelled to retire, proclaiming Hotham a traitor. He then complained to the parliament, demanding justice against the governor of Hull, according to law. The two Houses voted their approval of Hotham's act. The crisis had arrived. There was nothing more to be done for reconcilement. Thirty-two Peers, and sixty-five members of the Commons, joined the king at York. Those that remained no longer attempted to pass Bills for the royal sanction. They issued Ordinances. On the 5th of May the Parliamentary Ordinance for the militia was directed to be carried out. The king proclaimed this ordinance to be illegal, and summoned the gentlemen

of York to form his body-guard. About fifty, with Thomas Fairfax at their head, refused. Several thousands of the middle classes gathered round the town-hall, where Charles was addressing an assembly of the county gentlemen. They demanded admission to the meeting, and being refused, held a meeting of their own, and protested against the acts of a close assembly. The king called another general meeting upon a neighbouring moor; and thither came forty thousand men, for the purpose of presenting a petition to the king, imploring him to be reconciled to his parliament. Charles read a paper, and was going away, when young Fairfax pressed forward, and on his knee presented the petition of the people. The king indignantly rode off, and after many violent ebullitions of contempt from the cavaliers the meeting dispersed. The councils of the king became irresolute. The decisions of the parliament, freed from the royalist members who had retired to York, became bolder. They proposed terms of accommodation which were such a direct curtailment of the sovereign authority as would have made the monarch what Charles truly described, "but the picture, but the sign of a king." The leaders then prepared for open war with marvellous energy. On the 12th of July, the Houses came to the decisive vote that an army should be raised "for the defence of the king and parliament." Few of the members of parliament remained in London after this. The zealous men of influence in their several counties were in their own districts raising volunteers, gathering subscriptions, drilling recruits, collecting arms. Each was subscribing largely "for defence of the kingdom." Recruits were taken, at first, without much reference to their opinions. Cromwell saw the danger of this course. To meet the ardour of the cavalier with a zeal equally enthusiastic, he desired to raise "such men as had the fear of God before them, as made some conscience of what they did." Mr. Cromwell was not yet in military command, but he was a Justice of the Peace, and his name was already a word of strength. He was member for the town of Cambridge; and there exercised a very unusual representative power, by seizing the magazine in the castle, and stopping the transit of the University plate to the king's quarters. In London, the influence of the popular preachers, who filled the churches and conventicles, was irresistible. Few of the clergy were bold enough to support episcopacy; and those who proclaimed high-church opinions had very incredulous auditors. After the attempt of the king to violate the sanctuary of the House of Commons, and his removal from the seat of government, the majority of the Londoners became devoted to the parliament.

The strength of the puritanical element in the parliament of 1642 led to bold interferences with popular habits. The parliamentary leaders knew that they would have the support of the most powerful of the community of London, and of many other great towns, if not of the majority of the nation, when they discouraged the ordinary amusements of the people, and shut up the theatres. The five regular companies of actors were dispersed. Commissioners were sent into all counties to deface and demolish all images, altars, "crucifixes, superstitious pictures, monuments, and reliques of idolatry, out of all churches and chapels."

London had now its volunteers of every rank; and when the parliamentary ordinance for an army went forth, the zeal of the people was called out

in a remarkable manner. Four thousand men had enlisted in one day, and they must have wages. The tables of Guildhall were instantly heaped up with money and plate. The wealthy brought their bags of silver and their parcel-gilt goblets; the poorer, their smallest article of value—"a thimble, bodkin, and a spoon." The London apprentices were most prominent in these unhappy times. Their principle of confederation gave them their political strength. The violence of the apprentices against episcopacy, and their general adherence to the cause of the Parliament, were probably influenced by the opinions of their puritan masters. It would have been more than strange if, amidst all the excitements of this summer, the prosperity of the kingdom generally, and that of the Londoners as much as any portion of the nation, had not been materially affected. Yet, from all the indications of this remarkable period, we may collect that public order was strictly maintained in London; that there were no attacks upon property; that life was perfectly secure. It was in the country that the distractions of the time bore hard upon the richer families. Every manor-house was liable to attack by a royalist or a parliamentary band. Amidst the general lawlessness of this time, the local organization of England might be disturbed, but it was never destroyed. The judges went their usual circuits. The Sessions and the County Courts were regularly held. The assumption of executive authority by the parliament, if it were sometimes abused, was everywhere directed to the maintenance of order.

There is nothing more remarkable, amidst the anger and suspicion of this momentous period, than the evident reluctance of both parties to proceed to extremities. The king's state papers, for the most part written by Hyde, were appeals to the reason and the affections of his people, in the place of the old assertions of absolute authority. In the same way, the declarations of the parliament approached the great questions in dispute, in the like spirit of acknowledgment that there was a court of appeal beyond the battle-field, where truth and right would ultimately prevail. The warfare of the pen gradually engaged all the master minds of the country. In 1642, wherever Charles moved he had his own press with him. Cleaveland, Carew, Suckling, Denham, Herrick, Butler, formed a galaxy of cavalier verse-makers. But Milton did not quite stand alone amongst those with whom civil and religious liberty was a higher sentiment than loyalty to the king. George Wither was the poet of puritanism, as ready with bitter invective as Cleaveland.

The king in August had vainly attempted to obtain possession of Coventry. He had then gone to Leicester with a body of cavalry. On the 21st of August, the king's nephew, Prince Rupert, had joined him, and received the command of the horse. The next day they rode to Nottingham. Charles had previously issued a proclamation "requiring the aid and assistance of all his subjects on the north side Trent, and within twenty miles southward thereof, for the suppressing of the rebels, now marching against him." He invited all "whose hearts God Almighty shall touch with a true sense and apprehension of our sufferings," to attend our person at our town of Nottingham, where "we intend to erect our Standard Royal in our just and necessary defence, and whence we intend to advance forward for the suppression of the said rebellion." Setting up the standard

was a ceremony which was held by some legists to be equivalent to a declaration that the kingdom was in a state of war, and that the ordinary course of law was at an end. The motto which the standard set up on Nottingham Castle displayed might be taken as an assertion of the principle of absolute power, which Charles had supposed inherent in him: "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's." The next day intelligence was received that the rebels' army, for such they were now declared, was, horse and foot and cannon, at Northampton; besides a force at Coventry. The king's advisers, finding "nothing towards an army for defence but the Standard set up," and apprehending danger to Charles's person, urged an attempt to negotiate with the parliament. Charles at last consented—not in sincerity of heart, but in the desire to obtain an advantage from the mere manifestation of a disposition to negotiate. The parliamentary leaders knew that the messengers of the king came with hollow overtures, they refused therefore to listen to them: "Until your Majesty shall recall those proclamations and declarations, whereby the earl of Essex and both Houses of Parliament are declared traitors or otherwise delinquents, and until the standard set up in pursuance of the said proclamation be taken down." The king, in new proclamations, repeated his declarations of the treason of the earl of Essex and others. And so, there being no alternative but war, the parliament, on the 9th of September, published a declaration to the whole kingdom, setting forth the causes of the war. On that day, the earl of Essex marched in great state out of London to join the army in the midland counties with the trained bands. A few weeks later the parliament ordered London to be fortified.

CHAPTER XXV.

PORTSMOUTH had capitulated to the parliament's army a fortnight before the king raised his standard at Nottingham. Lord Northampton, a royalist, had seized the stores at Banbury, and marched to the attack of Warwick Castle, which was successfully defended by the commander who had been left in charge, whilst lord Brook marched with some forces to the parliament's quarters. In the north of Warwickshire, Mrs. Purefoy, the wife of William Purefoy, a member of the House of Commons, defended her house against Prince Rupert and four hundred cavaliers. The out-buildings were set on fire, and the house would have been burnt, had not the lady gone forth, and claimed the protection of Rupert, who respected her courage, and would not suffer her property to be plundered. This young man was only twenty-three when Charles made him his general of horse. He had served in the wars for the recovery of the Palatinate, and had exhibited the bravery for which he was ever afterwards distinguished. But the confidence which the king placed in him as a commander was not justified by his possession of the high qualities of a general. About the middle of September, Charles marched with his small army from Nottingham to Derby. Essex, with the forces of the parliament, was at Northampton.

The king determined to occupy Shrewsbury. He halted his army on the 19th at Wellington, where he published a "Protestation," in which, amongst other assurances, he said, "I do solemnly and faithfully promise, in the sight of God, to maintain the just privileges and freedom of parliament, and to govern by the known laws of the land to my utmost power; and, particularly, to observe inviolably the laws consented to by me this parliament." The queen expressed her indignant surprise that Charles should have made any such engagement.

On the 22nd of September, Essex moved his army to Worcester, where the first rencounter took place between the cavalry of Rupert and the parliamentary cuirassiers. The royalists had a decided advantage. The royal army moved from Shrewsbury on the 12th of October, on to Wolverhampton, Birmingham, and Kenilworth. Two days after, the earl of Essex marched from Worcester in the direction which Charles had taken. "Neither army," says Clarendon, "knew where the other was." On the night of the 22nd of October, the king was at Edgecot, a village near Banbury. There was disunion in the camp. The earl of Lindsey by his commission was general of the whole army; but when Charles appointed prince Rupert his general of horse, he exempted him from receiving orders from any one but the king himself; this, as Clarendon says, "separated all the horse from any dependence upon the general." In the same spirit, when a battle was expected, Charles took the advice of his nephew, rejecting the opinion of the veteran Lindsey. At twelve o'clock on the night of the 22nd Rupert sent the king word "that the body of the rebel army was within seven or eight miles, and that the head-quarters was at a village called Keinton, on the edge of Warwickshire." The greater portion of the parliament's artillery, with two regiments of foot and one of horse, was a day's march behind. On Sunday morning, the 23rd, the king, having the advantage of numbers, determined to engage. At two o'clock the royal army descended the hill. Lindsey went into the battle, pike in hand, at the head of the foot guards, in the centre of the first line. The foot soldiers on each side engaged with little result. But Rupert, at the head of his horse, threw the parliament's left wing into complete disorder. The disaster was mainly attributable to the desertion of sir Faithful Fortescue, who went over with his troop to the royalists, when he was ordered to charge. The fiery prince pursued the flying squadron for three miles, whilst the main body of the king's forces was sorely pressed by the foot and horse of Essex. The king's standard was taken, but was afterwards recovered by a stratagem. Brave old Lindsey was mortally wounded, and taken prisoner. Other royalists of distinction were killed. Many around the king counselled a retreat; but Charles, with equal courage and sagacity, resolved to keep his ground. The next day was "spent in sending trumpeters to inquire whether such as were missing on both sides were killed or prisoners." The number of the slain was variously estimated by the two parties. Ludlow very impartially says, "it was observed that the greatest slaughter on our side was of such as ran away, and on the enemy's side of those that stood." There was no general desire in either army to renew the struggle. It was, in most respects, a drawn battle. Gradually the armies moved off, one to attack London, the other to defend it. The

people of the metropolis had been greatly agitated by the uncertain rumours of the great fight in Warwickshire. There was a general feeling that the king's army, not materially discomfited, would advance to strike a blow at the capital. The parliamentary earls, Pembroke, Holland, and Say and Sele, made speeches at Guildhall, to stir up the ardour of the citizens. An ordinance of parliament declared that any apprentices who should enlist should be secured from forfeiture of their bonds, and that their masters should receive them back again. At the beginning of November the king's army was decidedly known to be marching upon London. Rupert was quartered at Maidenhead with the advanced guard. Two days after Essex arrived, and received the thanks of the two Houses. On the 11th of November Charles was at Colnbrook. Thither went a deputation from the parliament, under a safe conduct, to propose that the king should appoint some convenient place to reside, near London, "until committees of both Houses of Parliament may attend your majesty with some propositions for the removal of these bloody distempers and distractions." Charles met the deputation favourably, and proposed to receive such propositions at Windsor. "But the very next day, the king, taking the advantage of a very thick mist, marched his army within half a mile of Brentford before he was discovered, designing to surprise our train of artillery (which was then at Hammersmith), the parliament, and city."* Clarendon throws the blame of this dishonour upon Rupert. On the morning of the 12th of November, the sound of distant guns was heard in London. Before noon Rupert was charging in the streets of Brentford. The regiment of Hollis was quartered there, and they were not unprepared for the attack. Hampden was at Acton, and Brook in a neighbouring cantonment. Again and again the parliamentary forces charged the cavaliers. But the main body of the royal army now invested Brentford. The fighting went on till evening, when the royalists had a decided advantage, and compelled the enemy to retire from the town. They took many prisoners. Several of the parliament's men were drowned in the Thames; but the greater number made their way in boats down the stream. Essex had arrived at Turnham Green with some trained bands, who, whilst the fighting was going on, had been exercising in Chelsea fields. The royalists fell back to the king's quarters at Hounslow. "All that night the city of London poured out men towards Brentford, who every hour marched thither; and all the lords and gentlemen that belonged to the parliament army were there ready by Sunday morning, the 14th of November."† Twenty-four thousand of the parliamentary army were marshalled on that Sunday on Turnham Green, and the good housewives of London sent out abundant provisions of meat and beer. But pacific counsels again prevailed. Hampden was recalled, when, in pursuance of a settled plan of attack, he was about to march by Acton and Osterley Park to take the royal army in the rear. Essex remained inactive, instead of advancing to Hounslow as had been agreed. The king marched off to Oatlands, where he rested for two days; then went on to Reading, and on the 29th of November was in winter quarters at Oxford.

The citizens, who had seen war so close at their doors, now began to

* Ludlow's "Memoirs." † May.

talk more earnestly of peace. But the exertions of the peace party produced a corresponding determination of "the pious and movement party" that the war should be carried on with renewed energy. The Guildhall was the scene of many an angry debate. At length, on the 2nd of January, a petition from the common council was carried to the king at Oxford, in which he was asked to return to the capital, when all disturbance should be suppressed. Charles's answer, which was read to the people in the Guildhall, was full of reproaches, and breathed any language but that of conciliation. Amidst an immense uproar, Pym and lord Manchester addressed the multitude, and the prospect of peace faded from the people's view. The eastern counties formed themselves into an "Association," in the organisation of which Cromwell was the master-spirit. Lincoln and Huntingdon soon joined, and the seven associated counties not only kept the war away from their own localities, but furnished the most efficient support to its vigorous conduct in other quarters. The war, as it proceeded, gradually assumed a fiercer character. It became, to some extent, a war of classes. In the beginning of 1643, the national feeling was exasperated by the landing of the queen with a foreign army. During a year she had been indefatigable in making the most of the funds she had acquired by the sale of the crown jewels, to purchase arms and ammunition, and to raise men. On the 22nd of February she arrived with four ships, and landed at Burlington. The admiral of the parliament had failed in intercepting her convoy; but he attacked her ammunition boats, and the house in which she was sleeping. Henrietta Maria had to take shelter in a ditch at some distance from the village, where, during two hours, the balls were "passing always over our heads, and sometimes covering us with dust. At last the admiral of Holland sent to tell them, that if they did not cease, he would fire upon them as enemies." * The admiral, Batten, was denounced as a traitor by the royalists. The earl of Newcastle, who came to escort the queen to York, had been authorised by the king to raise men for his service, "without examining their consciences;" and thus his army was styled by the parliament "the queen's army," and "the Catholic army." The prejudice against foreigners and Romanists thus came into renewed activity.

In the spring of 1643, the two Houses of Parliament, embarrassed by the king's possession of the Great Seal, ordered that the Session of Oyer and Terminer should not be proceeded with "until it shall please God to end these distractions between the king and people." Charles issued a proclamation, commanding that the Easter term should be held at Oxford instead of Westminster. The judges were ordered there to attend the king. The parliament then resolved to establish a Great Seal: and under this authority and that of the king, judges executed their functions as usual, after a suspension of a few months. During these unhappy times, England was in a great degree exempt from crimes of violence, except those committed under the pretence of martial necessity.

This spring was passed by the court at Oxford, amidst outward splendour and secret want. Towards the end of March came commissioners from the

* Green's "Letters of Henrietta Maria," p. 166.

parliament, authorised to negotiate a suspension of arms, and a treaty of peace. Charles displayed his usual vacillation. He made concessions one day, and revoked them another. At last the parliament peremptorily recalled its commissioners. The contemplated suspension of arms was, on the 15th of April, declared by the parliament to be at an end. On that day Essex marched his army to the siege of Reading. The town had been fortified; and the garrison there, although wanting provisions and ammunition, was composed of resolute men. The approaches were regularly constructed, batteries erected, and trenches dug. The king, on the 24th of April, set out from Oxford to head a force for the relief of the besieged. The army which he led was numerous and well appointed. At Caversham bridge the royalist forces were repulsed by those of the parliament, and fell back upon Wallingford. That day Reading was surrendered to Essex. Sir William Waller was successful against the royalists in the south and west. Fairfax was disputing with lord Newcastle the supremacy of the north. The Cornish men, in arms for the king, had gained a battle over lord Stamford. What could not be accomplished in the open field by the cavaliers was sought to be effected by a secret plot to arm the royalists in London, to seize the persons of the parliamentary leaders, and to bring the king's troops into the capital. Edmund Waller, the poet, who was a member of parliament, and had been at Oxford with the commissioners, Waller's brother-in-law, Mr. Tomkins, Mr. Challoner (a citizen), and other persons who were implicated, were taken into custody on the 31st of May. Waller made very abject confessions, with exaggerated denunciations of others, to save his own life. The parliament behaved with honourable moderation. Five persons were condemned by court-martial: two, Challoner and Tomkins, were executed.

After the occupation of Reading, the troops of Essex were distributed in cantonments about Thame and Wycombe. Rupert dashed in amongst the small towns and villages where these troops were quartered. Hampden had been visiting the scattered pickets, and urging upon Essex a greater concentration of his forces. On the morning of the 19th of June, the prince was with a large force in Chalgrove Field, near Thame. Hampden, with a small detachment, attacked the cavaliers; expecting the main body of the parliamentary army soon to come up with reinforcements. His troops were completely routed before Essex arrived. Rupert retreated across the Thames to Oxford. Hampden was shot in the shoulder during the action. He contrived to reach Thame, where he died, after six days of agony. "O Lord, save my bleeding country," were his last words. Clarendon says, "His death was no less pleasing to the one party, than it was condoled in the other."

On the 27th of May the queen wrote to the king from York, "I shall stay to besiege Leeds at once, although I am dying to join you." This bold and determined woman had her favourites, especially Jermyn and Digby, whose advancement she was constantly urging; but her dominant idea was to restore the absolute power of the king, and her ruling passion was hatred of the parliament. At length, on the 13th of July, she met Charles at Keinton, and they proceeded together to Oxford. The tidings of a victory on the 15th over the parliamentary forces at Roundway Down,

in Wiltshire, greeted their arrival. A previous victory over sir William Waller at Lansdown, in Somersetshire, filled the royalists with the most sanguine hopes. Partial successes on the other side, such as the brave defence of Nottingham Castle by colonel Hutchinson, had no material influence upon the state of affairs. In the summer of 1643 the power of the parliament was visibly in danger. On the 27th of July, Bristol was surrendered to Rupert after an assault, with terrible slaughter on both sides. A design of sir John Hotham to surrender Hull to the king was detected. He and his son were committed to the Tower on a charge of betraying the cause of the parliament. London was in a state of unusual agitation. The Lords came to resolutions, upon a proposal of peace, of a far more moderate character than had previously been determined on. The Commons, by a majority of nineteen, decided that the proposals of the Lords should be considered. A petition from the common council called for the rejection of the proposals. Multitudes surrounded the Houses to enforce the same demand. The proposals were now rejected by a majority of seven. An attempt was then made to enforce the demand for peace by popular clamour. Many peers left parliament and joined the king at Oxford, amongst whom was lord Holland. The royalist army was growing stronger in every quarter. Charles sent sir Philip Warwick to the earl of Newcastle to propose a plan of co-operation between the armies of the south and north. Newcastle would not consent, but, in spite of this serious difficulty in concentrating his forces, Charles determined upon besieging Gloucester. The garrison consisted of fifteen hundred men, under Edward Massey, the parliamentary governor. The inhabitants were less than five thousand. On the 10th of August the king's army was stationed in view of the city, and within less than two miles of it. Charles sent a summons for its surrender, offering pardon to the inhabitants, and requiring an answer within two hours. The answer was to the effect that the inhabitants and soldiers kept the city for the use of his majesty, but conceived themselves "wholly bound to obey the commands of his majesty, signified by both Houses of Parliament." The people of Gloucester immediately set fire to all the houses outside the walls. From the 10th of August till the 6th of September these resolute people defended their city with a bravery unsurpassed in this warfare. All differences having been reconciled in London, the earl of Essex at the head of fourteen thousand men set out from thence on the 24th of August. On the 5th of September he had arrived by forced marches within five miles of Gloucester. The king sent a messenger to him with pacific proposals, which were rejected. Gloucester was relieved, and the royal army moved away. On the 10th the parliamentary general was on his march back to London. He had passed Farringdon, and was rapidly advancing upon Newbury, on his road to Reading, when his scattered horse were attacked by Rupert and his cavaliers. There was a sharp conflict for several hours, and Essex was compelled to halt at Hungerford. When he came near to Newbury on the 19th, he found the royal army in possession of the town. The king had come there two hours before him. On the morning of the 20th, Essex being encamped upon Bigg's Hill, about a mile from Newbury, the outposts of each force became engaged, and the battle

was soon general. It was fought all day "with great fierceness and courage. * * * The London trained bands and auxiliary regiments (of whose inexperience of danger, or any kind of service, beyond the easy practice of their postures in the Artillery Garden, men had till then too cheap an estimation), behaved themselves to wonder; and were, in truth, the preservation of that army that day."* The loss of royalists of rank was more than usually great. Three noblemen fell, for whom there was lamentation beyond the ranks of their party—lord Carnarvon, lord Sunderland, and lord Falkland. Falkland, especially, still lives in our memories, as one of the noblest and purest,—the true English gentleman in heart and intellect.

Before the battle of Newbury the parliament had appointed commissioners to negotiate a treaty of alliance with the Scots, and sir Henry Vane, the chief negotiator, had acceded to the imperative demand of the Scots' parliament that the religious system of Scotland should be adopted as that of England. A "Solemn League and Covenant" was agreed on, which should bind those who subscribed it, "to endeavour, without respect of persons, the extirpation of popery and prelacy." After much debate, it was publicly explained, "that by Prelacy, we mean not all Episcopacy, but only the form which is here described." On the 25th of September, all the members of parliament, assembled in St. Margaret's church, swore to maintain this League and Covenant. The oath was signed by two hundred and twenty-eight members of the Commons. It was adopted in the city with enthusiastic demonstrations of religious fervour. The Presbyterian Parliament of England became more violent for conformity than the Court of High Commission which the parliament had destroyed. The number of incumbents ejected from their livings, for their refusal to sign this obligation, has been variously reckoned, from sixteen hundred to eight thousand. The men who now came upon the scene as chief actors were of a different stamp to the earlier tribunes of the people, three of whom—Hampden, Falkland, and Pym—had died in this year. There was now ample room for the ambition of such a man as Cromwell, whether as a soldier or a politician, and the sectaries of all denominations eagerly gathered under the standard of a leader who insisted that his men should be religious, but left the particular form of religion to their own choice.

On the 19th January, 1644, the Scottish army entered England. Lesley, now earl of Leven, commanded them. The marquis of Newcastle had given up his attempt to take Hull, and was in winter-quarters at York. Lesley's army marched on to Newcastle, which they summoned to surrender. The governor and garrison were faithful to their trust. The Scots were straitened for provisions; and the royalist army of fourteen thousand men was intercepting their supplies. They determined to advance further into the heart of the country. At this juncture the English regiments that had been recalled by the king from Ireland, were besieging the parliamentary garrison at Nantwich. Sir Thomas Fairfax hurried to the relief of the place, and totally defeated this Anglo-Irish army, which was under the command of sir John Byron. The recall by the king of those

* Clarendon, "Rebellion," vol. iv., p. 235.

troops who had been sent to repress the rebellion in Ireland, was preceded by the conclusion of a truce with the rebels themselves. The cessation of arms in Ireland, says Clarendon, "was no sooner known in England, but the two Houses declared against it, with all the sharp glosses upon it to his majesty's dishonour that can be imagined." The king now proposed to issue a proclamation declaring the parliament to be dissolved; forbidding them to meet; and requiring all persons to reject their authority. Hyde opposed this project, and Charles very unwillingly accepted Hyde's own counter-proposition. It was that of summoning the Peers and Commons that had adhered to the royal cause to meet him in parliament at Oxford. On the 22nd of December, 1643, the proclamation convoking this Parliament was issued. On the 22nd of January, 1644, the parliament, or more truly convention, met at Oxford. A large majority of the Commons were with the Westminster parliament; a large majority of the Peers with that of Oxford. The parliament at Westminster absolutely refused to recognise "those persons now assembled at Oxford, who, contrary to their duty, have deserted your parliament," as they wrote to the king on the 9th of March. The parliament at Oxford continued to sit till the 16th of April; but the king and queen were impatient under any interference with the authority of royalty, and the king's "mongrel parliament," as he termed it, only proved a hindrance to the vigorous prosecution of the war. In the meantime, the parliament at Westminster formed a council under the title of "The Committee of the Two Kingdoms," consisting of seven Lords, fourteen members of the Commons, and four Scottish commissioners. Whatever belongs to the executive power as distinguished from the legislative, devolved upon this Committee. In the spring of 1644 the parliament had five armies in the field, paid by general or local taxation, and by voluntary contributions. Including the Scottish army there were altogether 56,000 men under arms; the English forces being commanded, as separate armies, by Essex, Waller, Manchester, and Fairfax. Essex and Waller advanced to blockade Oxford.

The queen went to Exeter in April, and never saw Charles again. The blockading forces around Oxford had become so strong that resistance appeared to be hopeless. On the night of the 3rd of June, the king secretly left the city, and passed safely between the two hostile armies. There had again been jealousies and disagreements between Essex and Waller. Essex, supported by the council of war, but in opposition to the committee of the two kingdoms, had marched to the west. Waller, meanwhile, went in pursuit of the king into Worcestershire. Charles suddenly returned to Oxford; and then at Cropredy Bridge, near Banbury, defeated Waller, who had hastened back to encounter him. Essex was before the walls of Exeter, in which city the queen had given birth to a princess. The king hastened to the west. He was strong enough to meet either of the parliamentary armies, thus separated. Meanwhile the combined English and Scottish armies were besieging York. Rupert had just accomplished the relief of Lathom House, which had been defended by the heroic countess of Derby for eighteen weeks, against a detachment of the army of Fairfax. He then marched towards York with twenty thousand men. The allied English and Scots retired from Hessey Moor,

near York, to Tadcaster. Rupert entered York with two thousand cavalry. The earl of Newcastle was in command there. He counselled a prudent delay. The impetuous Rupert said he had the orders of the king for his guidance, and he was resolved to fight. On the 2nd of July, having rested two days, in and near York, and enabled the city to be newly provisioned, the royalist army went forth to engage. They met their enemy on Marston Moor. The issue of the encounter would have been more than doubtful, but for Cromwell, who for the first time had headed his Ironsides in a great pitched battle. The right wing of the parliamentary army was scattered. Rupert was chasing and slaying the Scottish cavalry. The centre of each army, each centre composed of infantry, were fighting with the sturdy resolution of Englishmen, whatever be the quarrel. The charges of Fairfax and Cromwell decided the day. The victory of the parliamentary forces was so complete, that the earl of Newcastle left York, and embarked at Scarborough for the continent. Rupert marched away also, with the wreck of his army, to Chester. Fifteen hundred prisoners, all the artillery, more than a hundred banners, remained with the victors. Four thousand one hundred and fifty bodies lay dead on the plain.

The queen, sinking under a serious illness, now fled to France. She embarked from Falmouth on the 14th, and landed at Brest. Soon after her departure the king's arms had a considerable success over lord Essex in Cornwall. The parliamentary party were in alarm. Essex wrote in vain for assistance. Several attempts were made by the royalists to win him to a treaty. The greater part of his army desired to capitulate, though his cavalry had succeeded in passing the enemy's posts. Essex hastily left the camp to avoid that humiliation, leaving Skippon in command. Charles offered honourable terms of capitulation, only requiring the surrender of the artillery, arms, and ammunition. The army of Essex returned as fugitives to London, or dispersed through the country. The king was resolved to march to London from the west. Three armies, under Essex, Manchester, and Waller, were called out for the defence of the capital. Essex, though retaining his authority, did not join the troops which fought the second battle of Newbury on the 27th of October. Manchester was there in command. This battle was hotly contested without any decisive results. The king withdrew to Oxford, renewing his project of advancing to London. The serious differences between the Presbyterians and the Independents were brought to an issue by this second battle of Newbury. In December, Cromwell in his place in parliament, said, "I do conceive if the army be not put into another method, and the war more vigorously prosecuted, the people can bear the war no longer, and will enforce you to a dishonourable peace." At a meeting at the house of the lord-general Essex, the Scottish chancellor proposed that Cromwell should be proceeded against as "an incendiary." Whilst the supporters of Essex and the other generals were seeking for proofs against their dangerous rival, it was moved in the Commons, by Zouch Tate, a man of no great mark, "that no member of either House shall, during the war, enjoy or execute any office or command, civil or military, and that an ordinance be brought in accordingly." Long and furious debates followed this proposition, which was called the Self-denying Ordinance.

It was passed by the Lower House on the 21st of December, and transmitted to the Lords. The Presbyterian party saw their strength passing away from them. They endeavoured to rekindle all the violence of religious intolerance, by resuming proceedings against archbishop Laud. In the previous March his trial had commenced upon specific charges, founded upon those which had first been brought forward on his impeachment. He defended himself with skill and courage. His most active persecutor was William Prynne. By an ordinance of parliament, voted by a few Lords—some say seven only—the aged prelate was condemned for high treason, and was beheaded on the 10th of January, 1645. Four others were sent to the scaffold at the same time, for political offences. On the 3rd the Liturgy of the Church of England, which had been previously tolerated, was abolished by ordinance. The self-denying ordinance was rejected on the 13th of January, by the Lords. But the agitation of the question had rendered a great change necessary. On the 21st Fairfax was nominated general; and, within a month, a new model for the army was arranged and carried.

At the beginning of 1645, "It was agreed that Commissioners should be sent from the Parliament to treat with others to be sent from the king, about conditions of peace. The place of their meeting was at Uxbridge." The king had acknowledged the two Houses as a parliament, for which concession he was bitterly reproached by Henrietta Maria. The commissioners sent by the parliament were chiefly of the more moderate party. The debates were grave and courteous. The three great points to be discussed were the Church, the state of Ireland, and the Militia. An approach to an agreement did not seem hopeless. Lord Southampton was deputed to proceed to Oxford to see if he could obtain some concession from the king that would place the military authority under the joint control of the Crown and the Parliament, each naming half of the leaders, for a limited number of years. Dr. Welwood says, "The king was at last prevailed with to follow their counsel; and the next morning was appointed for signing a warrant to his commissioners to that effect . . . . But so it was, that when they came early the next morning to wait upon him with the warrant that had been agreed upon over night, they found his majesty had changed his resolution, and was become inflexible in these points." The king's altered temper is referred to a letter from Montrose which had been received by Charles during the night. In the middle of December that daring chieftain had forced an entry into the country of the Campbells, wasting all before him. He had afterwards gained a decisive victory over Argyle, and he wrote to Charles, begging him not to treat with his rebel subjects, "unless they disband, and submit themselves entirely to your majesty's goodness and pardon . . . . Give me leave, with all humility, to assure your majesty, that through God's blessing, I am in the fairest hopes of reducing this kingdom to your majesty's obedience." The treaty of Uxbridge was to last twenty days. The last day expired, and nothing was concluded. Argyle arrived from Scotland, stung by defeat and disgrace; and agreed with the extreme party in urging forward whatever measures would lead to the active prosecution of the war. The peers withdrew from their opposition to the self-denying ordi-

nance, and it was finally passed on the 3rd of April. The military services of Cromwell were of such importance that Fairfax and his officers urged that, without regard to the ordinance, he might be temporarily appointed the lieutenant-general, chief commander of the horse. The earls of Essex, Manchester, and Denbigh, gave in their resignations. In the councils of the king it was resolved that the prince of Wales should be sent into the western counties with the title of generalissimo, and that the most discreet advisers of Charles should accompany the prince, yet only fifteen years old, to direct all measures in his name. The more violent of the cavaliers now formed the advisers of Charles. As the summer approached, the king's affairs were rapidly mending. He had taken Leicester by storm. Taunton was besieged by the royalists. Fairfax was surrounding Oxford, but inactive. Cromwell was active in the counties of the Eastern Association. Fairfax, on the 5th of June, received commands to raise the siege of Oxford, and go to the midland counties after the king. The general sent a requisition to the parliament that Cromwell might be permitted to join him. On the 13th of June, Fairfax and Cromwell were marching after the king, who went before them from Daventry to Harborough. Charles had taken up his quarters for the night at the "Hall House," at Lubenham, near Harborough, where his van was stationed. His rear was at Naseby. Late that evening, Ireton and his troopers suddenly dashed in amongst the royalists there. Some fled to the old Hall, where the king was gone to rest. He set off instantly to Rupert's quarters at Harborough; and in a midnight council of war it was determined not to retire to Leicester, as had been previously agreed, but to fight Fairfax. The parliamentary army was on its march at three in the morning of the 14th, and at five it was at Naseby. According to Clarendon, the king's army was drawn up early in the morning of the 14th in order of battle, about a mile from Harborough, there to wait for the enemy. The several commands were thus assigned: prince Rupert commanded the left wing; sir Marmaduke Langdale the right wing; lord Ashley the main body. The reserves were with the king. The scout-master came in and reported that he had been three or four miles, and could gain no intelligence of any enemy near. Rupert then went forward with his horse; and indistinctly seeing the van of the parliament's troops, fancied they were retreating, and sent a messenger to desire that the royalist main body should immediately move up. When Fairfax saw the king's army advancing, he formed his troops in a large fallow field north-west of Naseby, the brow of the hill running east and west for about a mile. The centre was commanded by Fairfax himself and Skippon; the right wing by Cromwell; the left wing by Ireton. The reserves were commanded by Pride, Hammond, and Rainsborough. The hill on which the parliamentary army was drawn up bears the name of "Mill Hill." The king's army was on a hill opposite. A wide table-ground known as "Broad Moor" was between them. Rupert charged up the hill against the left wing of Fairfax. Cromwell charged from the extreme right, down the hill upon Langdale's squadrons. Rupert had beaten Ireton's left wing back to Naseby; but there he had been tempted to lose time in taking a survey of his enemy's baggage. Langdale's horse fled before Cromwell's battle-cry of "God is

our strength." But Fairfax in the centre was hotly pressed. The king's foot had come over the hill, and poured in volley after volley upon the parliamentary ranks. The Ironsides now turned from their flying enemies on the right; and retrieved the day by their assaults on the king's main battle. When Rupert returned he saw the royal army in utter confusion. Fairfax had rallied his men; and the royalists yielded. The king's reserve of horse, consisting of his own guards, were seized by a panic fear and fled. Rupert's men, says Clarendon, "having, as they thought, acted their parts, could never be brought to rally themselves again in order, or to charge the enemy." Charles fled to Leicester. Cromwell wrote to the Speaker of the House of Commons, "We, after three hours' fight, very doubtful, at last routed his (the king's) army; killed and took about 5000—very many officers, but of what quality we yet know not. We took also about two hundred carriages, all he had; and all his guns, being twelve in number." The most precious spoil of that day was the king's cabinet, which disclosed secrets more injurious to his cause than any victory of his enemies. The people learnt that there was no sincerity in the king's desire for peace; that there was no abatement of his determination to govern by absolute power. Foreign princes were asked to send their soldiers to conquer rebel England. The dreaded Papists were to be freed from every restraint on the condition of such assistance.

During the summer of 1645 singular confederacies had been formed in some places, avowedly for protecting their property against both parties. Those who belonged to them were known as "Clubmen." They were to some extent neutrals; but they were principally called into activity by royalist gentry. Their business was to use their clubs as valiantly as they might.

Bristol, which Rupert was charged to defend, was invested by Fairfax and Cromwell, on the 22nd of August. On the 10th of September the city was stormed. The royalists caused it to be set on fire at three places, and Rupert sent a trumpet to propose a surrender. The articles were agreed upon; and the prince marched out with a convoy of two regiments of horse. He went to Oxford. Charles wrote him a bitter letter of reproach from Hereford; and a royal proclamation was issued the same day revoking all his commissions of military authority. At the beginning of October, Winchester surrendered to Cromwell, who then went on to the siege of Basing House, the magnificent mansion of the marquis of Winchester. Cromwell battered the house from the higher ground till he had made a breach; and then stormed it with a resolution which made all resistance vain. The rapine and slaughter were probably greater than at any other such strongholds. Basing House was a post of importance, and it had held out against the parliament so long that it was deemed almost impregnable.

CHAPTER XXVI.

With the exception of a few conflicts for the possession of garrisoned towns and detached manor-houses, the war, during the autumn of 1645, was wholly in the west. In England the great royalist army was utterly broken and dispersed. But in Scotland, wherever Montrose led his Highlanders he was victorious. On the 15th of August the Covenanting army, commanded by Baillie, was utterly defeated. It was the seventh great victory of Montrose; and it laid Scotland, for a few weeks, at his feet. Edinburgh surrendered to him. In the king's name he summoned a parliament at Glasgow. Before the surrender of Bristol, Charles had conceived the possibility of joining Montrose. The hope returned even after Bristol was lost. He decided to attempt the relief of Chester, then besieged by the parliament's forces; for at that port only could he receive succours from Ireland. He marched, with five thousand men, over the Welsh mountains; and on the 24th of September was within view of Chester. Poyntz, the parliamentary commander, suddenly came upon the rear-guard of the royalists, at Rowton Heath. Sir Marmaduke Langdale vigorously charged the parliamentary forces; but a detachment of the besieging troops came upon his rear, and decided the day. The king retired again to the mountains. His chance of joining Montrose was gone. But at this juncture Montrose was himself a fugitive. He had advanced towards the English border with diminished followers, and on the 13th of September had been surprised by Leslie, at Philiphaugh, on the left bank of the Ettrick. It was impossible to rally the main body of his followers, and the great leader retreated to the Highlands. Leslie re-established the Covenanting power in the Lowlands. His victory was disgraced by a cold-blooded slaughter of prisoners; and by the subsequent execution of many of the royalist leaders.

Charles rested three days at Denbigh Castle, and then went to Newark, which was held by a royalist garrison of about two thousand horse and foot. Digby went on to the north, but at Sherborne, in Yorkshire, he was overtaken by the parliamentary troops, and utterly routed. Amongst Digby's baggage his private papers were taken, and his secret correspondence with the queen's favorite, Jermyn, was published by order of parliament in the spring of 1646. After a stormy meeting with the king at Newark, prince Rupert and his brother Maurice left Charles for ever. The royal garrison at Newark were half mutinous. The king's troops were reduced to a few hundreds. Poyntz and Rossiter, the parliamentary generals, were closing round Newark. At eleven o'clock on the night of the 3rd of November, the king, with four or five hundred cavaliers, set out for Oxford. After a wearisome march, with hostile troops all around, they reached the loyal city in safety on the 6th.

During the long vacation of this year, the Commons had resolved to fill up the vacancies in their House, caused by the absence of the royalist members, by issuing out writs for the election of representatives to supply their places. Many persons of eminence came into parliament through

this election. The Independents were unquestionably strengthened. There were dissensions between the parliament and the Scottish army, which was discontented through the want of pay. Charles sought to take advantage of these distractions. On the 5th of December, he wrote to the Speaker of the House of Lords, offering to send a deputation to Westminster with propositions that should be "the foundation of a happy and well-grounded peace." He received no immediate answer; and he then proposed to proceed to Westminster, to treat in person. Meanwhile a reply had been returned to his first proposal, declining to receive his negotiators. The plan of a personal treaty was also rejected. To justify this rejection certain papers that had been found in the carriage of the Catholic archbishop of Tuam, who was killed in a skirmish in October, were laid before parliament, and then published. They proved that the king had concluded a treaty of alliance with the Irish rebels, in which as the price of their landing in England with ten thousand men, under the earl of Glamorgan, popery was to be re-established in Ireland, and the Protestants brought under subjection. Charles repudiated his agent, the earl of Glamorgan, in a letter to the parliament, maintaining that he had given no power to make conditions in the matter of religion or church property, but merely to raise men for his service. The parliament disbelieved the king; and documents, then undiscovered, prove that the parliament was right.

At the express desire of the prince of Wales, Lord Hopton very reluctantly accepted the command of the western army. A braver man could not have been chosen, or a more high-minded friend of the royal cause, but he utterly failed when he brought this demoralized remnant of an army face to face with the orderly troops of Fairfax. Hopton had possession of Torrington, and his main body was placed on a common at its east end. Fairfax forced the barricade, and the royalist horse and foot took to flight, leaving their general and a few of his friends to shift for themselves. Shortly after, Hopton collected some of his runaways; and, with accessions of strength as he went on, marched to Truro, with Fairfax closely following. Hopton would have fought another battle; but his officers of horse declared that their men would never be brought to fight; and proposed to capitulate. Fairfax offered conditions that involved no dishonour; but the general would not yield; and at last a treaty was concluded without him, and the western army was dissolved. On the 22nd of March, lord Astley, marching from Worcester to join the king at Oxford, was defeated at Stow-in-the-Wold, and his three thousand cavaliers were killed, captured, or dispersed. The brave old general was himself taken prisoner. These disasters at length determined the prince of Wales and his council to obey the king's injunctions to leave the country. He first sailed to Scilly, from whence, after three weeks of great privation, he went to Jersey; and in the summer proceeded to France, and afterwards to Holland.

Charles now endeavoured to carry out his hope of dividing his enemies by propitiating the Independents through their leading statesman, the younger Vane. He then addressed a message to parliament, offering to come to Whitehall, and proposing much the same terms as had been rejected by him during the treaty at Uxbridge. His great object was to produce such an effect by his presence in London as would cause a popular

reaction in his favour. The leaders of both parties agreed to prevent this by a very strong ordinance, which gave the Committee of the Militia power to raise forces to prevent tumult in case of the king's coming; to apprehend any who should come with him or resort to him; and which commanded all who had ever borne arms for the king immediately to depart from London, upon the penalty of being proceeded against as spies. Meanwhile the army of Fairfax was advancing towards Oxford. Montreuil, a special ambassador from France, was sent to induce the Scots to take up the cause of the king. His offers were received with civility, but with no distinct promises. The question of establishing the Church in England according to the Scottish model was the great apparent difficulty. The real danger, which was perhaps most borne in mind, was the certainty of being involved in a serious quarrel with the English parliament by a separate treaty. After two months of tedious negotiations, Montreuil at last saw that the first advice which he had given to the king to go to the Scottish army was not borne out by any definite promises, and he then dissuaded him from the attempt.

There were two persons in attendance upon the king at Oxford upon whom he bestowed his most secret confidences. One was his chaplain, Dr. Michael Hudson; the other, a groom of his bedchamber, Ashburnham. On Sunday, the 26th of April, at about twelve o'clock at night, the king came, with the duke of Richmond, to Ashburnham's chamber. Hudson was then sent to call the governor of Oxford, who arrived about two o'clock. To him the king confided his intention to leave the city; the governor went for the keys; and just as the clock struck three they passed over Magdalen-bridge. The king then commanded the governor that no gate of Oxford should be opened for five days. He rode on with Hudson and Ashburnham, and rested not till they reached a tavern at Hillingdon, between ten and eleven o'clock. They were irresolute as to proceeding towards London or Norfolk, and at length determined to go northward. The next night they slept at St. Albans. On the Tuesday, according to Hudson's circumstantial narrative, he separated from the king and Ashburnham, as they rode upon their way towards Baldock; he to go in search of Montreuil, they to stay at the White Swan at Downham till he returned to them. Here they remained till the Friday, when Hudson returned with a statement that the Scots would condescend to all the demands which the king had made for the security of his person and the satisfaction of his conscience; that they would declare for him if the English parliament should refuse to restore him to his rights and prerogatives; but that they would give nothing under their hands. "I came to the king on Friday night," says Hudson, "and related all; and he resolved next morning to go to them." On the Tuesday night, the 4th of May, they met Montreuil at Southwell. Commissioners from the Scottish army also met the king there. Their troops were spread about the districts, surrounding the castle of Newark, which was held for the king. On the 6th of May, lord Leven, the Scots general, and the Committee of Estates at Southwell, wrote to the Committee of both kingdoms to inform them of the king's arrival, and of their intention "to endeavour that his being here might be improved to the best advantage, for promoting the work of uniformity, for settling of religion and righteousness, and attaining of peace according to

the League and Covenant and Treaty, by the advice of the parliaments of both kingdoms, or their commissioners authorised for that effect." Charles consented to sign an order that his governor of Newark should give up the place to the Scots for the Committee of both kingdoms, and very shortly after, the Scottish army, with the king, was on its march to Newcastle.

From the 6th of May, 1646, till the 30th of January, 1647, the king remained in the hands of the Scots. It was a time of unwearied political intrigue and agitation, more complicated than ever with the great question of religion. The Presbyterian party had a considerable majority in the House of Commons, but the Independents were far more powerful than the talkers in Parliament, having the entire control of the army. The Scots were growing more and more unpopular in the sentiments of the English people. A vote was at length carried in the Commons, in June, that their presence was no longer required; and they were requested to return home, on receiving a payment of a hundred thousand pounds, on account of what might be due to them. They made no sign of removing. Their great object was to induce Charles to consent to the abolition of Episcopacy, and to the establishment of Presbyterianism in both kingdoms. They assailed him with reiterated solicitations, and even with menaces. Charles clung with a tenacity approaching to fanaticism to the Episcopal principle. The English parliament, still governed by the Presbyterian party, sent him proposals in July. He was to adopt the Covenant; he was to abolish the Episcopal Church; he was to give up the command of the military arm for twenty years; he was to exclude seventy of his adherents from a general amnesty. The queen urged him to accept even these proposals. Without an absolute rejection of these hard terms, he prepared again to come to London. The money question between the Scots and the parliament then occupied many weeks of controversy. Four hundred thousand pounds were at last voted; and a loan was raised for the immediate payment of half the amount. The treaty was completed for the retirement of the Scottish army, and on the 30th of January they marched from Newcastle, leaving Charles with nine commissioners who had arrived from London. He was treated by them with marked respect. On the 9th of February he left Newcastle, escorted by a regiment of horse and reached Holmby House, in Nottinghamshire, his appointed residence, on the 16th. Oxford had been surrendered to Fairfax on the 22nd of June, under honourable terms. All the royalist garrisons had yielded before the end of 1646.

During this spring and early summer the king was not deprived of any of the trappings of royal state. Nor was his liberty much controlled. He was attended by two gentlemen selected by the parliament, Thomas Herbert and James Harrington, who became his fast friends. The Presbyterian party, however, would not allow Charles to have chaplains of the Episcopal Church, and he would not suffer the Presbyterian ministers even to ask a blessing upon his meals. The controversy of the dominant party with the representatives of the various religious sects, was growing more and more fierce. The Presbyterians held the sectaries, as well as the prelatical party, "enemies to all godliness;" and they relied upon their parliamentary majority to effect another remodelling of the army. Crom-

well, on the other hand, was bringing the army into a more general dislike of the narrow views of their Presbyterian rulers. The City was in accord with the parliamentary majority; and in the subsequent events the two great parties seemed to resolve themselves into the City party and the Army party. Within three days after the king had arrived at Holmby House, the Commons voted that the army should be disbanded, with the exception of the troops required for the suppression of rebellion in Ireland, and for the service of the garrisons. This motion was adopted upon a division in which there was a majority of twelve. It was also voted that there should be no officers under Fairfax of higher rank than colonel; that every officer should take the Covenant, and conform to the Presbyterian church. There were large arrears of pay due to the army, and a loan was raised in the City to satisfy a portion of them. What was proposed to be paid was very insufficient. There were murmurings amongst men and officers. On the 25th of March, a petition, signed by fourteen officers, was presented to parliament on the subject of arrears. The House, on the 30th of March, declared that whoever had a hand in promoting this petition, or other such petitions, was "an enemy to the State, and a disturber of the public peace." Deputations from the House went to the army. Officers were examined at the bar. On the 30th of April, Skippon produced in his place in parliament a letter which had been brought to him by some troopers, expressing the complaints and demands of eight regiments of horse. The army had organised itself into a Council of Officers, and a Council of Adjutators. The Adjutators, who came to be called Agitators, were delegates named by the common soldiers. The difficulties of reconcilement were now growing very formidable. Meanwhile the king had written to the parliament, with reference to the proposals made to him at Newcastle. He still declared against Presbytery; and his application was unheeded. The army councils grew more and more resolved to have greater concessions than the parliament was disposed to make. They were voted eight weeks' pay, and a committee went to the army at Saffron Walden to see it disbanded. We want eight times eight weeks' pay, said the Adjutators. They petitioned again through their general. There were London petitions against the army, and the getters-up of counter-petitions in its favour were imprisoned. There was a great gathering of Adjutators to confer with the general; and it was then agreed that on the 4th of June there should be a rendezvous of all the soldiers at Newmarket. "It was privately resolved," says Clarendon, "by the principal persons of the House of Commons, that when Cromwell came the next day into the House, which he seldom omitted to do, they would send him to the Tower." That morning, the 3rd of June, Cromwell rode out of town by break of day, on his way to the army.

About midnight, on the 2nd of June, Holmby House was surrounded by a party of cavalry, headed by a cornet in general Fairfax's guard, of the name of Joyce. The men on duty opened the gates to their old comrades in spite of the commissioners, who saw that armed resistance was impossible. The next day Charles told the soldiers that force must be employed to remove him, unless he was promised that nothing should be required of him against his conscience or honour. "Nothing, nothing," exclaimed

the men as one voice. In a few hours the king and the unwilling commissioners were on their way towards the army. In the meantime the appointed rendezvous had taken place on Kentford Heath, near Newmarket, and another meeting of this military parliament was arranged for the 10th, at Triploe Heath, near Cambridge. The king arrived at Royston on the 7th. Fairfax and Cromwell waited on him, and denied having commissioned Joyce to remove him. Colonel Whalley had been sent by Fairfax, when he learnt of the king's seizure at Holmby, to take him back; but Charles refused to go. When in presence of Fairfax and Cromwell he expressed the same desire to remain with the army. Cromwell, who was held to be the great manager of the *coup d'état*, went to London, and took his place in the House. He afterwards "got hastily and secretly out of town, and without stop or stay rid to Triploe Heath, his horse all on a foam, and there was welcomed with the shouts of the whole army, to whom he declared the actions and designs of the parliament."* Twenty-one thousand men were drawn up on Triploe Heath. Fairfax and the parliamentary commissioners rode to each regiment, and read the votes of parliament. An officer then stood forth, saying that the regiment would determine upon an answer when the votes had been submitted to a Council of Officers and Adjutators. In the afternoon, the army was on its march towards London, and a remarkable letter, signed by Fairfax, Cromwell, Ireton, and other chief officers—in number thirteen—was sent to the lord mayor and aldermen. In this letter the army declared their favourable intentions towards the city, "if you appear not against us in these our just desires, to assist that wicked party which would embroil us and the kingdom." The army had reached St. Albans; and a respectful answer was conveyed thither by a deputation from the city. On the 16th the army demanded the impeachment of eleven members of the Commons, Hollis, Stapleton, Massey, and eight others of the leading Presbyterians. The city was in consternation. The parliament was incapable of acting with any vigour. The army had received a month's pay, as it demanded, but it continued to advance. On the 26th the eleven obnoxious members retired from parliament; the Commons voted for the adoption of all the proceedings of the army; and commissioners were appointed on each side to regulate the affairs of the kingdom. There was no longer any talk of defending London; and the army fell back a few miles.

During these two months the king had lodged at great houses in the neighbourhood of the army. All persons were allowed to resort to him. Royalists of rank visited him without restraint; "and many good officers who had served his majesty faithfully were civilly received by the officers of the army, and lived quietly in their quarters." Charles had been allowed by Fairfax to have an interview with his children, the dukes of York and Gloucester, and the princess Elizabeth. Towards the end of June proposals were made to the king by the leaders of the army far more moderate than any that had previously been tendered or suggested. These propositions being received, it was to be provided that "his majesty's person, his queen and royal issue, may be restored to a condition of

* "Perfect Politician," p. 22, 1660.

safety, honour, and freedom in the nation, without diminution of their personal rights, or further limitation to the exercise of the legal power." The king rejected the proposals; and he did so in a manner that sufficiently showed his resolution to persevere in his course of endeavouring to profit by the dissensions of the two great parties, but to concede nothing of importance to either. The cause of this dangerous resolve was the expectation that the city would be too powerful for the army. Bands of apprentices had surrounded Westminster Hall, clamorously demanding the return of the king. An engagement, signed by thousands, was entered into, pledging those who signed it to make all efforts to accomplish the king's return to London. Upon the news of these proceedings in London, Fairfax and his army had moved towards the capital. On Monday the 26th of July, all the avenues of the Houses were beset with a violent multitude. They brought a petition, which was received at the door of the Commons. Some of the rioters climbed up to the windows of the House of Peers, and threw stones into the Chamber. The door of the House of Commons was at last forced open; and a body of men rushed in, and demanded that a resolution of the previous day, carried by the Independents, declaring those traitors who voted for the city "engagement," should be rescinded. The Speaker left the chair, and went into the lobby, after the House had voted as the rioters desired. He was forced back by the rabble, who then demanded, "That the king should be desired to come to London forthwith," and "that he should be invited to come with honour, freedom, and safety." The Houses adjourned to Friday, the 30th. The Speakers of the Lords and Commons, fourteen of the peers, and about one hundred members of the Commons withdrew to the army. The eleven members whose impeachment had been demanded, now returned. The Presbyterian party appeared to be triumphant. New Speakers were elected. The army was commanded not to advance. But it did advance. On the 3rd of August, Hounslow Heath was appointed for a rendezvous of this formidable force, which was quartered about Brentford, Hounslow, Twickenham, and adjacent villages, under the most excellent discipline. Cromwell, Ireton, and the rest of the superior officers proposed that the king should "send a kind letter to the army, before it were commonly known that London would submit." A meeting of the friends and advisers of the king was held at Windsor, and a letter of this nature was prepared. But Charles would not sign the letter till the city had yielded. There was no present hope of profiting by dissensions between parliament and army. On the 6th of August, Fairfax, surrounded by four of his regiments, and conducting the members of parliament who had fled to the army, proceeded to Westminster. At Hyde Park they were met by the lord mayor and aldermen; at Charing Cross by the common council. The Independents, now supreme in parliament, took their seats. Two days after, the whole army, horse, foot, and artillery, marched through Westminster and the city, and over London Bridge to their various quarters in Surrey. Their head-quarters were at Putney. The king was lodged at Hampton Court, where he remained for three months. His children were frequently with him. "Persons of all conditions repaired to his majesty of all who had served him; with whom he conferred without

reservation; and the citizens flocked thither, as they had used to do at the end of a progress." * The Presbyterians again pressed upon Charles the terms of the treaty at Newcastle, slightly modified. Charles desired a personal treaty with the parliament, and thought the proposals which had come from the army appeared a better ground of settlement. Cromwell and Ireton endeavoured to serve him, even with great danger to themselves. "They had enough to do," says Berkeley, "both in the parliament and council of the army, the one abounding with Presbyterians, the other with Levellers, and both really jealous [suspicious] that Cromwell and Ireton had made a private bargain with the king . . . The suspicions were so strong in the House, that they lost almost all their friends there; and the army that lay about Putney were no less ill-satisfied."

In October, Cromwell learnt from a spy that Charles had some evil intentions towards him, the particulars of which might be discovered by intercepting a letter sent from the king to the queen. Cromwell and Ireton went to the Blue Boar in Holborn, from whence the bearer of the letter was to take horse for Dover. When the man arrived they drew their swords, and insisted on searching the saddle which he carried, and in which they found the letter that is said to have caused the final separation of Cromwell from the interests of Charles. Whatever may have been the contents of this letter, the threatened loss of Cromwell's influence over the army was an imperative motive for breaking off his intercourse with the king. The Agitators had become unmanageable, and there were fears for the king's safety. About the 3rd of November, Berkeley and Ashburnham, who had been removed from about the king's person, met at Ditton at the desire of major Legg, who waited in the king's bed-chamber. They told Berkeley "that his majesty was really afraid of his life by the tumultuous part of the army, and was resolved to make his escape." On the evening of the 11th of November, the commissioners and Colonel Whalley, missing the king at supper, went into his chamber and found him gone. "He left a paper to the parliament, another to the commissioners, and a third to colonel Whalley." Cromwell was sent for, and at midnight he wrote a letter to the Speaker of the Commons, announcing the withdrawal of the king. Berkeley and Ashburnham were waiting with horses by the Thames side, and when Charles came out, accompanied by major Legg, they immediately rode off. At day-break they were at Sutton in Hampshire, where they had sent a relay of horses. It was arranged that the king and Legg should proceed to a house of lord Southampton at Titchfield; that Berkeley and Ashburnham should go into the Isle of Wight to colonel Hammond, the governor. Robert Hammond was connected with the royalist as well as with the parliamentary party. After much discussion, Hammond engaged "to perform whatever could be expected from a person of honour and honesty;" and, being then partly informed where the king was, proposed to go with them. They reached Cowes, and here took boat to Titchfield, Hammond having the captain of Cowes Castle with him. The king was alarmed, and said that he was sure the governor would make him a prisoner; and he then told Ashburnham

* Clarendon.

"that he had sent to Hampton for a vessel, to transport him into France, and was in good hope to be supplied, and that he expected news of it every moment." However, no news came; orders had arrived at Southampton that the port should be closed; and that night the king slept at Carisbrook Castle.

Four days after Charles had quitted Hampton Court, a rendezvous had been appointed at Corkbush Field, between Ware and Hertford, for seven regiments. Harrison's regiment of horse, and Lilburn's of foot, came without orders. They had papers in their hats, of "Liberty for England, their rights for the soldiers." Fairfax and Cromwell read to the seven regiments a remonstrance against the proceedings of the Agitators, and they were received with acclamations. Fairfax addressed Harrison's cavalry, and the troopers exclaimed that they would live and die with their general, and tore the inscriptions from their hats. Lilburn's regiment replied to Fairfax with derisive shouts. Cromwell rushed into the ranks; ordered fourteen of the mutineers to be seized; a drum-head court-martial was assembled, and three were condemned to death. The council of officers ordered that they should draw lots which should determine the fate of one. The immediate execution of that one restored the army to its wonted discipline.

The king's advisers now persuaded him to treat with the generals who had put down the violence of the Agitators. Berkeley set out with letters from Charles and also from colonel Hammond, and arrived at the head-quarters at Windsor. He was coldly received, and privately warned by a general officer that the Agitators were not quelled; and had been repeatedly with Cromwell and Ireton to tell them that they would bring the whole army to the conviction that the king should be brought to trial. Berkeley the next day sent colonel Cook to Cromwell, to say that he had letters and papers for him from the king. "He sent me word, by the same messenger, that he durst not see me, it being very dangerous to us both; and bid me be assured that he would serve his majesty as long as he could do it without his own ruin; but desired that I would not expect that he should perish for his sake." Berkeley went back to the king to urge him to escape out of the kingdom; but the false hope of dealing with another party again prevailed over the natural fears of Charles for his own life. It had been voted in the House of Lords at the end of November, that propositions should again be offered to the king, far more stringent, in some respects, but leaving the religious question untouched. The Scottish commissioners in London had secretly advised the king to reject these bills. Their own proposals were, that a Scottish army should come into England to restore him to his rights, provided that he confirmed the Presbyterian establishment in England for a period of three years, and then the constitution of the Church to be finally settled. The Scottish commissioners came to Carisbrook towards the end of December, and Charles concluded the alliance with them. He then rejected the propositions of the English commissioners. That evening the gates of Carisbrook Castle were closed; guards surrounded the fortress; and the greater number of the king's servants, including Berkeley and Ashburnham, were ordered to quit the island. An escape meditated for the next night was no longer practicable.

The House of Commons now voted that they would make no more Addresses to the king, and forbade all communication with him. The Lords adopted the resolution, after some debate. A majority in the Commons desired "to settle the commonwealth without the king." At a meeting of the officers of the Army at Windsor Castle, after spending one whole day in prayer, and having been exhorted by Cromwell to a thorough consideration of their actions as an Army, and of their ways as private Christians, these zealous men became convinced that the Lord had departed from them, through "those carnal conferences which they held in the preceding year with the king and his party." They finally came to a resolution, "That it was our duty, that, if ever the Lord brought us back again in peace, to call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to an account for that blood he had shed, and mischief he had done to his utmost, against the Lord's cause and people in these poor nations." The parliament published a declaration imputing all the misfortunes of his reign to the king personally. Clarendon ascribes to this the partial reaction in public opinion which now took place in many quarters in England. The nation was tired of its distractions; and the people attempted to express their impatience of existing evils by riot and revolt. On Sunday, the 9th of April, some apprentices were playing at bowls in Moorfields during church-time. They were ordered to disperse by the militia guard; but they fought with the guard, and held their ground. Soon routed by cavalry, they raised the old cry of "Clubs;" were joined by the watermen, a numerous and formidable body; fought on through the night; and in the morning had possession of Ludgate and Newgate, and had stretched chains across all the great thoroughfares. There were forty hours of this tumult, in which the prevailing cry was "God and king Charles." At last a body of cavalry arrived from Westminster, and, by an irresistible charge, put an end to that movement. But in many towns there were similar riots. In Wales some Presbyterian officers of the parliamentary army, with colonel Poyer at their head, raised a formidable insurrection, allied in principle with the purposes of the moderate Presbyterians of Scotland, who were organising their army for a march into England. The Welsh insurgents soon had possession of the Castles of Pembroke and Chepstow, and they proclaimed the king. Lieutenant-general Cromwell left London for Wales on the 3rd of May, with five regiments. A rumour had been spread that the army was about to attack and plunder the city. The reaction gave the Presbyterians again the command in Parliament; and it was voted on the 28th of April, that the fundamental government of the kingdom by King, Lords, and Commons, should not be changed; and that the resolutions forbidding all communication with the king should be rescinded. Popular demonstrations immediately followed the departure of Cromwell. The royalists of Kent organised themselves in a far more formidable shape. They secured Sandwich and Dover; appointed as general, Goring, earl of Norwich; and assembled at Rochester to the number of seven thousand. Troops were raised for the royal service in the eastern and midland counties. More dangerous to the ruling powers than all these demonstrations, was the defection of the fleet. The sailors put their admiral on shore, and carried their ships to Holland, to place them under the command of the

prince of Wales, who appeared in the Channel—and did nothing. The royalists were in the highest exultation. They expected the king soon to be again at their head. But an attempt at escape from Carisbrook a second time failed, through Cromwell's knowledge of the intention. The king "from thenceforth was no more suffered to go out of the castle beyond a little ill garden that belonged to it." On the 31st of May, however, Hammond wrote to the parliament that the king had again nearly effected his escape. The Presbyterian party now took strong measures against the royalists. All papists and malignants were banished from London under more severe penalties than before. Fairfax with all his forces marched into Kent; dispersed the insurgents after an obstinate fight at Maidstone; and by rapid successes, wherever else there was resistance, put down the rising spirit. Lord Goring, after having led several thousand men to Blackheath, expecting assistance in London, was compelled to see the desertion of his followers, and he crossed the Thames into Essex. There the contest was more prolonged. Lord Capel and sir Charles Lucas had collected a large force, with which they intended to march from Colchester upon London. Fairfax invested the town, which surrendered on the 27th of August, after a siege of two months. The triumph of Fairfax was tarnished by an exception to his usual humanity. Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle were tried by court-martial, and were shot. The earl of Holland and the young duke of Buckingham broke out in revolt at Kingston-upon-Thames, when the main army of the parliament was investing Colchester. There was an action near Kingston, in which they were defeated; and passing into Hertfordshire, the remnant was cut up at St. Neot's by a detachment from the army of Fairfax, and Holland was taken prisoner. In Wales, where the resistance to the parliament was more concentrated, the presence even of Cromwell was not at first successful. It was not till the 10th of July that the town and castle of Pembroke were surrendered to him. Six days before the capitulation the Scottish army entered England, under the duke of Hamilton. He was joined by five thousand English, under sir Marmaduke Langdale. The English general, Lambert, was retreating before them, having been directed by Cromwell to avoid an engagement, and to fall back. Two days after the surrender of Pembroke, Cromwell was on his march from the west. At this juncture a charge of treason had been preferred against him by major Huntington, an officer of the army, which had been countenanced by some members of both Houses. But the occasion was not opportune for such an attempt. When he left London he was equally distasteful to the Presbyterians and the Commonwealth's men—who, with some, went by the general name of Levellers—but now the Presbyterians suppressed their dislike to Cromwell in terror of the Scoto-royalist invasion, and the Commonwealth's men were compelled to lay aside their jealousies.

The Scottish army that entered England could not be regarded as the army of the Scottish nation The Scottish parliament gave the engagements of the treaty of Carisbrook their warmest support, and were in consequence called the "Engagers." But the clergy generally proclaimed that Charles had not conceded enough for the establishment of their form of worship in England to warrant a war for his assistance. The marquis

of Argyle and other powerful chiefs, who were burning with resentment against the royalists of their own country, were strenuously opposed to what was meant as an aid to the royalists of England. An army was however raised; and the Engagers, with a raw and ill-disciplined force, crossed the Border. The march of Cromwell, from the extremity of South Wales to the heart of Lancashire, was accomplished with wonderful rapidity. By the 12th of August all his forces had joined the northern troops. On the 16th the duke of Hamilton was at Preston. Sir Marmaduke Langdale, to the left of Hamilton's main body, had ascertained that the dangerous enemy was close at hand; and sent notice to the duke. The next morning Cromwell attacked sir Marmaduke, and utterly routed him, "after a very sharp dispute." Hamilton's cavalry, in considerable numbers, were at Wigan, under the command of Middleton. When the affair was settled with Langdale, there was a skirmish close by Preston town between Hamilton himself and some of Cromwell's troopers. The duke was separated from his main force of infantry, under Baillie, but rejoined them only to see the bridge of the Ribble won by the enemy in a general battle. This being ended, the Scots were charged through Preston; and then not only was the bridge of the Ribble won, but the bridge of Darwen. Night was approaching, which put an end to any further fighting on the 17th. The Scottish generals in a council of war determined to march off, as soon as it was dark, without waiting for Middleton and his cavalry. They left their ammunition behind; and the next morning were at Wigan Moor, with half their number. No general engagement took place that day; and the Scots held Wigan. The next day the Scots moved towards Warrington; and after some hard fighting, general Baillie surrendered himself, officers, and soldiers, as prisoners of war. The duke, with three thousand horse, was gone towards Nantwich. The country people were hostile, and his own men were mutinous. He at last surrendered to Lambert, and was sent prisoner to Nottingham. The Scottish army was now utterly broken and dispersed. Argyle was restored to power. The most zealous Covenanters were again at the head of the executive authority. Cromwell entered Scotland on the 20th September, and was received at Edinburgh, as the deliverer from a royalist faction that might again have put the national religion in peril.

The parliament now looked with as much alarm as the king might entertain at the approaching return of the victorious Army of the North. The Lords especially saw that their own power was imperilled by the dangers that beset the Crown. After violent debates, it was agreed that commissioners should proceed to the Isle of Wight to conclude a treaty with the king. The discussions took place in Newport, where a house was prepared for the king's reception, and its hall fitted up for the great negotiation. The king was seated under a canopy at the upper end of the hall. The parliamentary commissioners were placed round a table in advance of the royal chair. These were fifteen in number, five peers, and ten members of the Lower House. Behind the king were ranged many of his most confidential friends and advisers; of whom there were four peers, two bishops, and other divines; five civilians; and four of his trusted attendants. None of these friends of Charles were allowed to speak. The

king was in a position favourable to the display of his talent for discussion; and he left upon the assembly during these tedious debates a deep impression of his abilities, his knowledge, and his presence of mind. Vane, who was one of the commissioners, bore testimony to the talents of Charles; but he considered his "great parts and abilities" as a reason for very stringent terms. The prolonged discussion lasted from the 18th of September to the 29th of November, the original term of forty days having been three times extended. All was in vain. Charles had conceded the questions of military command and of nomination to the great offices of state; he had even consented to acknowledge the legitimacy of the resistance to his power. But he had not conceded enough upon the question of religion to satisfy the more violent of the Presbyterians. The commissioners had no absolute power to conclude a treaty; the parliament discussed every point most scrupulously. The conferences were broken up after the army from St. Albans had sent a "Remonstrance" to the Commons, calling upon the parliament to bring the king to trial; and to decree that the future king should be elected by the representatives of the people. It was distinctly intimated that if the parliament neglected the interests of the nation, the army would take the matter into their own hands. There was naturally a great commotion in the House; and the debate upon this "Remonstrance" was adjourned for a week. At about the end of that time—on the 28th of November—the commissioners left Newport with the definitive propositions. After twenty-four hours' debate it was voted that the king's concessions offered a ground for a future settlement. Cromwell now forwarded to Fairfax a petition from the Northern Army against the treaty at Newport. On the 25th November, colonel Hammond, who had expressed a doubt whether the army had a right to determine the great question at issue, was directed to give up his post in the Isle of Wight to another officer. The king had remained in the house at Newport in which the treaty was conducted. At day-break on the morning of the 30th, a colonel was sent with a guard to remove him to Hurst Castle. On the same day the parliament voted that they would not take the "Remonstrance" of the army into consideration. The army was at Windsor. On Saturday, the 2nd of December, it was on its march to London; and before night was quartered in Whitehall, St. James's, and the suburbs. After debating all day on the Monday, and till five o'clock on Tuesday morning, the Commons decided, by one hundred and twenty-eight to eighty-three, that the king's concessions were a ground of settlement. On the same day some of the principal officers of the army resolved that it was "the duty of the army to endeavour to put a stop to such proceedings. . . . . Three of the members of the House, and three of the officers of the army, withdrew into a private room to attain the ends of our said resolution; when we agreed that the army should be drawn up the next morning, and guards placed in Westminster Hall the Court of Requests, and the lobby; that none might be permitted to pass into the House but such as continued faithful to the public interests." [1] On the 7th, an order was given that the trained bands of the city should

[1] Ludlow, "Memoirs," vol. i., p. 270.

withdraw from their accustomed duty of guard at Westminster. Colonel Rich's regiment of horse took up a position on that morning in Palace-yard. Colonel Pride's regiment of foot thronged Westminster Hall, and blocked up every entrance to the House of Commons. Colonel Pride had a written list of names in his hand,—the names of those against whom the sentence of exclusion had been passed. As the members of the House approached, lord Grey of Groby, who stood at the elbow of colonel Pride, gave a sign or word that such a one was to pass, or to be turned back. Forty-one were ordered that day to retire to "the Queen's Court." They were kept under restraint all the day; and in the evening were conducted to a tavern, and lodged for the night. The process went on for several days; till some hundred members were disposed of. Cromwell arrived from the north on the night after the sharp medicine known as "Pride's purge" had been administered; and "lay at Whitehall, where, and at other places, he declared that he had not been acquainted with this design; yet since it was done he was glad of it, and would endeavour to maintain it."* The parliamentary minority, being now almost unanimous in their resolve to overthrow the existing government, voted to rescind all the votes which had recently passed as to the grounds of a settlement.

On the night of the 19th of December, major Harrison arrived at Hurst Castle with a troop, to conduct the king to Windsor. Two days after, Charles set out, under the escort of lieutenant-colonel Cobbett. On the journey the king urged his desire to stop at Bagshot, and dine in the Forest at the house of lord Newburgh. He had been apprised that his friend would have ready for him a horse of extraordinary fleetness, with which he might make one more effort to escape. The horse had been kicked by another horse the day before, and was useless. That last faint hope was gone. On the day that Charles arrived at Windsor, it was resolved by the Commons that he should be brought to trial. On the 2nd of January, 1649, it was voted that, in making war against the parliament, he had been guilty of treason; and a High Court was appointed to try him. One hundred and fifty commissioners were to compose the Court,—peers, members of the Commons, aldermen of London. The ordinance was sent to the Upper House, and was rejected. On the 6th, a fresh ordinance declared that whatsoever is enacted or declared for law by the Commons in parliament hath the force of a law, and the people are concluded thereby, though the consent of king or peers be not had thereto. The High Court of Justice was accordingly constituted in the name of the Commons alone. The number of members of the Court was now reduced to one hundred and thirty-five. They had seven preparatory meetings, at which only fifty-eight members attended. No member was compelled to attend. On the 19th of January, the king once more entered London, and was lodged at St. James's Palace. The next day the High Court of Justice was opened in Westminster Hall. The king came from St. James's in a sedan; and after the names of the members of the court had been called, sixty-nine being present, Bradshaw, the president, ordered the serjeant to bring in the prisoner. Silently the

* Ludlow's "Memoirs," vol. ii., p. 272.

king sat down in the chair prepared for him. He moved not his hat, as he looked sternly and contemptuously around. The sixty-nine rose not from their seats, and remained covered. The clerk read the charge, and when he was accused therein of being tyrant and traitor, Charles laughed in the face of the Court. "Though his tongue usually hesitated, yet it was very free at this time, for he was never discomposed in mind," writes Warwick. Again and again contending against the authority of the Court, the king was removed, and the sitting was adjourned to the 22nd. On that day the same scene was renewed; and again on the 23rd. A growing sympathy for the monarch became apparent. He had refused to plead; but the Court nevertheless employed the 24th and 25th of January in collecting evidence to prove the charge of his levying war against the parliament. Coke, the solicitor-general, then demanded whether the Court would proceed to pronouncing sentence; and the members adjourned to the Painted Chamber. On the 27th the public sitting was resumed. The king was brought in, and Bradshaw stated that the Court had agreed upon the sentence. Charles desired to make one proposition, but the commissioners refused to receive it. Bradshaw then delivered a solemn speech to the king, enumerating the charges against him, and lastly the clerk was commanded to read the sentence, that his head should be severed from his body; "and the commissioners," says Ludlow, "testified their unanimous assent by standing up." The king attempted to speak; "but being accounted dead in law, was not permitted." On the 29th of January, the sentence of execution was signed by John Bradshaw, Thomas Grey, Oliver Cromwell, and fifty-six others.

The king resigned himself to his fate with calmness and dignity. He took an affectionate leave of his daughter, the princess Elizabeth, and of his little son, the duke of Gloucester. The Dutch ambassador made vigorous efforts to procure a reprieve, whilst the French and Spanish ambassadors were inert. On the 30th of January, Charles walked, surrounded by soldiers, to a scaffold covered with black, erected before Whitehall. He left St. James's at ten o'clock. He remained in his chamber at Whitehall, for about three hours, in prayer, and then received the sacrament. He was pressed to dine, but refused, taking a piece of bread and a glass of wine. His purposed address to the multitude was delivered only to the hearing of those upon the scaffold, but its purport was that the people "mistook the nature of government; for people are free under a government, not by being sharers in it, but by due administration of the laws of it." The headsman did his office; and a deep groan went up from the surrounding multitude.

The body of king Charles was removed to Windsor, and, on the 8th of February, was deposited in a vault in St. George's Chapel. The duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, and the earls of Southampton and Lindsey performed this last duty to their dead master. In an extreme of bigotry the governor of the castle forbad the Church Service to be read. There was, at the time of the king's execution, a book being printed which was to surround his life with the attributes of a saint, and to invest him in death with the glory of a martyr. Dr. Gauden, afterwards bishop of Exeter, published the "Icon Basilikê, or Portraiture of his Sacred

Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings," as the work of the king; but after the Restoration he claimed the authorship himself. In one year there were fifty editions of this book sold. Milton was directed by the parliament to answer this Icon or Image, but his Iconoclastes or Image-breaker produced little or no effect upon the national opinions.

CHAPTER XXVII.

An hour after the death of Charles I., it was proclaimed by the serjeant-at-arms, at Cheapside, that whoever should proclaim a new king, without authority of parliament, should be deemed a traitor. On the 6th of February, the Commons, now reduced to little more than a hundred members, by their vote declared the House of Lords "useless and dangerous." On the 7th, another vote abolished the office of a king. A Council of State was appointed, consisting of the three chief judges; the three commanders of the army; five peers, and thirty members of the House. It was required of the individuals composing the Council that each should sign a document expressing approbation of the proceedings by which the monarchy had been overthrown. Twenty-two refused to enter into such an engagement. There were violent debates; but moderation ultimately prevailed. The past was to remain unnoticed, in a pledge of fidelity for the future. Bradshaw was chosen President of the Council, and Milton was appointed its Latin secretary. The courts of law were re-opened; the command of the navy was put into able hands, who soon made the flag of England respected in every sea. But there was, nevertheless, great unwillingness in the municipal body of London, and amongst the beneficed clergy, the members of the Universities, and many civil functionaries, to accept the oath of fidelity to the Commonwealth, as the condition of retaining office or privilege. Those who refused were exempt from any punishment, and the new government gradually acquired consistency by its abstinence from any measures of general violence.

Five state prisoners, the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Holland, the earl of Norwich, lord Capel, and sir John Owen, were brought to trial before a new High Court of Justice, in sittings which lasted from the 10th of February to the 6th of March. All five were condemned to be beheaded. The Court, however, referred the execution of the sentence to the decision of parliament. The earl of Norwich was saved by the casting vote of the Speaker. Owen escaped through the intervention of colonel Hutchinson. Capel, Hamilton, and Holland were reserved for execution, and suffered on the 9th of March, in Palace-yard. Public indignation was loudly expressed against this severity, and there was no more such blood-shed[illegible] excepting in the case of colonel Poyer, who was tried by court-[illegible] shot in Covent Garden. John Lilburne made violent demon-[illegible] against the new order of things. He was committed to the

Tower, to be tried in due time. But his pamphlets continued to sow the seeds of revolt. At St. Margaret's Hill, and at St. George's Hill, in Surrey, there appeared a band of thirty men, headed by one formerly in the army, who called himself a Prophet. They took possession of the ground, and declared their intention of restoring the creation to its former condition. These men, and many others who were adverse to the existing republic, having various schemes of perfectibility, came to be known by the general name of Levellers. They were only really formidable when they had arms in their hands. But it required the utmost vigilance and decision to encounter the mutinous temper which was again breaking forth amongst the military class. The civil war had burst out again in Ireland; and it was decided that twenty-eight regiments should be sent thither, under the command of lieutenant-general Cromwell. The regiments to go were chosen by lot; but the common men had no inclination for the service. A troop of Whalley's regiment rose in open mutiny. Their conduct was sufficiently alarming to demand the instant presence of Fairfax and Cromwell. The ringleaders were seized and tried by court-martial. Five were condemned; and one was shot the next day in St. Paul's Church-yard, the grand old Gothic cathedral having become a stable for cavalry. A week after, thousands of people followed the trooper's corpse to the grave, with sea-green and black ribbons on their hats and on their breasts. At a review in Hyde Park, some of the men wore this same sea-green ribbon, the symbol of disaffection; but Cromwell frightened or pacified them. Lilburne was now committed to close confinement. But at Banbury two hundred men were in revolt; at Salisbury a thousand. Fairfax and Cromwell marched with all haste to Salisbury. The mutineers had hurried away to join their companions in Oxfordshire. Fairfax and Cromwell were rapidly on their track; having marched fifty miles in one day. It was midnight when Cromwell came suddenly upon the quarters of the mutineers at Burford. There was no escape for them. A court-martial was held; and ten out of every hundred were set aside for death. They were placed on the leads of the church, whilst a cornet and two corporals were shot. The doomed men were awaiting their own fate, when Cromwell called them before him in the church. He spoke to them in one of his peculiar harangues, and then pardoned them. In a few weeks they were on their way to serve in Ireland. The nation felt that it had escaped a great danger. There was a solemn thanksgiving-day; the House of Commons was invited to a civic feast; and Fairfax and Cromwell were presented with services of plate by the Corporation of London. The terror of anarchical disturbances had almost wholly passed away. But still there was danger to be apprehended in the intrigues of the more restless of the Cavaliers with the remnant of the Levellers. Their hopes rested upon Lilburne, who was again busy with his pamphlets. The parliament at length resolved to send him to trial. He was tried by a common jury, though a commission of members of parliament was appointed to determine his sentence. The jury acquitted him. A shout went up from all the people as the shout of one voice; bonfires were lighted throughout the city; and after a vain attempt to hold him in custody, Freeborn John was set free.

Charles II. was proclaimed king of Scotland, at Edinburgh, on the 5th of February, and commissioners went to him from the Scottish parliament to invite his return to his kingdom. He was to proceed to Scotland, without Montrose and those other friends who were obnoxious to the Presbyterians; and he was to agree to the Covenant of 1638. He was urged by the sounder Scotsmen about him to accept the terms. He was counselled by Montrose to win his dominions by the sword. On the 3rd of May, whilst the Scottish commissioners were at the Hague, Dr. Isaac Dorislaus, a native of Holland, who had assisted as counsel at the trial of Charles I., and who had been sent by the parliament as one of the embassy to the United Provinces, was murdered in his inn by six men in masks. They were Scotsmen, of the party of Montrose. This event was not calculated to smooth the difficulties of Charles's position with the Presbyterian commissioners; and he dismissed them with a negative upon their proposals. At this period, he was also especially urged by the marquis of Ormond to show himself in Ireland, where three-fourths of the nation were his faithful adherents. Ormond had concluded a special treaty with the Irish Catholics, on the part of Charles II., by which they agreed to maintain a large army to serve against the Commonwealth of England, on condition that the free exercise of the Catholic worship should be permitted. The Protestant portion of the population, English or Irish, in common with some of the more moderate Catholics, had no disposition to welcome a king for whom the large body of Papists had declared. But Charles II. had been proclaimed. Dublin, Belfast, and Londonderry were the only garrisons held by English commanders; and prince Rupert was in St. George's Channel with a formidable fleet. At this juncture it was determined that Cromwell should proceed to Ireland with full military and administrative powers—General-in-chief and Lord-Lieutenant.

It was the 10th of July when Cromwell left London, and he embarked at Milford-Haven on the 13th of August. Meanwhile the news had reached him of a great victory obtained over the forces of the marquis of Ormond, who was besieging Dublin. Before the end of July a portion of Cromwell's army had landed; and thus reinforced, lieutenant-general Jones, the governor of Dublin, had sallied forth and utterly routed the besiegers at the village of Rathmines. Cromwell himself arrived in Dublin on the 15th of August. He was received with the firing of guns and the acclamations of the people. The multitude that gathered about him was very great, and they cried "that they would live and die with him."

Tredah, now called Drogheda, in Leinster, was garrisoned by three thousand men under the command of sir Arthur Ashton, an old English royalist. Cromwell, sitting down before the place, summoned the governor to surrender. The governor refused. On the 10th of September, the place was stormed, after a bombardment. The first attacking party were driven back. The second, headed by Cromwell himself, carried all the entrenchments. "Being thus entered," writes the general to the president of the Council of State, "we refused them quarter, having, the day before, summoned the town. I believe we put to the sword the whole number of the defendants. I do not think thirty of the whole number

escaped with their lives. Those that did are in safe custody for the Barbadoes." He then relates that Trim and Dundalk have surrendered; and adds, with reference to the slaughter of Drogheda, where only one officer escaped, "The enemy upon this were filled with much terror. And truly I believe this bitterness will save much effusion of blood, through the goodness of God." At Wexford again there was a terrible slaughter—not set about with a deliberate purpose, but the result of a storm by an infuriated soldiery. Cromwell considered that this accidental and unnecessary slaughter was a divine judgment. A writer of the time says, "Yet cruelty could not be laid to his charge, for, like a politic state-physician, he here opens one vein, to preserve the whole body of the nation from a lingering war; and by this course likewise he wrought such a terror in the enemy, that ever after he made but short work of any siege, and in small time reduced the whole nation." Cromwell marched on, taking town after town, until he met with a stout resistance at Waterford; and the weather being very tempestuous, he went into winter quarters. General Blake had interrupted the operations of prince Rupert in the Irish seas. Cork Harbour was now the victualling place for the fleet, instead of Milford Haven. Rupert, with the ships which he had commanded since the revolt of the sailors in 1648, had taken refuge in Kinsale.

The policy of Cromwell in Ireland was all throughout most intelligible and consistent. He wrote to the parliament, "I hope, before long, to see Ireland no burden to England, but a profitable part of the Commonwealth." He sought to make it profitable by freeing it, in the first place, from ecclesiastical tyranny, and thus fitting it for civil freedom. His idea of toleration was very limited, but in those times it was the only practical toleration. He would not have the Mass. He would not relax the old penal laws against the Romish form of worship, but he would not apply new penal laws to force men into another form of worship against their consciences. The House sent the lord-lieutenant their thanks for all he had done; and resolved that he "have the use of the lodgings called the Cockpit, of the Spring Garden and St. James's House, and the command of St. James's Park." Cromwell's boldest and most sagacious stroke of policy was that of proclaiming throughout the country that the men who had been in arms, and were now scattered and utterly destitute, had full liberty to serve abroad. The ministers in London of France and Spain availed themselves of this permission, and forty-five thousand men of Ireland were levied for the service of these powers. Cromwell left Ireton as deputy to complete the work which he had begun, and he arrived himself in London on the 31st of May, ready for other services to the Commonwealth.

When the affairs of Ireland became hopeless, Charles II. listened to the proposals of the parliament of Scotland. He appointed the Presbyterian authorities to meet him at Breda to conclude a treaty for his reception in Scotland. Whilst he was thus negotiating with the parliament, he gave Montrose a commission to levy troops in foreign countries, and wage war against the powers with whom he was bargaining. Urged by the king, and by his own passionate loyalty, the exile of Philiphaugh was indefatigable in gathering followers, though with no great success. In the autumn of 1649 he had collected about twelve hundred men at Hamburg and

Gottenburg, and he dispatched a portion of them, who perished at sea. A second body arrived safely at Kirkwall. With five hundred more, Montrose himself landed in the Orkneys early in March, 1650; crossed to the northern extremity of the main land; and marched onward into Sutherland. Few adherents joined him. Some cavalry, under the command of colonel Strachan, came suddenly upon him near a pass in the parish of Kincardine. Here Montrose's last battle was soon ended. His Orkney recruits quickly ran; his Germans and his Scottish companions fought valiantly, but without effect. The ill-compacted force was wholly broken; and he himself fled from the field, throwing away his ribbon and George, and changing clothes with a peasant. Wandering amongst the Highlands for many days, he was at last taken on the 3rd of May. After his capture Montrose was carried from town to town in the unseemly garb with which he was disguised, and exposed to the jeers of the populace. An Act of Attainder had been passed by the parliament against him in 1644; and upon that Act he was now sentenced to death, before he reached Edinburgh. When he arrived at the Watergate of the city he was delivered to the magistrates, and was conveyed to the Tolbooth, bound with cords, in an open cart, the common hangman riding before the cart, and wearing the livery of the fallen marquis. Thirty-four of his officers, tied together, formed part of the cavalcade. From the first scene of this tragedy to the last, Montrose acted his heroic part to perfection. He was brought before the parliament, and his sentence was pronounced:—that on the morrow, the 21st of May, he should be hanged on a gallows thirty feet high; that his head should then be cut off and set on Edinburgh Tolbooth; and that his legs and arms should be hung up in other towns of the kingdom. Montrose said "that he heartily wished that he had flesh enough to be sent to every city in Christendom, as a testimony of the cause for which he suffered." In the same spirit he went to the scaffold. Clarendon says of the great chieftain, "He was not without vanity, but his virtues were much superior, and he well deserved to have his memory preserved, and celebrated amongst the most illustrious persons of the age in which he lived."

Charles had come to a conclusion with the Scottish commissioners at Breda before the death of Montrose. When he heard of his friend's execution he manifested a disposition to draw back; but his courtiers "persuaded the king, who was enough afflicted with the news, and all the circumstances of it, that he might sooner take revenge upon that people by a temporary complying with them and going to them." Guided by this miserable policy "his majesty pursued his former resolution of embarking for Scotland." Before he landed, on the 16th of June, he was compelled to sign the Covenant; few of his English friends were permitted to be about him; and he had to do daily penance in being forced to attend the long prayers and longer sermons of the Presbyterian clergy. He had, however, a good table, horses to ride, and the outward shows that belong to a king.

When Cromwell arrived in London on the 31st of May, he was received with every honour that Parliament and City could bestow, and by the enthusiastic acclamations of the people. He was soon called to other serious work. The parliament had been preparing forces for a war with

Scotland, but Fairfax was unwilling to invade the Scots. He ultimately resigned his commission, and Cromwell was called to the great office. On the 26th of June, the Act was passed for constituting "Oliver Cromwell Captain General and Commander-in-Chief of all the forces raised and to be raised within the Commonwealth of England." On the 29th he left London, and on the 22nd of July, he marched through Berwick, with about sixteen thousand horse and foot.

Charles, as a measure of policy, was taken to the Scottish camp. The Presbyterian leaders compelled him to sign a declaration against Popery and Heresy, condemning the evil deeds of his father and the idolatry of his mother, and protesting and promising all that he had been required to subscribe for the Parliament and the Church. The advance of Cromwell into Scotland was met by a vigorous measure on the part of Leslie. The population of the border districts were commanded to leave their villages; to drive their cattle from the fields, and to go with their goods towards Edinburgh. The country was bare of all supplies; and Cromwell was compelled to march by the coast, to receive provisions from English vessels. On the 29th he was encamped at Musselburgh. Leslie's army was lying between Edinburgh and Leith. There was a sharp skirmish on that day; but Cromwell "did not think it advisable to attempt upon the enemy, lying as he doth." The Scottish army had a very secure position, entrenched from Leith to the Calton Hill; well supplied, and the city protected. For a month there was little done besides letters and declarations passing between the two armies. There was more skirmishing and manœuvring towards the end of August, when Cromwell had marched westward of Edinburgh towards Stirling; but on the 30th he fell back to Musselburgh, and on the 31st retired to Dunbar. Leslie followed him. On the 1st of September the English army was lying round the old fortress, near their ships. Cromwell was in a position of no common danger. Leslie's army of twenty thousand men was strongly placed on the Doon Hill, on the edge of Lammermoor. At Brockmouth House, a rivulet, which skirts the Doon Hill, enters the sea. Cromwell's force was arranged in battle order along the left bank of this Brock-burn. Early on the morning of the 2nd, Leslie's main force moved down to the edge of the Brock, and occupied the confined ground which lies between it and the Hill. The right wing had moved out to the open space. Cromwell's quick military eye saw that one false move had changed the whole aspect of affairs. His plan was:—Attack the right wing with our whole force; drive it into the narrow space where the main force lies; let the men stand to their arms all night, and begin the attack before dawn. It was done, and Cromwell writes, "The best of the enemies' horse being broken through and through, in less than an hour's dispute, their whole army being put into confusion, it became a total rout." There were three thousand slain on the field, and ten thousand taken prisoners. The prisoners were a serious trouble. Four or five thousand were dismissed. The rest were sent to Newcastle. Many of these poor creatures died from eating raw cabbages at Morpeth; many of pestilence in Durham. Others were sent to New England, where they were kindly used, having been sold for a limited servitude in a country where labour was welcome, and not ill-rewarded.

In Cromwell's dispatch on the 4th of September, he told the parliament that success called upon them to do their duty at home. "Disown yourselves, but own your authority; and improve it to curb the proud and the insolent, such as would disturb the tranquillity of England, though under what specious pretence soever. Relieve the oppressed, hear the groans of poor prisoners in England. Be pleased to reform the abuses of all professions; and if there be any one that makes many poor to make a few rich, that suits not a Commonwealth." On the 5th of September, Cromwell marched away from the old fortress of Dunbar and the Burn of Brock. Lesley was gathering the wreck of his army about him at Stirling. Charles, with the Scottish authorities, had retired to Perth. The Presbyterian party became divided; and the royalists obtained a higher influence in the direction of the national policy. Charles, without further question of his real intentions, was crowned at Scone on the 1st of January, 1651. After a three months' blockade, and then a bombardment, Edinburgh Castle was surrendered to Cromwell on the 18th of December. He had little to do to make himself master of Scotland on the south of the Forth. On the 4th of February, the army marched towards Stirling, but returned without any result, driven to the good quarters of Edinburgh by terrible storms of sleet and snow. The Lord-General became seriously ill through this exposure. But on the 5th of June he was out again; and at the end of the month was vigorously prosecuting the campaign. The Scottish army was entrenched at Stirling. The king had been invited to take its command in person. Cromwell, on the 2nd of August, had succeeded in possessing himself of Perth. At that juncture the news reached him that the royal camp at Stirling was broken up, on the 31st of July; and that Charles was on his march southward, at the head of eleven thousand men, his lieutenant-general being David Leslay. Argyle was opposed to this bold resolution, and had retired to Inverary. Charles took the western road by Carlisle; and when on English ground issued a proclamation offering pardon to those who would return to their allegiance—exempting from his promised amnesty Bradshaw, Cromwell, and Cook. He was also proclaimed king of England, at the head of his army: and similar proclamation was made at Penrith and other market-towns. Strict discipline was preserved; and although the presence of Scots in arms was hateful to the people, they were not outraged by any attempts at plunder. Charles, however, had few important accessions of strength. There was no general rising in his favour. The gates of Shrewsbury were shut against him. At Warrington, his passage of the Mersey was opposed by Lambert and Harrison, who had got before him with their cavalry. On the 22nd of August Charles reached Worcester, the parliamentary garrison having evacuated the city. He there set up his standard, and a summons went forth for all male subjects of due age to gather round their Sovereign Lord, at the general muster of his forces on the 26th of August. An inconsiderable number of gentlemen came, with about two hundred followers. Meanwhile Cromwell had marched rapidly from Scotland with ten thousand men, leaving behind him six thousand men under Monk. The militias of the counties joined him with a zeal which showed their belief that another civil war would not be a national blessing. On the 28th of August the

General of the Commonwealth was close to Worcester, with thirty thousand men. On the 3rd of September, Cromwell wrote to the parliament: „ Being so weary, and scarce able to write, yet I thought it my duty to let you know thus much. That upon this day, being the 3rd of September (remarkable for a mercy vouchsafed to your forces on this day twelvemonth in Scotland), we built a bridge of boats over Severn, between it and Teme, about half a mile from Worcester; and another over Teme, within pistol-shot of our other bridge. Lieutenant-general Fleetwood and Major-general Dean marched from Upton on the south-west side of Severn up to Powick, a town which was a pass the enemy kept. We passed over some horse and foot, and were in conjunction with the lieutenant-general's forces. We beat the enemy from hedge to hedge till we beat him into Worcester. The enemy then drew all his forces on the other side the town, all but what he had lost; and made a very considerable fight with us, for three hours' space; but in the end we beat him totally, and pursued him to his royal fort, which we took,—and indeed have beaten his whole army."

The prisoners taken at the battle of Worcester, and in the subsequent flight, exceeded seven thousand. They included some of the most distinguished leaders of the royalists in England and Scotland. Courts-martial were held upon nine of these; and three, amongst whom was the earl of Derby, were executed. The duke of Hamilton, also a prisoner, died of his wounds. A reward of a thousand pounds was offered to the person who should "bring in to the parliament Charles Stuart, son of the late tyrant;" and it was further proclaimed, that those who should knowingly conceal him or his adherents should be held "as partakers and abettors of their traitorous and wicked practices and designs." Charles rode in hot haste from Worcester, and by day-break had got to a place called White Lady's. His notion was to disguise himself "with a pair of ordinary gray cloth breeches, a leathern doublet, and a green jerkin," and to walk to London, where Wilmot was to meet him. Richard Penderell, a Catholic, was recommended to Charles as a guide. They rested a very short time at White Lady's; and spent all that day in a wood, without meat or drink. At night they got some bread and cheese; and Charles having changed his mind about London, they walked in the direction of the Severn. At last a shelter was found in the house of Mr. Woolfe of Madeley, a gentleman "who had hiding-holes for priests." But the ferry was guarded at Madeley, where they expected to cross the Severn. Charles therefore resolved to return to the neighbourhood of White Lady's, hoping to hear some news of Wilmot. He went to Boscobel, the house of Richard Penderell's brother William, a farmer; and there he found a royalist officer, major Careless. They agreed to leave the house the next day; and to get up into a great tree, standing in an open plain, where they might see around them. The battle of Worcester was fought on Wednesday; the day of hiding in the oak was Friday. On the Saturday and Sunday Charles was concealed at Boscobel by William Penderell and his wife; but on that afternoon he received a message from Wilmot, that he was at the house of Mr. Whitgrave, a Catholic recusant, at Moseley; and desired the king to join him. There were six brothers of the Penderells; and they formed the royal body-guard, as Charles rode upon a jolting horse to this new place of

refuge. At Moseley, Charles was again in danger from the presence of the Commonwealth's soldiers; and it was determined that he should leave in a new character. The countryman in the leathern doublet was now transformed into a decent serving-man; who was to convey his mistress, the daughter of colonel Lane, of Bentley, to a relation near Bristol. The lady rode on a pillion behind him; a male cousin was of the party. Having a pass, they reached Bristol in three days without interruption. But at Bristol, there was no vessel in which the fugitive could embark, and he had to seek another place of refuge. After wandering along the coast, from port to port, endeavouring to find a ship, the king and his friends at last reached Brighthelmstone; and, at five o'clock on the morning of the 15th of October, the proscribed Charles Stuart went on board a vessel, and the next day landed at Fécamp. On the 29th he left Rouen; and, met by his mother and his brother James, he was once more safe in the Louvre.

The authority of the Commonwealth being now supreme in every quarter, the reduction of the army was a natural policy. The General made no opposition to a measure which in some degree arose from a jealous apprehension of his power. He was now most strenuous for the advancement of two great measures—an Act of Amnesty, and a Law for the Election of future Parliaments. The latter measure was carried by a small majority on a vote that the House should not continue its sittings beyond the 3rd of November, 1654. It became manifest that the parliament did not rest on very secure foundations. The old question of a Settlement of the Nation was very forcibly revived in many minds. A Conference on this subject was held at Speaker Lenthall's house, by request of Cromwell. The enemies of the victorious General saw with dread and hatred that he would, in the natural course of events, become the virtual head of the Commonwealth. He probably could not suppress the same conviction in his own breast. At this conference he expressed his belief "that a settlement with somewhat of monarchical power in it would be very effectual."

The privateering hostilities of prince Rupert were necessary to be met by the Republican Parliament with no common energy. The English navy had now become a most formidable force in every sea. Rupert had been driven by Blake from the Irish coast, and he then sailed to the coast of Portugal. Blake followed him to the mouth of the Tagus. The royal freebooter had obtained favour at the Court of Lisbon, but the stout-hearted captain who represented the honour of England demanded of king John IV. that he should expel from his ports the enemies of commerce between friendly nations; or that he, Robert Blake, should be allowed to enter the harbour and assert the demands of his government. The required admittance was refused. Blake, attempting to pass the bar, was fired on by the Portuguese forts; and he immediately made reprisals upon the ships of king John. Rupert escaped to the coast of Spain; and after similar demands and refusals from the Spanish government, Blake destroyed the greater number of the privateering fleet. France and Spain were each under very doubtful relations to England, although Spain had recognised the Commonwealth. There was large commercial intercourse between England and the United Provinces. Two ambassadors from the Council

of State of the Commonwealth were sent to the Hague to accomplish such an alliance as really meant that the two Protestant republics should form one nation. This scheme was decidedly unpopular. At the Hague there were many English cavaliers with the duke of York and his sister, the widow of the prince of Orange. The Dutch populace and the English royalists joined in insults to the suite of the ambassadors, who were at length recalled by the Parliament. When the royalist cause was finally overthrown by the victory of Worcester, the States-General sent ambassadors to London. They were received with all outward manifestations of respect; but the English statesmen were resolved to restore the flag of their country to that supremacy which Elizabeth had asserted, but which her successors had suffered to pass away. The Dutch statesmen on their side were equally determined in demanding the repeal of the Navigation Act, which went to destroy the Dutch carrying trade. Whilst these differences were being agitated, the fleets of Blake and the Dutch admiral, Van Tromp, came to a conflict on the 19th of May, 1652. The Dutchman had come into the Downs, with a fleet of forty-two vessels. Blake thought it right to look after them, and appeared with twenty-three ships. He fired three signal guns, to summon Van Tromp to lower his flag. Tromp paid no regard to the summons, and sailed on. He suddenly turned round, and sent a broadside into Blake's flag-ship. An engagement immediately took place which lasted four hours. Van Tromp lost one ship; and when morning dawned the gazers from the heights of Dover saw no trace of a hostile fleet. War was declared against the States-General on the 8th of July.

A year or two before the Long Parliament, the commerce of England appears to have been in a languid condition. The Civil War necessarily interfered with some mercantile operations, although the aggregate exchange of the country suffered no ruinous interruption. Under the Commonwealth there was a revival of commercial enterprise. The Navigation Act, under which no vessel could enter an English port with a cargo not produced or manufactured in the country to which the vessel belonged, originated in that increasing commerce which was grown powerful enough to contend with a long-established rivalry. The Dutch trade was founded upon many monopolies offensive to the English spirit of free adventure. A bold struggle was to be made for disputing their rival's possession of the carrying-trade of the world. In every material of naval warfare the Dutch were superior to the English. Their ships were far more numerous; their commanders were more experienced; their men better disciplined. Blake, and Deane, and Popham, and other sea-captains, were land-officers. The great admiral—"the first that infused that proportion of courage into the seamen, by making them see by experience what mighty things they could do, if they were resolved,"—was made out of an idle country-gentleman.

In June, 1652, Blake had a fleet of a hundred and five ships; carrying nearly four thousand guns. Van Tromp had a hundred and twenty ships. Blake's first business was to assert the bounds of the English fishery. In the seas of the north of Scotland he dispersed six hundred herring busses; capturing or sinking twelve ships of war that were protecting the fishermen's operations. Sir George Ayscough was defending the Channel. Van

Tromp came out of the Texel with seventy-nine men of war and ten fire-ships, to engage with Ayscough's inferior squadron. He was becalmed, and unable to engage. He turned to the North Seas; and Blake met him between the Orkneys and Shetland. A tempest came on; the Dutch vessels were scattered and much damaged; and Van Tromp returned to Holland, pursued by Blake. The Dutch admiral resigned his command, and was succeeded by De Ruyter. This bold sailor came into the Channel with thirty vessels; and drove Ayscough into Plymouth. De Ruyter was joined by Cornelius De Witt; and, with a fleet of sixty-four sail, encountered Blake in the Downs. After a severe engagement on the 28th of September, the Dutch were driven back to their own coasts. Van Tromp was again re-instated in command; and he took the sea as winter was approaching, with a fleet of seventy-three sail. Blake had only thirty-seven ships to meet the Dutch admiral. But he resolved not to shrink from battle. The issue was a conflict off the Naze, which ended in the necessity of a retreat, with great loss, to the Thames. Van Tromp sailed up and down the Channel with a broom at his mast head, to manifest that he would sweep the seas of the proud islanders; and the States-General proclaimed England under a blockade. The parliament was not disheartened; and they were just to the merits of their admiral. They sent him again to sea in February, 1653, with a fleet of eighty sail, having Penn and Lawson under his command. He met the Dutch fleet, on the 18th of February, between Portland Bill and Cape La Hogue. It consisted of seventy-five men of war, convoying two hundred and fifty merchantmen. The battle lasted all day, without any decided success. It was renewed on the following noon. Van Tromp made all sail for his own coasts, with Blake following him. The same running fight was maintained for two more days, with equal courage and obstinacy on both sides. It was not a decisive victory, though the Dutch lost many ships. Each government bestowed rewards upon its brave captains; and the English parliament appointed a General Thanksgiving.

The large expenses of this Dutch war drove the parliament and their Council of State to resort to very arbitrary and oppressive measures. The Act of Amnesty afforded some security to the persons of royalists, but that indemnity was not extended to their property. Of many cavaliers all their real and personal property was confiscated. Hundreds of others were required to pay one-third of their property's value within very limited time. Cromwell was opposed to these proceedings. The victorious general of the armies of the Commonwealth had put himself into the position of the leading reformer of the tyrannies and neglects of the rulers of the Commonwealth. The question of a new Representation went on very slowly to a solution. The nation began to feel the embarrassments occasioned by the union of the legislative and executive powers in an Assembly not numerous enough to be the interpreters of opinion, and too numerous for salutary and consistent action. In February it was determined that the existing parliament should dissolve on the 3rd of November of that year. The future number of representatives was to be four hundred, to be elected by freeholders in counties, and owners or tenants in boroughs. The members then sitting were to remain as the representatives of the counties or

boroughs for which they then sat; and it was resolved that a general committee should pronounce upon the validity of the new returns. Against the proposal "for the perpetuating the same men in parliament," as Cromwell afterwards described this Bill, he gave his most strenuous opposition. On the 19th of April, 1653, there was a great conference of members of the House, and of officers of the army, at Cromwell's residence of Whitehall. It was understood that the discussion was to be renewed on Wednesday, the 20th. On that day, the Lord General and his officers were ready to receive the members, when news arrived, first, that the parliament was sitting, and then that the obnoxious Bill was about to become law. Cromwell instantly went forth, followed by Lambert and several other officers. A detachment of soldiers was ordered to march to the House of Commons. The Lord General placed his men in the lobby, and then entered the House alone. "He sat down and heard the debate for some time. Then calling to major-general Harrison, who was on the other side of the House, to come to him, he told him, that he judged the parliament ripe for a dissolution, and this to be the time of doing it." Harrison remonstrated, and Cromwell remained quiet until "the question for passing the Bill being to be put, he said again to major-general Harrison, 'This is the time—I must do it;' and suddenly standing up, made a speech, wherein he loaded the parliament with the vilest reproaches. . . Sir Peter Wentworth stood up to answer him, . . but as he was going on, the General stepped into the midst of the House, where continuing his distracted language, he said, 'Come, come, I will put an end to your prating;' then walking up and down the House like a madman, and kicking the ground with his feet, he cried out, 'You are no parliament, I say you are no parliament; I will put an end to your sitting; call them in, call them in.' Whereupon the sergeant attending the parliament opened the doors, and lieutenant-colonel Worsley with two files of musketeers entered the House." He commanded the mace to be taken away, saying, "What shall we do with this bauble? Here, take it away." Major-general Harrison then handed the Speaker from the chair. Cromwell "ordered the guard to see the House cleared of all the members, and then seized upon the records that were there, and at Mr. Scobell's house. After which he went to the clerk, and snatching the Act of Dissolution, which was ready to pass, out of his hand, he put it under his cloak, and having commanded the doors to be locked up, went away to Whitehall." *

The Council of State was dismissed the same afternoon by the same strong hand. The republican leaders were indignant; but they were powerless. This great change appears to have produced very little public excitement. It was followed by no severities against those who were known to be most hostile to the one man who was regarded in most things as the real ruler of England. Many rejoiced at this approach to an authority more direct, less vacillating and less contentious, than the supreme government by a parliament. A Council of State, consisting of thirteen, was appointed,—nine military men and four civilians, with Cromwell as their president.

* Ludlow's "Memoirs," vol. ii., p. 455.

The country remained in perfect tranquillity. The government went on without the slightest interruption. Amidst this general submission to what was regarded as a probable blessing or an inevitable evil, there was sent out, on the 6th of June, a summons to serve as a Member of Parliament, addressed, in Cromwell's name, to each of one hundred and thirty-nine persons.

Monk and Deane were cruising, with a portion of the English fleet, between the North Foreland and Nieuport; Blake was on our northern coasts. Van Tromp decided to encounter the fleet thus separated from their great admiral. The engagement continued all through the day of the 2nd of June. Deane had been killed by a cannon-shot at the first broadside. The action recommenced on the 3rd, when Blake came to Monk's assistance, and broke through the Dutch line. Van Tromp fought with desperation. His ship, the Brederode, was boarded by the crew of Penn's flag-ship, the James, after having repulsed Van Tromp's boarders. The Dutch admiral, resolved not to be a prisoner, threw a lighted match into his own powder-magazine. The explosion blew up the deck, but he himself escaped, to renew the battle in a frigate. He at last felt that he was beaten; retreated to his own coasts; and left with the triumphant English eleven vessels and thirteen hundred and fifty prisoners. The Council of State ordered a thanksgiving for the victory. Cromwell's Little Parliament met, on the 4th of July, under prosperous auspices.

To Cromwell's summons only two had answered by non-attendance. Sitting in chairs round a table, the Lord General, surrounded by his officers, made a speech to the assembly. After going through a narrative of the circumstances which preceded the dissolution of the Long Parliament, and accounting for his participation in that act, he explained that he had called them together "to the end we might manifest to the world the singleness of our hearts and our integrity who did these things, not to grasp at the power ourselves, or keep it in military hands, no, not for a day; but, as far as God enabled us with strength and ability, to put it into the hands of proper persons that might be called from the several parts of the nation." Cromwell then proceeded to exhort them "to approve themselves to God," and to "have a care of the whole flock! Love the sheep, love the lambs; love all, tender all, cherish and countenance all, in all things that are good. And if the poorest Christian, the most mistaken Christian, shall desire to live peaceably and quietly under you,—I say, if any shall desire but to lead a life of godliness and honesty, let him be protected."

The constitution of Cromwell's Assembly was provisional. The supreme authority was devolved upon them by an instrument signed by the Lord General and his officers, but they were to engage not to retain it beyond the 3rd of November, 1654; three months before that time they were to choose their successors; and these were not to sit longer than a year, and then to determine upon a future constitution of government. The "Little Parliament" at once applied themselves to the reform of the law; the amendment of the condition of prisoners for debt, and of the poor; the promotion of education, and other objects of importance, such as Union with Scotland, the division of lands in Ireland, and the financial condition of the kingdom. They did, however, some things which gave offence to two

powerful classes—the clergy and the lawyers. They abolished the Court of Chancery, and they decreed by a majority of two, that tithes should be abolished. The more enthusiastic of the religious party—those who held that "the Saints shall take possession of the kingdom and keep it,"—had gained an ascendancy in the parliament. Cromwell saw that these men, led by major-general Harrison, were too strong in their enthusiasm to make a stable government of the people a practicable thing. There were many of his adherents of the same opinion; and the men of station and property began to regard Cromwell as the only power interposed between order and anarchy. On the 12th of December, colonel Sydenham, rose in his place, and forthwith accused the majority of desiring to take away the laws of the land, and substitute a Mosaic code; of seeking to remove a regularly appointed Christian ministry; of opposing all learning and education. He proposed that they should repair in a body to the Lord-General, and resign the trust that had been committed to them. The motion was seconded by sir Charles Wosleley. The Speaker suddenly left the chair, followed by about forty members, and repaired to Whitehall, where they hastily wrote a paper resigning their authority into the hands of Cromwell. In the course of the next four days it was signed by eighty members, constituting a majority of the whole House. On the 16th of December, 1653, Oliver Cromwell was inaugurated "Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland." The sovereignty was to reside in the parliament. The Protector was not to have the right of a negative on their laws. He had a power of making temporary ordinances until the meeting of a parliament. A Council of State was to assist the Protector in the government.

At this period, in spite of the Puritan rigour occasionally breaking out, the nation was gradually resuming the habits, if not wholly of merry England, of stirring and well-employed England. We see the stir of inventive genius; and we may trace the beginnings of that experimental philosophy which was to put England at the head of all industrious nations. Agriculture felt the influence of the general movement of the national mind. The forfeitures of property, so calamitous to individuals, had thrown extensive estates into the hands of the middle classes, who cultivated them to greater profit than their hereditary proprietors.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Out of his own courage, sagacity, and abiding sense that his destiny was in the hands of a supreme directing Power, had a great ruler been made—one, says Milton, who "alone remained to conduct the government and to save the country." Oliver Cromwell did many things that are repugnant to the principles of just freedom under an established rule; but in his own manifestations of arbitrary power he was ever striving to establish a system of

constitutional liberty. The acceptance by Cromwell of the office of Protector immediately gave a personal character to the controversy which before was general. From that moment he was surrounded with conspirators of every degree. The doctrine of assassination was openly preached by the royalists abroad. From Paris, on the 23rd of April, 1654, came out a Proclamation in the name of Charles II., promising all sorts of rewards to "whosoever, whether soldier or other, who shall be instrumental in so signal a piece of service" as "cutting so detestable a villain from the face of the earth." This incentive to assassination was extensively circulated, openly abroad, secretly in England; and it produced its natural effect. On the 20th of May, the Protector's guards were to be attacked on the road to Hampton Court by thirty stout men, and then and there was the deed to be done. But the Protector escaped the ambuscade; for five of the royalist projectors of the plot were arrested in their beds a few hours before its intended accomplishment. Forty persons were subjected to examination as confederates with colonel John Gerard, Peter Vowell, a schoolmaster, and Somerset Fox. These three were tried before a High Court of Justice. Fox pleaded guilty, and was pardoned. The other two were executed. Of their guilt the evidence is sufficiently clear; and it is equally manifest that the plan had been communicated to prince Rupert at Paris. Hyde protested, in a letter to the Secretary Nicholas, that of the "whole matter the king knows no more than you do." It is indisputable that an envoy of the French king, de Baas, had employed the name of Mazarin to encourage this scheme of murder. Cromwell sent M. de Baas back to his own Court, imputing blame to him alone. He did not wish to interrupt in any way the negotiations now pending with France; and was satisfied with having made known to Europe, and especially to France, out of whose bosom the assassins came, the vigilance of his own police.

Whilst France and Spain were each employing all the resources of their diplomacy to secure the alliance of England, Cromwell, after tedious negotiations, had concluded a peace with the United Provinces. The naval power of the Dutch had been finally broken by the victory of Blake, in July, 1653, when Van Tromp was himself killed by a musket-ball. The conditions of peace which Cromwell exacted were moderate. In the treaty with Holland, which was signed on the 5th of April, 1654, were comprehended Denmark, the Hanseatic Towns, and the Swiss Protestant Cantons. A treaty of friendship and alliance with Sweden was concluded in the same month. Cromwell demanded of Spain that the navigation of the West Indies should be free; and that Englishmen in Spain should be protected in the exercise of their religion against the interference of the Inquisition. The Spanish ambassador said that such a demand was to ask for the two eyes of his master. From France he required the expulsion of the Stuarts; and, in a nobler spirit, liberty and security for the French Protestants. No treaty with France was concluded in the first year of the Protectorate, and no hostilities were offered to Spain; but it became manifest that the disposition of Cromwell was in favour of the alliance with France, in preference to that with Spain. With Portugal he concluded a commercial treaty; on the same day, Don Pantaleon de Sa, the brother of the Portuguese ambassador, was executed for the murder of two Englishmen.

The first parliament of the Protectorate was to include representatives of the three kingdoms. Of four hundred for England and Wales, two hundred and fifty-one were to be returned by counties, and a hundred and forty-nine by cities and boroughs. Scotland, which had been declared united to England by an Ordinance of the 12th of April, was to send thirty members; Ireland was to send also thirty members. The right of voting for representatives was in those who possessed real or personal property to the value of two hundred pounds. Roman Catholics, and those who had been in arms against the parliament during the Civil Wars, were excluded from voting, or from being returned as members. On the 4th of September the Parliament was opened with almost regal pomp. The Protector had a very difficult assembly to address. His own council had been elected, with one exception. Some of the republican leaders were again returned. A large body of the Presbyterians were also members. There was a peculiar significance in the Protector's words when he said that the great end of their meeting was "Healing and Settling." Cromwell enumerated what had been done in the way of ordinances during the last nine months. The administration of finance had been regulated; the hardships of prisoners for debt had been lessened; prison discipline had been reformed; highways had been improved. On more important points:—Commissioners had been appointed to consider the Reform of the Law. "In the meanwhile there hath been care taken to put the administration of the Laws into the hands of just men; men of the most known integrity and ability. The Chancery hath been reformed, I hope, to the satisfaction of all good men." A Commission had also been appointed for the trial of public preachers; and another to inquire into the conduct of, and eject from their livings if necessary, "scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient" ministers. It is impossible that such Commissions should not have been in many cases arbitrary, perhaps prejudiced and unjust; but they were the necessary results of an endeavour to remedy the evils which had been produced by the total suspension of an authorised ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

The Parliament had ample powers under the Instrument of Government. The authority of the Protector was great, but with very stringent limitations. Nevertheless, the very first occupation of the representatives was to proceed to the discussion of the question whether the House should approve of the system of government by a Parliament and a single Person. For three days this elementary question had been debated; and the House then resolved to go into committee to deliberate still further upon the fundamental proposition. On the morning when the committee was to meet, the doors of the parliament were found closed. The members were directed to meet in the Painted Chamber, to which the Protector came with his guards; and took his seat in a chair of state. He then spoke for an hour and a-half to the bare-headed assembly, with an earnestness to which a feeling of wounded pride gave unwonted emphasis. He maintained that the people, in the expression of their voices by grand juries, by addresses from counties and cities, were his witnesses of approbation to the place he filled. But the climax of his speech was that *they*, the members of parliament, were his last witnesses. They came there by his writs directed to the sheriffs. The writ of return was signed with proviso

"that the person so chosen should not have power to alter the government as now settled in one single Person and a Parliament." In conclusion, Cromwell announced that the members would not now be admitted to the House without first signing at the lobby-door a pledge not to propose, or give consent, to alter the government thus settled with the general approbation. Many members signed at once. Three hundred had signed before the end of the month. But the republican leaders refused to give any pledge; and the parliament was thus reduced to little more than two-thirds of the members returned. For three months the first free parliament, although the recusant members had retired to their homes, made small progress in "settling." From the 21st of September till the 20th of January, the Instrument of Government was in a constant course of amendments and additions. The legislative power of the parliament was absolute; for if the Protector did not give his consent to any Bill within twenty days of its passing, it became law without his consent. And yet the assembly could not see the necessity of its legislative sanction to the necessary reforms which had been proposed, and partly effected, by Cromwell and his council. They triumphed over Cromwell's supposed ambition in deciding that the Protectorate should be elective, and not hereditary. They outraged his principles of toleration, which had been recognised in the Instrument of Government, by appointing a committee to define what was "faith in God by Jesus Christ;" and to settle what were "damnable heresies." They went farther, and ordered that several heretics should be imprisoned. The supplies were voted as tardily as if the foreign affairs of the country had been conducted with dishonour instead of a dignity which all nations bowed before. The parliament was to sit five months. Five calendar months would have expired on the 3rd of February. Five lunar months expired on the 22nd of January. On that day the Protector summoned the House to attend him in the Painted Chamber. He told them, "Dissettlement and division, discontent and dissatisfaction, together with real dangers to the whole, have been more multiplied within these five months of your sitting than in some years before. Foundations have also been laid for the future renewing of the troubles of these nations by all the enemies of them abroad and at home." And so, concluded Oliver, Protector, "I think it my duty to tell you that it is not for the profit of these nations, nor for common and public good, for you to continue here any longer." The Parliament was dissolved.

England was very unquiet in this spring of 1655. Charles the Second, who, after some wandering, had settled himself at Cologne, had gone with the Marquis of Ormond to Middleburg, that he might be ready for a landing in England. Wilmot, now earl of Rochester, was in London, organising a general insurrection. At five o'clock in the morning of the 11th of March, a party of two hundred horsemen, headed by Sir Joseph Wagstaff, rode into the streets of Salisbury, where the assizes were being held. Their first operation was to seize the sheriff and the two judges, and to break open the gaols. "When the judges were brought out in their robes, and humbly produced their commissions, and the sheriff likewise, Wagstaff resolved, after he had caused the king to be proclaimed, to cause them all three to be hanged." At the instance of a country gentleman,

John Penruddock, the judges were dismissed, their commissions being taken from them; but the sheriff was to be hanged, because he refused to proclaim the king. This likewise was resisted; though very many of the gentlemen were much scandalised at the tender-heartedness. No one stirred to help these valiant supporters of the true monarchy and its attributes. In a few hours they left Salisbury, and carrying the sheriff with them, went forwards into Hampshire and Devonshire. There were none to join them, and a single troop of Cromwell's horse, being by chance in the country, dispersed them, almost without a blow, three days afterwards. Some of the leaders, and about fifty of their followers, were taken prisoners. Wagstaff escaped to France. Penruddock and another were tried at Exeter, and beheaded; a few others were hanged; the larger number were transported to Barbadoes. In the north, Wilmot had gone to take the command of the insurrectionary army. That army never extended beyond a few rash partisans. Wilmot got back to his master, out of heart.

The period at which Cromwell's despotism put on its most rigid form was in the year that followed the dismissal of the parliament at the beginning of 1655. He was left without a legal revenue, for the maintenance of the civil and military powers of the government. In his fiscal measures the most invidious was the imposition of an especial tax upon a limited number of royalists. To assess and collect this tax it was necessary to call forth some new instruments. The Protector divided the country into ten districts, each under the authority of a Major-General, who had various large powers, and who had especially under his command the militia of the counties. There was no resistance to the acts of the Major-Generals, and their commissioners, and there was no large amount of murmuring. At this period the government of the Protector was more than usually harsh towards the Catholics and the clergy of the Anglican Church. The plots against the Commonwealth were generally mixed up with the intrigues of papists, and the harshness towards them was the practical continuance of the spirit of the severe penal laws. The Episcopalians were harassed at the instance of the Presbyterians, in spite of Cromwell's own ardent desire for toleration. But with the great Puritan body, and the various sectaries that sprang from them, he was determined to keep their animosities under the control of an equal justice. The Quakers, who were hunted and persecuted by every other sect, found a friend in Cromwell. This toleration made the Protector many enemies.

In the spring of 1655 two armaments were fitted out at Portsmouth. Their destination was unknown. Whilst France and Spain were each under apprehensions, Blake's fleet of twenty-five ships appeared before Leghorn, and the admiral demanded from the grand duke of Tuscany redress for the owners of three merchant vessels, which had been captured by prince Rupert in 1650, and sold in Tuscan ports and in the Papal States. The grand duke and the pope paid the indemnity. Blake then presented himself on the coast of Africa, to demand the release of Christian captives from the Barbary States. His terms were complied with at Algiers and Tripoli. At Tunis, the Dey pointed to his fortresses, and told the English to do their worst. Blake battered the Tunisian works, and burnt the piratical fleet in the harbour. The other fleet under Venables

and Penn had gone for the West Indies. On the 14th of April it was before Hispaniola. There was no attempt at once to take St. Domingo; and the whole force, having landed, fell into ambuscades, and were eventually driven back to their ships. The commanders, who had lost everything by their disputes and feeble arrangements, sailed away, and possessed themselves of Jamaica. The value of this conquest was then little estimated; and Cromwell sent Penn and Venables to the Tower when they came home with the tale of their disasters. They were not long in confinement, however. The Protector soon saw that Jamaica gave England a solid footing in the West Indies, and was a most important acquisition.

For many centuries there had dwelt in three small valleys of Piedmont a race known as the Vaudois, or Valdenses—the people of the valleys—who from the earliest times had kept separate from the Church of Rome. They were proscribed, first by France and then by Savoy; and then sometimes tolerated, and sometimes molested. In 1655 the government of the young duke Charles Emmanuel II., having been irritated by tumults between some Vaudois of one of the valleys and a convent of Capuchins, alleged that those who had been tolerated in their religion within certain districts, prescribed by edicts, had settled upon lands beyond their proper boundaries. All the Vaudois families inhabiting eight communes in the lower part of the valley of the Pelice, were commanded to abandon their fields and houses; to sell their property within twenty days; or to become Roman Catholics. This command was resisted; and the duke of Savoy sent the marquis of Pianezza to enforce the manifesto. The Vaudois deserted their villages and sought refuge in the mountains. There were severe contests between the troops and the suffering people; in which horrid cruelties were committed by the Piedmontese soldiers, and by mercenary Irish and French in the service of the duke of Savoy. The instant that Cromwell heard of these harsh measures, he wrote to the English resident in Switzerland to advise the persecuted people to appeal to England. The news of the massacre arrived before any request was made for succour. The Protector immediately called upon all the Protestant powers for assistance in demanding justice for the Vaudois. A collection throughout England was made for these poor people, and Cromwell himself gave two thousand pounds. He sent an envoy extraordinary to Louis XIV. and to the duke of Savoy, with letters of remonstrance. France was most anxious to conclude a treaty of peace and commerce with England; but Cromwell declared that he would not sign it till the French Court had procured from the Piedmontese government the restoration of the Vaudois to their ancient liberties. The French minister at Turin now insisted on a treaty of pacification, which should restore the Vaudois to their civil and religious liberties as of old. The business was hastily concluded by the French agents, and some harsh conditions were connected with it which Cromwell, when he found, caused the interference of the Protector to annul.

In this year Cromwell endeavoured to give the Jews liberty to settle again in England, after three hundred and sixty-five years of banishment. But William Prynne raised the cry of Christianity in danger, and the old prejudices against the Jews were revived, especially in the city, where the

merchants were jealous of the wealth of the Hebrews. The Protector, seeing it was in vain to expect any agreement upon this question, sought for no legal sanction to their settling here, but raised no objection to a Portuguese synagogue being opened in 1656.

The alliance with France, and the war with Spain, gave occasion to new movements of royalists, and new combinations of republicans. Charles the Second was living in dissolute poverty at Cologne, caring little for state concerns; but he was a little roused when the war with Spain induced him to believe that he might obtain some assistance against their common enemy. In April, 1656, he concluded a treaty of alliance with Philip IV., by which the Spanish monarch promised Charles a pension and an army, and Charles engaged that with the aid of the Irish serving in France he would make a landing in England. Colonel Sexby, a furious republican, now joined the councils of Charles and the Spanish ministers.

Cromwell, in July, had issued writs for a new parliament. He was now placed in an attitude of more determined hostility against the republican party, by two exciting pamphlets published by sir Harry Vane, which proposed "a new form of government, plainly laying aside thereby that which now is." The elections were fiercely contested, amidst many popular tumults. The government had secured a majority, but many of its declared opponents were elected. Cromwell and his council tried to persuade Vane, Harrison, and other opponents, to pledge themselves not to commit any act to the prejudice of the government. They refused; and were imprisoned.

The Parliament assembled on the 17th of September. The Protector spoke at great length. He dwelt on their past and present dangers, abroad and at home. The present great danger, he considered, was from a "generation of men who cry up nothing but righteousness and justice and liberty; and these are divided into several sects and sorts of men. They are known to shake hands with—I should be loath to say with cavaliers—but with all the scum and dirt of this nation." He then proceeded to remedies. He called for reformation of manners. "We would keep up Nobility and Gentry; and the way to keep them up is, not to suffer them to be patronisers or countenancers of debauchery and disorders." He called again for the Reform of the Law. The strong declamation of the Protector against men who cry up nothing but righteousness and justice and liberty seemed to point at some extraordinary course with this parliament. About three hundred members had received a certificate in the following form: "These are to certify that —— is returned by indenture one of the knights [or burgesses] to serve in this present parliament for the county [city or borough] of ——, and approved by his Highness's Council." A hundred and two members who had received no certificate were prevented entering the House. The formal letter of the Constitution had been adhered to; its application was a bold exercise of arbitrary power. The excluded members protested against this total infraction of the conditions of a free parliament. The public indignation was great and general; but a national success came opportunely to qualify it. A squadron of Blake's fleet off Cadiz had captured two Spanish galleons returning home with the treasures of the Indies. The treasury was replenished. The parliament beca-

tranquillised. Cromwell felt that he could relax in some measures of repression, and the Major-Generals were abolished. Acts were now passed for the security of the Protector's person; and for disannulling the title to the Crown of Charles Stuart and his descendants. It was even popularly considered to be probable and desirable that the Protector should assume a higher title, and with the powers of a king should receive the name. Four hundred thousand pounds were voted for the expenses of the war with Spain, which was declared to be just and necessary. The ordinances which the Protector had issued were for the most part confirmed, and his appointments to judicial offices were approved.

Amongst the new sect of Quakers was James Nayler, who, in his frantic enthusiasm, had proclaimed that the Redeemer was incarnate in his person; and he had moreover given a great public scandal in going about in a state of nudity. The quaker was arrested at Bristol; and brought up to the bar of the House of Commons. There were ten days of wearisome debate, in which it was maintained that the House possessed the right of life and death. The madman was finally condemned to be put in the pillory, to have his tongue bored through with a hot iron, and to be whipped through the streets. Cromwell saw that this assumption of judicial power was incompatible with the due course of justice. He addressed a letter of remonstrance to the Speaker, desiring "that the House will let us know the grounds and reasons whereupon they have proceeded." Part of Nayler's sentence had been inflicted when this letter was received. The House immediately rejected a proposition for deferring the completion of the punishment. The people became more and more convinced that in a due balance of the executive and legislative functions they must look for safety.

Charles the Second was residing at Bruges at the beginning of 1657. He had obtained money from Spain, with which he was making some show of preparation for an expedition to England. Colonel Sexby had been in England, and was again with the king. He had left a trusty agent, Miles Sindercomb, behind him, charged with a certain service, to be well rewarded. Sindercomb hired a house at Hammersmith, and provided deadly combustibles of a sort to blow the Protector and his carriage into atoms as he took his Saturday ride to Hampton Court. He arranged, moreover, to fire Whitehall, and have a safe blow at the Protector in the confusion. On the night of the 8th of January, the sentinel at the palace found a basket of wildfire, and a slow match gradually burning onwards to explode it. A life-guardsman came before the Council, and proclaimed that Miles Sindercomb was the man who had made these midnight arrangements. Sindercomb was taken, was tried, and convicted by a jury in the King's Bench: the day of execution was fixed; but he was found dead in his bed, his sister having conveyed poison to him. The Parliament went in a body to congratulate the Protector on his escape. A Thanksgiving-day followed. When the congratulatory address was passed in the House, Mr. Ashe, a member of no great mark, moved that it be added, that his Highness would be pleased to take upon him the government according to the ancient constitution. Great was the clamour, and the matter was dropped. But on the 23rd of February, alderman Pack requested leave to read a paper "called a

Remonstrance, desiring my Lord Protector to assume kingly power, and to call future parliaments, consisting of two Houses." The question was debated through the whole of March; and it was at last carried by a majority of sixty-one. On the 31st of March, the House proceeded to Whitehall, to present the document, comprising eighteen articles, which they now called "Petition and Advice." Cromwell's reply was to the effect that he asked time for consideration. Three days after he requested that a committee might be appointed to receive his answer. He spoke briefly, and with a tone somewhat different to his usual decision. His conclusion was:—"I must say I have been able to attain no farther than this, that seeing the way is hedged up so as it is to me, and I cannot accept the things offered unless I accept all, I have not been able to find it my duty to God and you to undertake the charge under that Title." The deputation returned to the House, and reported the reluctant negative of his Highness. On the 8th of April the House declared in a body that they adhered to the Petition, and again desired the Protector's assent thereto. He still hesitated. The next day London was in a tumult, in consequence of the proclamation on Mile-end Green of the Fifth Monarchy. This attempt to put down all carnal sovereignties was quickly settled by a troop of horse. For many days a committee of ninety-nine debated the question of real kingship with the Protector at Whitehall. In another week there was another conference. The same reluctance to accept; the same unwillingness to offend by a refusal. His Highness and the committee then went into discussion of the other articles of the Petition, to which the Protector had offered a paper of amendments. The Parliament adopted most of the amendments; and, at last, again attended my Lord Protector in a body, to receive his final answer upon the great question. There was no mistaking his meaning now: "I think the Act of Government doth consist of very excellent parts, in all but that one thing of the Title to me . . . . I am persuaded to return this answer to you, that I cannot undertake this government with the Title of King." The other parts of the Instrument of Government were adopted, the term Protector being substituted for that of King. Whitelocke says that the Protector was moved to this final decision "by solicitation of the Commonwealth's men, and many officers of the army."

In the early summer of 1657 came the news of a great victory by Blake over the Spanish navy at Santa Cruz, where the great admiral attacked the Spaniards in their own harbour, under the fire of tremendous batteries, and burnt their entire fleet. The noble sailor was returning to England, when he died on board his ship within sight of Plymouth. Then, six thousand English troops landed in May near Boulogne, and a fleet was cruising off that coast—an army and a fleet to co-operate with the French in an attack upon the Spanish power in the Netherlands.

The session of parliament was coming to a close. But first, on the 26th of June, there was a gorgeous assembly in Westminster Hall to inaugurate, under the new Instrument of Government, him who, without the title of king, was to be clothed with regal honours and powers. The second session of parliament, which was to assemble in January, was to be of a different composition from that of the first session. The excluded

members were to be admitted. There was to be a "Second House." Cromwell had now strengthened his influence with the old nobility to some extent. Lord Falconbridge had married his daughter Mary; and Robert Rich, grandson of the earl of Warwick, had married his daughter Frances. But of the members of the old House of Lords only seven accepted the Protector's writ of summons, and only one of these seven took his seat. Cromwell filled up the number of sixty-three with great civil officers, generals, and some eminent country gentlemen and citizens. By this means forty members took their seats as quasi-lords, who would otherwise most probably have been in the Commons, and have given their support to the existing authority. The members who had been excluded in the first session were now ready for a vigorous opposition. On the 20th of January the Parliament met. His Highness was now in the House of Lords, and the Commons were duly summoned thither by Black Rod, as of old. Upon their return, they went at once upon heady debate—day by day—as to what the new House should be called. Five days after the opening of the session, Cromwell summoned the Parliament to the Banqueting House, and addressed the members in a manly speech, exhorting them to unanimity. His appeal was in vain. The discontented were powerful in the Commons. No real business could proceed whilst the question of "the other House" was daily debated. The Commons were again summoned by the Black Rod, and, after an angry speech, the Protector dissolved the Parliament. Cromwell then summoned his officers to Whitehall, and asked if they were willing, with him, to maintain the Instrument of Government. Most answered they would live and die with him. A few looked gloomy, and were silent. In a day or two he removed suspected officers from the army. Lambert encouraged the disaffected soldiers, who desired to set him up in Cromwell's place. Some of these men conspired against the Protector's life, but the plot was frustrated by Colonel Hutchinson. Another conspiracy of wild apprentices and other rash persons, who proposed to fire houses, and do a considerable amount of slaughter, was settled by the Lieutenant of the Tower, who came out with five pieces of artillery, and the apprentices got within their masters' houses as fast as possible. The ringleaders of this intended insurrection were seized at "the Mermaid in Cheapside." Others were arrested in the country. A High Court of Justice, appointed by Act of the last parliament, was summoned for trial of the conspirators. Fifteen were arraigned; amongst whom were sir Henry Slingsby, and Dr. Hewit, an episcopal divine. These two were condemned and executed; although the highest interest was made to save their lives. Six of the insurrectionists were also condemned, of which number three suffered. There were no more insurrections during the life of Cromwell.

The English troops who landed at Boulogne in May, were employed by France in securing fortresses in the interior, instead of in combined operations against Gravelines, and Mardike, and Dunkirk, on the coast, as stipulated by treaty. Cromwell ordered his ambassador to see that the treaty was carried out, or send the English troops home. Mazarin was not inclined to quarrel with the Protector, and so Mardike was besieged, and delivered provisionally to the English general. The next spring,

amidst all his home distractions, Cromwell renewed the treaty of offensive alliance with France, and sent more troops. On the 25th of May Dunkirk was invested by the allied French and English army. Turenne was the commander. The town was defended by the marquis of Leyden. Don John of Austria marched from Brussels with a Spanish force to drive back the besiegers. Condé was with this army, and also the dukes of York and Gloucester. The English fought for four hours, and carried the most difficult posts. The battle was a complete victory. On the 25th of June, Dunkirk surrendered; and the town was placed in the hands of the English.

Cromwell was now triumphant abroad, and freed from insurgents at home. But something more absorbing than worldly power or dignity now obtruded itself. His daughter, lady Claypole, died on the 6th of August, her father having been fourteen days watching by her bedside at Hampton Court, "unable to attend to any public business whatever." On the 30th of August, the Protector himself was dying. By the Instrument of Government he was to name his successor. His eldest son, Richard, was an idle country-gentleman, harmless, but somewhat incapable. Thurloe put the question of succession to the dying man. There was a sealed-up paper in a certain place at Hampton Court. The paper was not to be found. On the night of the 2nd of September, the question was put again. The answer, faintly breathed out, was said to be "Richard." In the afternoon of the 3rd of September, the prince and soldier passed away, in a state of insensibility.

The death of Oliver Cromwell was followed by no popular agitation—scarcely by any immediate demonstration of party dissensions. The new Protector was solemnly proclaimed on the 4th of September. Abroad, the royalists were vexed and surprised at the calm in England. Foreign governments readily gave their adherence to the Commonwealth. Nevertheless, the calm was gradually becoming disturbed. Within six weeks of his accession, a body of officers, headed by Fleetwood, presented a petition to Richard for such organic changes in the military constitution as would have placed all control of the army out of his hand. He mildly but firmly refused his assent, as contrary to the "Petition and Advice" on which the Protectorate was founded. Oliver Cromwell had left no wealth, and Richard was soon embarrassed, the more so as the pompous funeral of the late Protector absorbed all his immediate resources, and left him greatly in debt. That funeral was deferred till the 23rd of November. The council met on the 29th, and resolved on calling a parliament. The old representative system was to be restored. Small and decayed boroughs, which had been disfranchised, were again to elect burgesses. Commercial towns, such as Manchester, which had grown into importance, were again to cease to have members. The government strove as much as possible to exclude the republicans from parliament; but it was not successful to a great extent. Many in the service of the government obtained seats. The royalists influenced many of the elections, but few declared royalists offered themselves as candidates. The Parliament, which met on the 29th of January, appeared to contain more moderate men than violent partisans. The Lords, or Upper House, were summoned by the Protector's writ, as

the Lords of Oliver had been summoned. The members of both Houses were required to take the oath to the government. Some few republicans refused, and did not take their seats. Ludlow, and probably others, evaded the oath; and, after some dispute, were permitted to sit. The passions of various factions soon manifested themselves. A Bill having been proposed "for a recognition of the Protector," the Republicans came back to their old assertion of the right of parliament alone to exercise the government, as it had been exercised before the dissolution of the Long Parliament. After long and violent debates, the Bill for the recognition of the Protector was passed. There was still greater disagreement when the question came to be debated, whether there should be two Houses. On this point, however, the Republicans and the Royalists were at last beaten. But the army was wholly unmanageable by the gentle hand of the young Protector. There were some regiments, commanded by his friends, of whose fidelity he had no doubt; and the armies of Scotland and Ireland were faithful. But the violent sectarian soldiers disliked his moderation, and saw with jealousy a majority of Parliament inclined to the same course. The mutual hostility of the parliament and the army soon became manifest. Richard indiscreetly consented to the appointment of a general Council of Officers. Five hundred assembled at Wallingford-house, and they came to resolutions which aimed at separating the command of the army from the civil power. The Parliament soon saw its danger. The House of Commons voted that no general Council of Officers should be held without permission of the Protector and the parliament; and that every officer should sign an engagement that he would not disturb the free meetings or proceedings of parliament. Richard was urged to be firm. He went amongst the officers at Wallingford-house; and told them that he would see their complaints righted in parliament, but that he dissolved their Council. The Council obstinately continued to sit. It was soon manifest that the power of the Protector was coming to an end. The few officers who were faithful to him were abandoned by their men. The army demanded that the parliament should be dissolved, and Richard at length yielded. On the 22nd of April the Commons were summoned to the Upper House. Very few went. In the evening a proclamation for dissolving the parliament was issued, and upon the doors of the House of Commons padlocks were fastened. The army was supreme, with no master-mind to direct its supremacy. With the fall of the parliament fell Richard Cromwell. He soon after retired to a plain country-house, and the whole family passed into obscurity. All real government was at an end. In this emergency, the officers and the republican leaders of the Commons coalesced; and it was determined to restore the Long Parliament. After much difficulty forty-two of the old members were gathered together. The first step of this Parliament was to appoint a Committee of Safety; and, subsequently, a Council of State. The council was composed of soldiers and civilians, in nearly equal proportion. They were sincere and zealous men, faithful to their great idea of a republic, of which all the authority should abide in a parliament. But the question soon arose—which power should be supreme, the civil or the military? The Parliament, "instead of authorising the lieutenant-general [Fleetwood] to grant commissions, ... ordered that the said

commissions should be subscribed by the Speaker." The officers submitted, though with an ill grace. The government was in the hands of men of decision and energy. Its foreign policy was conciliatory. The ultimate form of government was a constant matter of debate within the House. Beyond its walls every theory of the perfection of a Commonwealth was anxiously discussed. There were real dangers all around the parliament, but the greatest danger was in its own divisions. As the natural result of this disunion, a royalist insurrection was organised. The parliament obtained a knowledge of the project, and took the most active measures of precaution. Sir George Booth had, however, appeared in arms in Cheshire, on the 1st of August. In a few days he was at the head of several thousand men, and had obtained possession of the citadel of Chester. Large additional forces were immediately raised by the parliament; and their command was entrusted to Lambert. He left London at the head of an adequate force, and marched rapidly to Chester. The defeat of sir George Booth and his party was complete. The royalist cause appeared again to be hopeless. Lambert returned to London at a very slow pace. He was preparing, in concert with officers in London, to dispute the authority of the parliament. A petition had been presented to the House from the officers under his command. It was to repeat certain demands for the appointment of general officers, which had been proposed before the parliament had been restored. The House now voted against the prayer of the petition. Other meetings of officers were held, and another petition was resolved upon. The quarrel became serious. Lambert, Desborough, and other officers were dismissed from their posts; and Fleetwood was removed from his command of the army. On the 13th of October, Westminster was surrounded by troops upon whose fidelity the parliament relied. Lambert boldly marched thither at the head of his regiment. A conflict appeared likely to take place; but Lambert addressed the troops, and they quickly went over to him. There was a conference between the civil and military members of the Council of State, which ended in a resolution that the Parliament should cease to sit; and that the maintenance of the public tranquillity should rest with the Council of Officers.

The royalists had long been making efforts to engage Monk in their cause. His army in Scotland was entirely devoted to him. Like its commander, that army had no great sympathy with the movements of the soldiers in London. But Monk would not stir at the invitation of any party. On the ejection of the parliament he addressed the troops at Edinburgh, and told them that he was resolved to keep the military power in obedience to the civil; that they had received their pay and commission from the parliament, and it was their duty to defend it. He wrote letters to declare his intentions to Lambert and Fleetwood, and to the Speaker, Lenthall. His determination produced the greatest alarm amongst the factions in London. They finally resolved to send a deputation to Monk to effect a reconciliation; and if that failed to proceed to a trial of strength in battle. Lambert was appointed commander of the troops in the north. More soldiers were raised in London; and a loan from the city was asked of the common council. It was refused. The commissioners sent to Monk executed their commission, and it was agreed that three commis-

sioners should proceed to London to negotiate with the army there. Contrary to Monk's instructions, these commissioners concluded a treaty with the Committee of Safety, by which the government was left in the administration of a Council of Officers, no provision was made for the recall of the parliament, and Monk's own appointment of officers was to be revised. Great indignation was excited in Monk's army, and it was resolved that the treaty should not be ratified. Nine members of the old Council of State that had been thrust from office by the army now resolved to make common cause with Monk. He had marched to Berwick, with six thousand infantry, and four regiments of cavalry. He now fixed his head-quarters at Coldstream, where he could easily cross the Tweed. The people of England were universally discontented, refusing to pay taxes, and shouting for a free parliament. The fleet declared that they would obey no authority, but that of the parliament. The various leaders, civil and military, were fiercely quarrelling. Some even of the republicans talked of the restoration of the king. At last it was resolved to call a new parliament. On the 15th of December, a proclamation was issued, summoning a parliament to meet on the 24th of January. But the necessity for some immediate authority, beyond that of the Council of Officers, becoming manifest, it was resolved to restore the expelled parliament. On the 26th of December, forty members, with the Speaker at their head, again entered the House. A contest took place the instant Lenthall had taken the chair. Twenty-three of the members who had been excluded in 1648, demanded admittance, as they had previously demanded on the 7th of May. The House resolved to take the business of the absent members into consideration on the 5th of January. They withdrew to abide their time. Lambert was at Newcastle, and Monk at Coldstream. But Fairfax, who had been in correspondence with Monk, assembled his friends and dependents; and some of Lambert's officers joined him with their men. He entered York, and was welcomed by the cavaliers of that city. Lambert marched to attack Fairfax, and Monk crossed the Tweed to support him. When Monk reached Newcastle he found Lambert's army disbanded. He went on to York, and saw Fairfax. But he maintained a strict reserve as to his future plans. He had now taken his determination to march to London. With four regiments of foot and three of horse he went on amidst popular acclamations. But he would enter into no promises or make any special demonstration. On the 3rd of February, he reached London, and was lodged in Whitehall. For two days the capital had been in uproar. The regiments that had been ordered to march, had refused to obey. The apprentices were parading the city in formidable bands, crying out for "a free parliament." The lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of London, had voted that they would pay no taxes, but such as were imposed by a free parliament. The Council of State sent for Monk, and proposed that the common council should be forbidden to sit, the gates of the city broken down, the portcullises wedged up, and the chains across the streets removed. All the material means of resistance were to be destroyed. Monk said that he would do these things if they would give the order. The order was given, and executed amidst the indignation of the people. The same evening, the 10th, Monk

called a council of his officers; and they agreed upon a letter to parliament, expressing the public grievances, and requiring them to satisfy the nation's just demands before a certain day. This letter, which was of the boldest character, threw the Parliament into consternation. When Monk told the common council what he had done, Guildhall resounded with cries of "God bless your Excellency." Monk had determined that the secluded members, who were chiefly of the Presbyterian party, should now be admitted to parliament. On the 21st of February, he sent an escort of his soldiers to accompany a body of them to the House of Commons, having previously read them a speech, in which he formally declared for a Commonwealth. When they took their seats the greatest heats were exhibited; and some of the Republicans withdrew from the House. The restored members immediately became a majority in parliament; appointed Monk general-in-chief; formed a new Council of State; and superseded sheriffs, justices of the peace, and militia officers, who were supporters of republican institutions. The Covenant was again to be promulgated; the Confession of Faith of the Assembly of Divines to be adopted; the penal laws against Catholics, which Cromwell rarely put into force, were to be called into full vigour.

There was now a growing confidence that the Commonwealth was fast coming to an end. The Long Parliament was to terminate its sittings on the 16th of March. On the 13th, that once formidable republican assembly voted that the oath of a member of parliament to be "true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as the same is now established, without a King or House of Lords,"—should be abolished. On the 16th they voted their own dissolution. Monk's intentions were now becoming more decided. He consented to receive a letter from the king, and authorised the bearer of it, his cousin sir John Grenville, to promise Charles that he would be his devoted servant. Grenville repaired to the king at Brussels, where they met in secret. A more formal body of envoys from England now presented themselves to the king—a deputation of Presbyterians, who came to offer the same terms which had been proposed to his father in the Isle of Wight. The Parliament was to have the control of the army; the Civil War was to be declared lawful; new patents of nobility were to be annulled. The king suffered matters to proceed without committing himself to any party, or making any engagements for his future conduct. He left the Spanish Netherlands, and established himself at Breda. Lambert had been committed to the Tower, when Monk's interest became predominant. He escaped on the 9th of April, and was speedily at the head of some soldiers, who had revolted; and, marching through the midland counties, he called upon all to join him who would preserve the Commonwealth. Monk sent Ingoldsby to encounter Lambert, whom he met at Daventry. A parley was proposed; but Ingoldsby refused any accommodation. The two armies had advanced close to each other, and the conflict seemed imminent, when Lambert's cavalry threw away their pistols; and their leader was quickly a prisoner.

The elections took place. A few of the old republicans were returned, but the greater number were either men who were led away by a fever of loyalty, or were indifferent to any reaction which would end the struggles

and uncertainties of twenty years. Five hundred and fifty-six members had been elected to the House of Commons, the greater number of whom took their seats on the 26th of April. Ten peers only met in the House of Lords on that day. The Presbyterians manœuvred that one of their party should be elected Speaker. On the 1st of May, Grenville appeared at the door of the Lower House, and being called to the bar presented a letter addressed "To our trusty and well-beloved the Speaker of the House of Commons." He then went through the same formality at the House of Lords. With each letter was enclosed a document addressed to the whole nation—the Declaration from Breda. Grenville then proceeded to the city, and presented a letter from the king addressed to the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, which also contained the Declaration. In all these papers, the composition of Hyde, there was little to alarm, and much to propitiate, the prudent and peaceful. The Commons were assured "upon our royal word,—that none of our predecessors have had a greater esteem for parliaments than we have." The Declaration professed the king's desire "that all our subjects may enjoy what by law is theirs, by a full and entire administration of justice throughout the land." It declared "a free and general pardon to all our subjects,"—excepting only such persons "as shall hereafter be excepted by Act of Parliament." Deploring the existence of religious animosities, "we do declare a liberty to tender consciences; and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom." All matters relating to the possession of estates "shall be determined in parliament." Commissioners from both Houses were chosen to convey their answers to the king. Grenville preceded them with the best proof of loyalty and affection—four thousand five hundred pounds in gold, and a bill of exchange for twenty-five thousand pounds.

On the 8th of May the two Houses of Parliament proclaimed Charles the Second, King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, at Westminster, at Whitehall, and in the City. In a fever of loyalty, Parliament never thought of making conditions for the liberties of the country. It rested the conservancy of all that the nation had won since the opening of the Long Parliament upon the flimsy foundation of the Declaration from Breda. On the 9th of May, the debate on the Amnesty Bill came on in both Houses. After warm discussion, the House at last voted as to the number of regicides to be excluded from the Amnesty, and decided that seven should be excepted. But it also resolved that every one should be arrested who had sat upon the king's trial, and their property seized. Other arrests took place. Some who had laboured best with Cromwell to uphold the honour of England, such as Thurloe, were impeached. The titles bestowed by the two protectors were annulled.

The foreign courts who had looked adversely or coldly upon Charles in his exile, now embarrassed him with their rival professions of friendship. The States of Holland invited him to take his departure from the Hague; and he arrived there from Breda on the 15th of May. Thither came the commissioners of the parliament; the town-clerk of London, with aldermen and lesser dignitaries; deputations of the Presbyterian clergy; and

a swarm of Englishmen of every variety of opinion, who wanted to prostrate themselves at the feet of power. The king, with the dukes of York and Gloucester, embarked on the 23rd, and landed at Dover on the 25th. The royal train proceeded by Canterbury and Rochester, to Blackheath, where the army of the Commonwealth, thirty thousand men—were marshalled. Charles went on in the sight of all London to Whitehall, amidst streets strewed with flowers, past tapestried houses, and wine-spouting fountains; with civic authorities wearing chains of gold, and nobles covered with embroidered velvets; trumpets braying, mobs huzzaing.

CHAPTER XXIX.

The Parliament of 1660 settled the yearly revenue of the Crown at an amount considerably beyond the supplies voted to Charles I., and they voted the subsidy of tonnage and poundage for the term of the king's life. The ancient claims of the Crown upon tenures by Knight-service, with all their oppressive conditions of fines for alienation, of forfeitures, and of wardship, and also the more generally obnoxious demands of purveyance, would naturally have revived with the re-establishment of the monarchy. The Parliament, however, made a bargain to relieve the landed proprietors. Charles surrendered the Court of Wards, and Purveyance, and the Commons granted him and his successors the Excise of beer and other liquors, a tax first introduced during the Civil War. It was originally a temporary tax. The two great sources of modern revenue were thus placed absolutely in the king's hands.

At the period of the Restoration, the army consisted of fifteen regiments of horse, and twenty-two regiments of foot, besides garrisons. That army was supported by monthly assessments of seventy thousand pounds. In the first parliament of Charles II., an Act was passed for the speedy disbanding of the army and garrisons, and also for paying off twenty-five ships; followed by "an Act for enabling the soldiers of the army now to be disbanded, to exercise Trades." The revenue assigned to the Crown did not contemplate the continuance of any standing army; but Charles retained two regiments of horse in his pay, who were called his guards.

The great question of the Church Establishment was not brought forward in the Convention Parliament. The Presbyterian members were too strong in that assembly to render it safe to make any attempt to contravene the spirit of the Declaration from Breda, "that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom." The parliament of 1660 enacted that as many as survived of the ministers ejected through the imposition of the Covenant should be restored to their benefices, but without the right of claiming any past emoluments. By the same statute

those who were in actual possession of those livings for which there was no claimant as previous possessor, were confirmed in their titles. Many of the Crown lands and the Church lands had been sold under the authority of the Long Parliament. A Bill was brought in to determine this matter. It was strenuously debated in the Commons, and it was at last agreed that the Crown lands should be left out of the proposal for sales to be confirmed or indemnity to be given. The House was disinclined to such an unconditional restoration of Church property. But the discussion was at length cut short by the dissolution of the parliament; and the purchasers had no protection against the due course of law, under which their titles were defective. Unconditional restitution was the necessary result. The complaints of the dispossessed purchasers were neutralised by the louder murmurings of the cavaliers, who were deprived of any compensation for their losses during the Long Parliament by the Act of Indemnity. For three months this Bill was debated in both Houses. The Commons went on adding name after name to those of the seven who were originally excepted from the proposed Amnesty. The Lords voted that all who had signed the death-warrant of Charles I., as well as five others, should be excepted, either as regarded life or estate. The king, shortly after his landing, had issued a proclamation, in which he commanded those who had sat as judges of his father to render themselves up within fourteen days, "on pain of being excepted from any pardon or indemnity as to their lives or estates." The honour of the king was unquestionably committed to the most favourable construction of the proclamation, but Hyde, now earl of Clarendon and chancellor, shuffled odiously about this document, whose ambiguity was doubtless well studied by him. The Commons debated this point of the proclamation with a more moderate and honester feeling than the majority of the Lords. The matter was at last compromised between the Lords and Commons by a proviso in the Bill, that if the nineteen persons therein named should be legally attainted, then nevertheless the execution of the persons so attainted should be suspended until execution should be ordered by Act of Parliament. The most remarkable exceptions to the Statute of Indemnity, in addition to all the regicides with few omissions, were sir Henry Vane and General Lambert; but the Houses concurred in an address to the king that if these two leading men of the revolution were tried and attainted, their lives should be spared. The king assented. In October twenty-nine persons were brought to trial as traitors, before a Court of thirty-four commissioners; and they were all convicted. Of these, the nineteen who had surrendered under the proclamation were imprisoned for life. Ten were executed. These were Harrison, and five others, who had subscribed the death-warrant of Charles; Cook, who acted as leading counsel upon the trial; Axtell and Hacker, two officers who commanded the guard over the royal prisoner; and the famous Hugh Peters.

On the 12th of September, by a special order of the king to the dean of Westminster, the bodies of Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton had been taken out of their vaults, and thrown into a pit. On the 30th of January, 1661, these bodies were dragged "to Tyburn, and hanged on the gallows there from nine in the morning till six at night, and then buried under

that fatal and ignominious monument in a deep pit; thousands of people who had seen them in all their pride being spectators." On the 4th of December, the parliament, upon the motion of colonel Titus, had voted unanimously that this revolting exhibition should take place. The body of Blake was also removed from its honoured resting place, and re-interred in St. Margaret's churchyard.

The Presbyterian party had to a great extent become powerless, and was in no condition to renew the struggles against Episcopacy; but the serious portion of the community was sufficiently represented in the Convention Parliament to render some caution necessary in the measures of the Court. Calamy, Baxter, and other Presbyterian ministers, had been appointed chaplains in ordinary to the king, in the month after his restoration. On the 25th of October Charles published a declaration, in which he avowed his own attachment to Episcopacy, but expressed his opinion that it might be so modified as to remove all reasonable objections; and he declared that the reading of the Liturgy, certain ceremonial observances, subscription to all the articles, and the oath of canonical obedience, should not be pressed upon those who had conscientious scruples. To render the declaration effectual, a bill was brought into parliament by sir Matthew Hale. It was opposed by the united power of the courtiers in parliament, and was rejected. This was the test by which the royal professions were to be tried. The Convention Parliament was dissolved on the 29th of December. It had not risen more than a week when there was a renewal of that fanatical outbreak of the Fifth-Monarchy men which Cromwell had put down with a troop of horse in 1657. These men had a meeting-house in the city; and some fifty or sixty of them, after an encounter with the feeble municipal police, marched to Caen-wood, near Highgate, and having been there concealed for two days, returned to encounter the trained bands, and even a regular body of guards, in the confidence that their cause, the establishment of the reign of Christ on earth, and the suppression of all other authority, would be miraculously upheld. The capital was in fearful alarm; the shops were shut; the city gates barricaded. But these wild men drove all before them; till a rally was made, and they were for the most part slaughtered, refusing quarter. The leader, Venner, and sixteen of his followers, who were secured, were tried and executed. This mad tumult was made the excuse for a proclamation for closing the conventicles of Quakers, Anabaptists, and other sectaries.

The coronation of the king took place on the 23rd of April. Every ceremony connected with it was of the most gorgeous nature. The people of London had not recovered from their delirium, and throughout the land men were equally intoxicated by the return to the ancient order of things. The old asceticism of the Puritans was bitterly remembered, and amidst an exaggerated contempt for their formal manners, and a real dislike of the restraint which they imposed upon audacious profligacy, the cavaliers carried the elections for a new parliament by immense majorities. In this first session the royalists laboured far more eagerly than Charles himself, or his minister, Clarendon, to prepare the way for the return of the days of the Star-Chamber and the High Commission. Before the meeting of parliament, conferences were held at the Savoy between the

bishops and twelve of the leading Puritan divines, for the revision of the Liturgy. Whilst the churchmen were discussing this matter, the parliament was settling the question of conformity in a very summary manner; and when the Liturgy, a few months after, came to be reviewed in Convocation, the points which gave offence to "tender consciences" were left untouched. The Anglican Church felt its power; and the notion of conciliation, if ever seriously entertained, was soon supplanted by the readier and simpler principle of coercion. The altered character of the House of Commons was speedily indicated by its proceedings. The parliament met on the 8th of May. On the 17th it was voted that every member should receive the sacrament according to the forms of the Anglican Church. It was also resolved that the Solemn League and Covenant should be burned by the hands of the common hangman. The one great principle of the policy of Clarendon was to re-establish the Church of England in its ancient splendour. He had contracted a violent hatred of the whole body of the Puritan clergy; and he bitterly opposed the inclination of the king to mitigate some of the evils which the temper of the cavaliers was ready to inflict upon them.

At the opening of the second parliament, Clarendon put the king forward to desire the confirmation of the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion in stronger terms of entreaty than were usually placed in the mouth of the sovereign. The firmness of the great minister of the restoration in maintaining this Act made him as unpopular with the extreme royalists, now all-powerful, as his somewhat extravagant zeal for the Church of England rendered him odious to the Puritans, now all-humiliated. His position was one of extreme difficulty. He had become connected in a remarkable way with the royal family, by the marriage of his daughter with the duke of York. But he was an object of dislike and ridicule to Charles and his courtiers, because, from his age and his character, he looked disapprovingly upon their excesses.

The chancellor met with little opposition in leading a willing parliament to trample upon all dissent from the Episcopal Church; to restore those prerogatives of the Crown which had been set aside by the Long Parliament; and to keep alive the spirit of revenge against the republican party. The restoration of the bishops to the House of Lords was accomplished without any opposition by this parliament, in which the Presbyterians had lost all influence. The crowning measure of ecclesiastical polity was the Act of Uniformity, by which it was decreed that those of the clergy who, previous to the Feast of St. Bartholomew, 1662, had not declared their acceptance of the Book of Common Prayer, in the terms of the statute, were to be absolutely ejected from their livings. On that day more than two thousand ministers of religion went forth into the world without any provision for their future support. The same assent was required of all fellows of colleges, and all schoolmasters. By another clause in this Act, episcopal ordination was required of all persons holding ecclesiastical preferments.

Practically, since the victory of Dunbar, Scotland had ceased to be an independent kingdom. It was now thought expedient again to isolate the smaller and poorer portion of the island from the larger and wealthier. The survivors of the Committee of Estates, that had been nominated by

Charles in 1651, were again called to resume the government of Scotland; a Lord Commissioner and other high officers were appointed; and a parliament was summoned to meet at Edinburgh. This parliament, which met on the 1st of January, 1661, has been honoured with the name of "the drunken Parliament."

Argyle, as the great leader of the Covenanters, was now to offer the satisfaction of his head for the fall of his rival Montrose. Upon the restoration of Charles, Argyle had hastened to London to offer his homage to the king. He was arrested; and then sent to Scotland, to be brought to trial for his alleged offences. When questioned before the parliament he pleaded the amnesty of 1651, and the English government determined to admit the plea. He was then accused of having received a grant from Cromwell; of having aided the English invaders; and of having sat in Richard Cromwell's parliament, and voted for a bill which abjured the rights of the Stuarts to the Crown. The fate of Argyle was sealed when a packet arrived from England, containing letters from him to Monk, inimical to the king and favourable to Cromwell. He was sentenced to be beheaded within forty-eight hours. He accepted his fate with courage and resignation. At the same time Guthrie, a Presbyterian minister, violent and uncompromising in his opinions, was put to death as an example to the clergy. Amidst these excesses against individuals, the more extensive tyranny of forcing Episcopacy upon a people so devoted to Presbytery was resolutely pushed forward. James Sharpe, who had been sent to London on a mission from his Presbyterian brethren, returned bishop of St. Andrew's and primate of Scotland. Other prelates were appointed, of whom four were consecrated in London. The violence of the drunken parliament was finally shown in the absurdity of what was called the "Act Rescissory," by which every law that had been passed in the Scottish parliament during twenty-eight years was wholly annulled. The legal foundations of Presbytery were thus swept away.

Rumours of conspiracies were rife in England at this time, and the Commons passed a bill for the immediate execution of all the regicides, whose fate, after conviction, had been suspended for the decision of parliament. The Lords read this bill a first time, and then let it drop. The nineteen condemned men wore out their lives in hopeless captivity in various prisons. Some of the minor offenders who had been excepted from the penalty of death, were now degraded from honours, and deprived of their estates. Three regicides who had not surrendered upon the king's proclamation, were captured in Holland, in March, 1662, and were executed on the 19th of April. Ludlow and other political offenders received ample protection and liberal hospitality in Switzerland; and the royalists thus failing to secure them, had resort to base attempts at assassination.

For some time after the promise of the king to the Convention Parliament that Vane and Lambert, in their exception from the Act of Indemnity, should not suffer death if found guilty of treason, they had remained prisoners in the Tower. Vane solaced his captivity by compositions which show how earnestly he sought the one true and abiding comfort in misfortune. Thus fortified against the worst, he was arraigned before the

Court of King's Bench on the 2nd of June, 1662, as "a false traitor." The overt acts of treason alleged against Vane and Lambert were, their exercise of civil and military functions under the Commonwealth. Vane defended himself throughout with marvellous ability. He avoided any topic of offence to the king personally. Nevertheless, Charles decided that he was "too dangerous a man to let live, if we can honestly put him out of the way." Vane was put out of the way on the 14th of June, dying with a courage which, says Pepys, "is talked on everywhere as a miracle." The life of Lambert was spared.

On the opening of the parliament of 1661, the king announced that he was about to marry "a daughter of Portugal." This marriage had been advised by Louis XIV. It was opposed by the Spanish court. Catherine of Braganza was not remarkable for beauty, but she was sensible and amiable; and the king professed himself fortunate, and avowed his resolution to seek his future happiness in conjugal affection. His first act of devotion to his queen was to present his avowed mistress, lady Castlemaine, to her in the midst of the court. Catherine threatened to return to Portugal. Charles sent away her old servants, with the exception of a few, who were allowed to remain when the queen's spirit was humbled to ask a favour, and Catherine was at last brought "to a full compliance with what he desired." The Infanta of Portugal brought to Charles three hundred and fifty thousand pounds as her dowry. The English Crown also acquired Tangier, a fort on the coast of Africa. The possession of Tangier, which the nation regarded as worthless, was to compensate for the sale of Dunkirk to Louis XIV. Louis made a cunning bargain. He gave four millions of livres in bills; and then employed his own ready money to discount his own bills, at a saving of half a million. Clarendon had advised the sale, although he had a little before, in a speech in parliament, dwelt on the value of the place. The people, naturally enough, however unjustly, held that the chancellor had been bribed. The popular opinion that the sale of Dunkirk was to supply new funds for the profligacy of the court, was confirmed by the public demonstrations of that profligacy, which had made the English court the ridicule of foreigners.

There was a feeble attempt at insurrection in the north in 1663. This outbreak—partly of a religious character, and partly of a political—was made an excuse for persecuting some of the surviving republicans,—amongst others, colonel Hutchinson, whose quiet and decorous life was an offence which was to be expiated by his death in the damp vaults of Sandown castle. It was also a pretext, in the session of 1664, for "An Act to prevent and suppress seditious Conventicles." Insolently assuming that all religious assemblies of Nonconformists were seditious, it was enacted that if five or more persons besides the household, were present at "any exercise of religion in other manner than is allowed by the Liturgy or practice of the Church of England," every person so present should be liable to fines, imprisonment, or transportation. For years were the persecutions under this statute continued with all the severity that the government could call forth. The Quakers were so resolute that they assembled openly, and were dragged away daily to prison. The intoler-

ance of the parliament towards Protestant dissenters was, in some degree, a result of their suspicion of the king's desire to show favour to the Papists. He claimed a dispensing power as to the relaxation of penal laws in ecclesiastical matters. The parliament gently denied the king's right to this dispensing power, and a bill to confirm that power was dropped, to Charles's great displeasure. In the constitutional point of the duration of parliaments, the Crown was more successful in carrying out its own desires. The Triennial Act of 1641, which provided for holding parliaments in defiance of an arbitrary power of the Crown, was repealed. It was, however, declared that parliament should not be suspended for more than three years.

A quarrel between the African Company of England and the African Company of Holland having gradually assumed a grave character, war was declared; and on the 3rd of June, 1665, the fleets of the two great commercial nations were engaged off Lowestoffe. The victory was complete on the side of England. The June of 1665 came in with extraordinary heat. The previous winter and spring had been the driest that ever man knew. On the 10th of June the plague broke out in the city. It had been previously raging in the less crowded parts of Westminster and its suburbs. In 1636, of twenty-three thousand deaths, ten thousand were ascribed to this terrible disease. From 1636 to 1647, there had been no cessation of the malady, but after 1648 there had been no record of deaths from the plague amounting to more than twenty in any one year. On the 21st of June, Pepys writes, "I find all the town almost going out of town; the coaches and waggons being all full of people going into the country." In the country, the population dreaded to see the Londoners. Baxter remarks of the country people, "How they would shut their doors against their friends; and if a man passed over the fields, how one would avoid another, as we did in the time of wars; and how every man was a terror to another." A panic took possession of the population of London, which was soon almost wholly abandoned to the very poorest. The court fled on the first appearance of the disease. The Rev. Thomas Vincent, one of the Nonconforming clergy, who remained in the city, has thus described the scenes of August: "Now people fall as thick as the leaves in autumn when they are shaken by a mighty wind. Now there is a dismal solitude in London streets; every day looks with the face of a Sabbath-day, observed with a greater solemnity than it used to be in the city. Now shops are shut in, people rare and very few that walk about, insomuch that the grass begins to spring up in some places, and a deep silence in every place, especially within the walls. . . . If any voice be heard it is the groans of dying persons breathing forth their last, and the funeral knells of them that are ready to be carried to their graves. Now shutting up of visited houses (there being so many) is at an end, and most of the well are mingled among the sick, which otherwise would have got no help. Now, in some places, where the people did generally stay, not one house in a hundred but what is affected; and in many houses half the family is swept away; in some, from the eldest to the youngest: few escape but with the death of one or two. . . . Now the nights are too short to bury the dead: the whole day, though at so great a length, is hardly

sufficient to light the dead that fall thereon into their graves." At the beginning of September it was ordered that every six houses on each side of the way should be assessed towards the expense of maintaining one great fire in the middle of the street for the purification of the air. A heavy rain put out these death-fires, and perhaps did far more good than this expedient. As winter approached, the disease began rapidly to decrease. At the beginning of 1666, "the town fills again." The sordid and self-indulgent now began to come back. In this time of suffering, although the many exhibited the more general characteristic of their generation—intense selfishness—the few manifested a noble devotion to their duty. Defoe says: "Though it is true that a great many of the clergy did shut up their churches, and fled, as other people did, for the safety of their lives, yet all did not do so; some ventured to officiate, and to keep up the assemblies of the people by constant prayers, and sometimes sermons, or brief exhortations to repentance and reformation, and this as long as they would hear them. And Dissenters did the like also, and even in the very churches where the parish ministers were either dead or fled; nor was there any room for making any difference at such a time as this was." The reward which the Nonconforming ministers received for their good work was, "The Five Mile Act." In consequence of the plague raging in London, the parliament met at Oxford on the 9th of October. Their first Act was for a supply of 1,250,000*l*. Their second was the statute which popularly bore the name of the Five Mile Act, and was entitled "An Act for restraining Nonconformists from inhabiting in Corporations." This Act had for its object wholly to deprive the conscientious Puritans of any means of subsistence connected with their former vocation of Christian ministers or instructors of youth. An attempt was made to impose the non-resisting oath upon the whole nation, but it was defeated by a small majority.

The extent of the miseries inflicted by the plague in London was probably diminished by "The Settlement Act" of 1662. This was entitled "An Act for the better relief of the Poor." Its main object was to thrust out from the parishes of the metropolis all chargeable persons occupying tenements under the yearly value of ten pounds. This bill was carried by the metropolitan members with little resistance from the country members, and thus some considerable portion of the indigent population must have been driven forth from London and Westminster, to seek their parishes under the old laws which determined their lawful place of abode.

When the Dutch fled from off Lowestoffe to their own shores after the naval victory of the 3rd of June, 1665, the English fleet commenced a pursuit; but in the night the King Charles, the duke of York's ship, slackened sail, and brought to. The courtiers said that the duke had got honour enough, and why should he venture a second time. His royal highness went to sleep; and in the night Brunkhard, one of his servants, delivered an order to the master of the King Charles to slacken sail, which order purported to be written by the duke. The House of Commons instituted an inquiry; and it was alleged that Brunkhard forged the order. Some members of the House of Commons thought it a very desirable thing for the

nation that the king's brother should incur no more such dangers, and the duke remained at home.

At the beginning of 1666, Louis XIV., for objects purely personal, joined the Dutch against England, and declared war. Prince Rupert and Monk, now duke of Albemarle, were placed in command of the fleet. On the 8th of May the two generals were at the Nore with their squadrons. The people of London, dispirited by the ravages of the plague, many outraged by the persecutions against the Nonconformists, unable or indisposed to pay the taxes for the war, had little enthusiasm as to its results. On the 1st of June the Dutch fleet was in the Downs, with Monk in sight of their formidable line of fighting vessels. Monk and Rupert had separated. It had been believed that the Dutch fleet was not ready for sea; and Monk, with fifty-four sail, had floated calmly from the Nore; when he came suddenly in sight of eighty Dutch men-of-war at anchor off the North Foreland. Monk was a hardy soldier, but a very imperfect naval tactician; moreover, he was now elated and presumptuous. He dashed at the Dutch; fought all day; and at night looked round upon disabled ships. The battle was resumed at the early dawn of the 2nd of June. De Ruyter had received a reinforcement of sixteen ships during the night. Monk was looking in vain for Rupert to come to his aid. Another day of terrible fight, with losses severe enough on the English side to have driven to despair a commander less resolute than Monk. On the 3rd he burnt some of his disabled ships, and retreated, fighting De Ruyter's rear-guard. The noblest ship of the English navy ran on the Galloper sand, and was lost. Late on the 3rd, Rupert arrived from St. Helen's; and the battle was renewed with more equality. Rupert "had received orders to return from St. Helen's on the first day of the battle; nor was it ever explained why he did not join Albemarle till the evening of the third."* The first desire of the court, and the more natural one, was to set forth that there had been a great victory. Newspapers then had no peculiar sources of information. The "Surveyor of the Imprimery and Printing Presses," Roger L'Estrange, had the privilege of publishing all intelligence, and he was of opinion that much information makes the multitude "too familiar with the actions and councils of their superiors, too pragmatical and censorious; and gives them, not only an itch, but a colourable right and licence to be meddling with the government." Still there was material evidence of the truth in the fact that there were no Dutch prizes in the Thames, and that more than half the English vessels lay miserably shattered at Sheerness. There was a partial success when a portion of the two fleets met again on the 25th of July, each being refitted. The Dutch were chased to their ports; and Monk and Rupert kept their coasts in alarm. A squadron of boats and fire-ships entered the channel at Schelling; burnt two men-of-war and a hundred and fifty merchantmen; and, to the disgrace of civilised warfare, reduced to ashes the thousand houses of the unfortified town of Brandaris. For this success a day of Thanksgiving was appointed. De Witt saw the havoc of Brandaris; and he swore a solemn oath, that till he had obtained revenge, he would never sheathe the sword.

* Lingard.

The story of the great fire of London has been related with minuteness by many trustworthy observers. But it is in the two remarkable Diaries which have been rescued from obscurity during our own day that we find those graphic touches which constitute the chief interest of this event at the present time. Mr. Pepys tells us that he looked out of his window in the east end of the city at three o'clock in the morning of Sunday, the 2nd of September, and, thinking the fire far enough off, went to sleep again. Later in the morning, he went to a high place in the Tower, and saw the houses near London-bridge on fire. The weather was hot and dry, and a furious east wind was blowing. Nobody was endeavouring to quench the fire, and everything was combustible after the long drought. Distracted people were getting their goods on board lighters, and the inhabitants of the houses at the water's edge would not leave till the fire actually reached them. There was no service in the churches, for the people were crowding them with their goods. The king ordered that houses should be pulled down apace; but the fire came on so fast that little could be done. The roofs were in many streets only thatched; the walls were mostly timber. Warehouses in Thames-street were stored with pitch, and tar, and oil, and brandy. The night came on; and then Pepys, from a little alehouse on the Bankside, saw the fire grow, and shoot out between churches and houses, "in a most horrid, malicious, bloody flame, not like the fire flame of an ordinary fire." As it grew darker, he saw the fire up the hill in an arch of above a mile long. On Monday the fire was taking hold of the great cathedral, which was surrounded by scaffolds for its repair. Evelyn says: "The noise and crackling and thunder of the impetuous flames, the shrieking of women and children, the hurry of people, the fall of towers, houses, and churches, was like a hideous storm; and the air all about so hot and inflamed, that at the last one was not able to approach it, so that they were forced to stand still, and let the flames burn on, which they did, for near two miles in length and one in breadth. The clouds, also, of smoke were dismal, and reached, upon computation, near fifty miles in length." By Tuesday the fire had reached as far as the Inner Temple. On that day the houses near the Tower were blown up; and the same judicious plan was pursued in other places. On the 5th the Court at Whitehall was in unwonted bustle. The king and his brother had set an excellent example of personal activity; and gentlemen now took charge of particular streets, and directed the means of extinguishing the flames. The people now began to bestir themselves. Large gaps were made in the streets. The wind abated, and, on Wednesday, the 5th, the mighty devourer was arrested in his course. The desolation did not reach beyond the Temple westward, nor beyond Smithfield on the north. Three days and three nights of agony had been passed; but not more than eight lives had been lost. Whilst indifferent spectators had been gazing on the fire from Bankside, and the high grounds on the south of the Thames, the fields on the north were filled with houseless men, women, and children. Collections were made and distributed in alms to the most needy. There were liberal contributions from the king, and the nobility, and the clergy. Proclamations were made for the country people to bring in provisions. Facilities were offered to the people to leave the ruins, by a command that they

should be received in all cities and towns to pursue their occupations; and that such reception should entail no eventual burthen on parishes.

The Monument erected in commemoration of the Fire has an elaborate Latin inscription, in which it is set forth that the destruction comprised eighty-nine churches, the city-gates, Guildhall, many public structures, hospitals, schools, libraries; a vast number of stately edifices; thirteen thousand two hundred dwelling-houses, four hundred streets. An account, which estimates the houses burnt at twelve thousand, values them at an average rent of 25*l.* a year, and their value, at twelve years' purchase, at £3,600,000. The public buildings destroyed are valued at £1,800,000: the private goods at the same rate. With other items, the total amount of the loss is estimated at £7,335,000. "In order to a proper reformation, Wren, pursuant to the royal command, immediately after the fire, took an exact survey of the whole area and confines of the burning, having traced over with great trouble and hazard the great plain of ashes and ruins; and designed a plan or model of a new city, in which the deformity and inconveniences of the old town were remedied. . . . . The practicability of this scheme, without loss to any man or infringement of any property, was at that time demonstrated, and all material objections fully weighed and answered." But the owners of property could not be brought to unite in any common plan; and each built his house up again, upon his own spot of ground. The occasion was lost for a nobler city to arise. The old wooden fabrics were replaced by those of brick; but the same narrow thoroughfares were preserved as of old.

The calamities which London had endured, of pestilence and conflagration, were not wholly unacceptable to the corrupt court. There were those about the king who were well pleased that he should have the Londoners under his feet at this time of their desolation. But there was still the old spirit abroad in England; and in many places the courtiers who desired to come into parliament were rejected by the people. "Though they made the same professions of affection and duty to the king they had ever done, they did not conceal the very ill opinion they had of the court and the continual riotings there." * There were large numbers of the humbler retainers of the court who were absolutely starving. High and low, all the officers of the royal household had been unpaid; some for five years, some for four years, some for three or two years, very few only for one year. These persons would naturally spread abroad their griefs, and a sullen discontent, a silent indignation, settled deep into the hearts of the whole community. The flames of London were still smouldering when the parliament met at Westminster on the 21st of September. A bill was brought in for the appointment of commissioners "to examine all accounts of those who had received or issued out any moneys for this war; and where they found any persons faulty, and who had broken their trust, they should be liable to such punishment as the parliament should think fit." To such a bill the king was resolved never to give the royal assent. Every effort was made to oppose it, and the parliament was prorogued in 1667 without its being passed.

* Clarendon.

In Scotland the restoration of the monarchy was the establishment of a policy of unmitigated despotism. A large army was raised to hold the people in subjection, whilst Episcopacy, which they abominated, was established, without any modification by general assemblies. The churches were deserted; and the Non-conforming preachers had immense congregations in barns and fields, on wild heaths, and in the gorges of the mountains. A body of Covenanters of the West rose in arms, and seized sir James Turner, who had been sent to enforce obedience by mulcts and severer penalties, levied at his bidding by his rapacious dragoons. These men were for the most part peasants, with a few Presbyterian ministers amongst them. But they were not ignorant of military discipline, and soon became alarming in their numbers and their subordination. About three thousand set off to march from Lanark to Edinburgh, but they gradually dwindled to eight or nine hundred. When they had reached within four miles of the city, they learnt that it was fortified, and its gates shut against them. They retreated to the Pentland Hills. On the evening of the 28th of November, Dalziel came upon them with a body of horse. Twice the insurgents drove back the cavalry; but their ranks were at last broken, and they were utterly dispersed. The slaughter was inconsiderable; but many were executed, and some tortured.

Amidst the abandonment of the court to its pleasures,—the rapacity of the royal favourites, who received gratuities and pensions not to be counted by hundreds but by thousands of pounds—the jealousy of the parliament in granting money which they knew would be wasted—the spring of 1667 arrived, without any preparations for carrying on the naval war. On the 23rd of January, the sailors were in mutiny at Wapping for the want of pay. When the money was obtained from parliament there were more pressing necessities to be supplied than the pay of the sailors. On the 5th of June several ships were in mutiny. On the 8th, the Dutch fleet of eighty sail was off Harwich, and on the 10th it was at the Nore. The king sent lord Oxford to raise the militia of the eastern counties, and Monk rushed to Gravesend. The Dutch fleet dropped down to Sheerness, and sailed up the Medway. Monk stopped the river with chains and booms; and Upnor Castle was fortified. The Dutch commanders, Ruyter and De Witt, went about their work in a manly way—not burning Gravesend, which was really defenceless, but breaking through the defences of the Medway, behind which our ships lay unrigged. They were quickly set on fire. In Upnor Castle and the forts at Chatham, there was little ammunition; and the Dutch "made no more of Upnor Castle's shooting, than of a fly." The proud ship which bore the king to England, "the Royal Charles," was secured by the invaders as a trophy; and they then quietly sailed back to the Thames, and enforced a real blockade of London for many weeks. The Londoners were cut off from their supply of sea-coal—no irremediable evil in summer, but one that probably hastened the peace, which was concluded at Breda on the 29th of July, between England, Holland, and France.

Whilst the Dutch were in the Thames, mobs assembled at Westminster, shouting for "a Parliament! a Parliament!" They broke the Lord Chancellor's windows, and set up a gibbet before his gate. As early as 1663,

the earl of Bristol, a Catholic peer, in his seat in parliament, attributing to the Lord Chancellor all the evils under which the country laboured, had impeached him of high treason. The opinion of the judges was required; and they answered, that by the laws of the realm no articles of high treason could be originally exhibited in the House of Peers by any one peer against another; and that the matters alleged in the charge against the Lord Chancellor did not amount to treason. Four years afterwards it was pretty well known that the king was alienated from his grave adviser. Clarendon had made enemies all around him by his faults as well as by his virtues. He was haughty and passionate. He was grasping and ostentatious. He was envied by the nobility, and hated by the people. The duke of Buckingham had been banished from court through a quarrel with lady Castlemaine. He became the advocate of the sectaries, and the avowed and especial enemy of the chancellor. For a short time Buckingham was sent to the Tower, upon the supposed discovery of some treasonable intrigues; but he soon regained his liberty, made his peace with lady Castlemaine, and was restored to favour. Clarendon was sacrificed. Charges of the most serious nature were got up against him. The imputation of having sold Dunkirk for his private advantage was confidently affirmed. A scheme for forced contributions as a temporary expedient whilst the Dutch were in the Thames, was admitted by himself. Other accusations, all of a very vague nature, were poured into the king's ear. Charles, through the duke of York, asked Clarendon to resign. He indignantly refused, saying, that his resignation would amount to a confession of guilt. The king sent for the seals. The parliament had assembled, and on the 15th of October the two Houses voted an address of thanks to the throne for the removal of the Chancellor, and the king in his reply pledged himself never to employ lord Clarendon again in any capacity. This was not enough. Seventeen charges were prepared against him by a committee of the Commons; and on the 12th of November, the House impeached him of high treason at the bar of the Peers. The two Houses got angry, and the court became alarmed. Clarendon was advised to leave the kingdom clandestinely, but he refused. Then the king sent him an express command to retire to the Continent. He obeyed; addressing a letter, vindicating himself, to the House of Peers. An Act was passed on the 29th of December, banishing him for life, unless he should return by the following 1st of February. Clarendon went into exile, but the close of his political career has left no stain upon his memory. He had become disagreeable to the king through the very qualities which made the government endurable to high-minded and sober men. Whatever were his faults as a statesman, he stands upon a far higher elevation than the men who accomplished his ruin.

On the fall of Clarendon, the seals were given to sir Orlando Bridgman. Buckingham first came into power with Arlington as secretary-of-state, and sir William Coventry. But soon the ministry comprised the five persons known as "The Cabal"—Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, Lauderdale. The word Cabal had been used long before, to indicate a secret council. Of the new advisers of Charles, Buckingham was the most influential at court, and he made great efforts to be at the

same time the most popular. Charles II. was absolutely indifferent to any higher objects than personal gratification; and to this circumstance we must refer some of the extraordinary anomalies of the government after the fall of Clarendon. With such a sovereign we can scarcely expect that there should have been any consistent principle of administration. The Crown and the parliament were both open to corruption; and their venality tainted, though not in an equal degree, the advocates of non-resistance and the enemies of that debasing principle. The first movements of the Cabal ministry were towards a high and liberal policy—toleration for Nonconformists, and an alliance with free Protestant States. A greater liberty to dissenters from the Church followed the fall of Clarendon. There were transient and accidental motives for this passing toleration, rather than any fixed principle. In January, 1668, sir Orlando Bridgman, now Lord Keeper, desired a conference with Baxter, "about a comprehension and toleration." The Lord Chief Baron Hale, and bishop Wilkins, were agreed with the Lord Keeper in promoting this salutary work. There were propositions on the part of the Nonconformists; and amendments were suggested and accepted. But when the parliament met, the active prelates and prelatists prevailed to prevent any bill of comprehension or indulgence to be brought in. In the king's speech, February 10, 1668, he recommended that they would seriously think of some course to beget a better union and composure in the minds of his Protestant subjects in matters of religion. On the 8th of April, a motion in the House of Commons that his majesty should send for such persons as he should think fit, to make proposals to him in order to the uniting of his Protestant subjects, was negatived by 176 votes against 70.

At the opening of the session of parliament in 1668, the king announced that he had made a league defensive with the States-General of the United Provinces, to which Sweden had become a party. This was the Triple Alliance. This treaty, says Burnet, "was certainly the masterpiece of king Charles's life; and, if he had stuck to it, it would have been both the strength and glory of his reign. This disposed the people to forgive all that was past, and to renew their confidence in him, which was shaken by the whole conduct of the Dutch war." At the very time when the ambassador of England was negotiating this Triple Alliance, Charles was making proposals to Louis XIV. for a clandestine treaty, by which England was to be "leased out" to France,

"Like to a tenement, or pelting farm."

CHAPTER XXX.

The duke of York had long been in secret a Roman Catholic, and attended the private rites of that religion, though at the same time he was in communion with the Church of England. He at last communicated the king his determination publicly to embrace the Roman Catholic

faith. Charles professed the same desire. Of the Cabal ministry Clifford and Arlington were attached to the Church of Rome. Charles and James took those ministers into their confidence at the beginning of 1669. The result was, a negotiation with France, which went on for many months; and in the summer of 1670 the duchess of Orleans, the king's sister, came over to Dover to urge the points which the French king was anxious to accomplish by irresistible temptations. The secret treaty between Louis XIV. and Charles II. was concluded on the 22nd of May, 1670. Its principal stipulations were, that the king of England should publicly profess himself a Catholic, when he should consider it expedient to make such declaration; that he should join with the king of France in a war against the United Provinces; that to enable Charles to suppress any insurrection of his own subjects, he should receive two millions of livres, and be aided with an armed force of six thousand men; that of the conquests arising out of the joint war, Charles should be satisfied with a part of Zealand. The secret treaty having been accomplished, another treaty was prepared, in which the article concerning the king's change of religion was omitted; and to this Shaftesbury, Buckingham, and Lauderdale were privy. At the meeting of parliament in October, 1670, the Lord Keeper Bridgman set forth the necessity of being prepared against the ambition of France, by an augmentation of the fleet. When a grant of eight hundred thousand pounds was obtained, the parliament was prorogued.

The Act of 1664 against conventicles, which was about to expire in 1670, was renewed in a more stringent shape. The spirit of too many of the higher clergy was in decided opposition to the temper of bishop Wilkins, who, with one other bishop, opposed this statute. Sheldon, the primate, urged the most vigorous execution of the penal clauses. Severity at one time against Nonconformists, indulgence at another time, was to prepare the nation for such an exercise of the prerogative as would dispense with the laws against Papists, and make the people indifferent to a Roman Catholic king, and a Roman Catholic heir-apparent. This was a part of the scheme, upon which the secret treaty with France was built.

In a debate in the Commons, sir John Coventry, member for Weymouth, had made a satirical allusion to the king's profligate habits. As he was afterwards passing through the Haymarket, he was set upon by Sandys, the lieutenant of Monmouth's troop, and a number of his men, and by these ruffians his nose was nearly cut off. The House had adjourned for the Christmas holidays, and upon its re-assembly the first business was to inquire into this breach of privilege, perpetrated under the orders of the duke of Monmouth, the king's son, and, as was universally believed, with the king's connivance. Strong words were spoken, such as indicated that the spirit of 1640 was not dead. A bill, known as the Coventry Act, was passed, by which malicious maiming was made a capital felony. Sir John Sandys and three others who had fled from justice were banished for ever, unless they should surrender by a given day. Previous to the assault on sir John Coventry, an outrage had been perpetrated upon the duke of Ormond. In returning from a city dinner he was dragged out of his carriage, and placed on horseback behind a man, to whom he was fastened by a belt. Onward they sped towards Tyburn;

but the duke contrived to hoist his companion out of the saddle, and both coming to the ground together, the ruffian unloosed the belt, and fled upon the approach of some passengers. At Tyburn preparations were made for hanging the duke upon the common gallows. An inscrutable mystery surrounded this crime. Large rewards were offered, with pardon to accomplices. On the 9th of May, five months after the assault upon the duke, a bold attempt was made to steal the regalia in the Tower. The chief in this robbery was a man known as colonel Blood. He boldly avowed that he was the leader of the assault upon the duke of Ormond, and that he meant to have hanged him at Tyburn. He once, he said, had been prepared to shoot the king himself, but, awed by the presence of majesty, the pistol dropped from his hand. He might be put to death, but there were three hundred ready to avenge his blood; who, if he were spared, would become the king's faithful followers. Charles pardoned him; asked the duke of Ormond to pardon him; and gave him a pension. The king told Ormond he had certain reasons for asking him to pardon Blood.

When the parliament was prorogued on the 22nd of April, the king candidly said it was not his intention that they should meet again for almost a year. With the parliament got rid of, at least for a year, the government had now a clear field for carrying out their foreign policy. France was now to receive the fullest support in its designs upon the United Provinces. The Triple Alliance was to be flung to the winds. Bankers and other possessors of capital had been accustomed to make advancements to the exchequer, upon receiving assignments of some portion of the revenue, to be set aside for paying the principal and interest of the money borrowed. One million three hundred thousand pounds were at this time pledged for immediate payment. A proclamation was issued, suspending all payments for one year; but promising interest at the rate of six per cent. This interest was not paid for many years. The bankers made the advances to the government chiefly upon sums intrusted to them. The panic was universal. The most reputable traders were compelled to break. The promise of payment in a year was, of course, not kept. There was not only the war to provide for, but a new mistress, exceeding in prodigality all who had gone before her. Mademoiselle de Querouaille, the agent and spy of the French king, became duchess of Portsmouth. To repay the subjects whom it had robbed, the government of king Charles concerted a scheme as iniquitous as the shutting the Exchequer. At a time when the confidence of the government of the States in the faith of England was not wholly destroyed, it was decided to capture a fleet of Dutch merchantmen from the Levant as it passed up the Channel. Sir Robert Holmes and lord Ossory were appointed to this inglorious enterprise. The Hollanders, though not prepared for any act of hostility, appointed a convoy of seven men of war. The English admiral was unprepared for this. He was gallantly met, and was repulsed, having captured only four sail out of sixty.

The declaration of war from England against Holland appeared on the 17th of March, 1672. That of France was issued at the same time. At the beginning of May the duke of York took the command of the English

fleet. Having united with a French squadron, they found the Dutch fleet lying near Ostend. But the skill of De Ruyter avoided an engagement, and the English fleet returned to the coast to take in further supplies of men and provisions. De Ruyter came out, and a stubborn battle took place on the 28th of May, in Southwold bay. The French had little share in the engagement. The fight lasted the whole day, with slight advantage on either side. The earl of Sandwich and most of his crew were lost in the Royal James, which was blown up by a fire-ship. In the meantime, the French armies were pouring into Holland. The fortresses on the Rhine were quickly in their possession; town after town of the United Provinces yielded without a struggle; the outposts of the French were seen from Amsterdam. The government of the United Provinces was at this time torn by factions. Petty oligarchies presided over the separate states. The dignity of stadtholder had expired with prince William II. in 1650. His widow, the daughter of Charles I., gave birth to a son, a few days after her husband's death. That son, now twenty-two years of age, was called to the command of the forces when the French troops entered the States. The highest duties of the first magistrate of the republic had been honourably discharged by John de Witt, the Grand Pensionary of the province of Holland. When the French invasion filled the people of the Seven Provinces with terror, the popular feeling in favour of the prince of Orange broke forth. Cornelius de Witt was arrested, upon an accusation of having plotted against the life of prince William. The accusation could not be established; and his brother John went to his prison at the Hague to convey him away. Both the brothers were murdered by an infuriated mob. Suspicious as was the commencement of his great career, the young prince of Orange proved the deliverer of his country. He roused the fainting courage of the deputies in the States General. He rejected all the overtures of Charles and Louis. No terms of advantage to himself would induce him to compromise the honour of his nation. The dykes were opened, and the French retreated. There was no subsistence for the invading army in that desert of sand and sea. Louis returned to Paris, leaving some troops in the garrisons he had won. The Dutch admiral avoided another engagement with the English fleet. The war went on languidly for two years, amidst the dissatisfaction of the English people. The treasury of Charles was exhausted. The promised payment to the public creditors was postponed by proclamation.

The parliament was called together on the 5th of February, 1673. Anthony Ashley Cooper, earl of Shaftesbury, had been raised to the dignity of Lord Chancellor in the previous November, upon the retirement or dismissal of sir Orlando Bridgman from the office of Lord Keeper. The lawyers of his time were naturally indignant at the elevation to the highest judicial office of a man not of the legal profession. In March, 1672, two days before the war was declared against the United Provinces, Charles had issued a Declaration of Indulgence in religion. Upon their meeting, the Commons voted "that penal statutes, in matters ecclesiastical, cannot be suspended but by Act of Parliament." The Declaration of Indulgence was unpopular even amongst the Protestant dissenters, although they were more favoured by it than the Roman Catholics, who were expressly refused

public places for their worship, though its private exercise was indirectly sanctioned. The parliament and the nation were not sufficiently advanced to repeal all penal laws that affected the exercise of religion. To prevent the dangers which were almost universally dreaded of the growth of Romanism, the principle of intolerance was still upheld. The king withdrew the Declaration of Indulgence, after Shaftesbury, who had at first supported it, had turned to the popular side, and declared it illegal. On the 12th of March, the Test Act, entitled a "Bill to Prevent the Growth of Popery," was read a third time. It required, in addition to the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, that a declaration renouncing the doctrine of transubstantiation should be made before admission to any office. The duke of York resigned his post of Lord High Admiral, and prince Rupert was appointed to the command of the fleet. Lord Clifford, also, refused to take the test, and retired from his office of Lord High Treasurer. The proposed law affected the Puritans as much as the Papists, in the point of communion with the Church; but they made little opposition. An attempt to give them a special measure of relief was defeated by the prorogation of parliament. The Commons had voted the supplies with little reluctance.

The parliament had been prorogued to the 20th of October. The instant the Commons met they voted an address to the king, desiring that the intended marriage of the duke of York with the princess of Modena should not take place. The parliament was immediately prorogued for a week. On the 27th the king opened the session in person. The address against the marriage of the duke of York was presented, and Charles returned for answer that the alliance "was completed, according to the forms used amongst princes, and by his royal consent and authority." A spirit of decided hostility against the government was now evident in the Commons. They refused a supply until "this kingdom be effectually secured from the dangers of Popery, and Popish counsels and councillors." They voted that a Standing Army was a grievance. They resolved upon a second address on the subject of the duke's marriage. It was to have been presented on the 4th of November, but the king came suddenly to the House of Lords, and ordered that the Commons should be summoned. They came in wild confusion, and the king then prorogued the parliament to the 7th of January. During the interval Shaftesbury was dismissed from the custody of the Great Seal; Buckingham retired; the Cabal ministry was broken up. Sir Thomas Osborne, soon after created earl of Danby, became the chief minister, and retained power till 1678; Shaftesbury became the great leader of the party opposed to the Court.

At the opening of the session of parliament in 1674, the king positively denied that there were any secret articles in the treaty with France. Supplies were wanted to carry on the Dutch war; but the nation hated the war, and the Commons would not grant the supplies. To avert greater dangers a separate peace was made with Holland. The parliament was in some degree propitiated by this; but it was in a dangerous temper, and was quickly prorogued. The war went on between France and the United Provinces, who were now fully supported by Spain and the German powers. The noble resistance of the prince of Orange to the

ambition of Louis had saved his country. Parliament met again on the 13th of April, 1675. English troops under Monmouth had been left to assist the French, notwithstanding the English peace with Holland. The House of Commons demanded their recall. The violent scenes between furious partisans were suddenly mitigated by adroit bribery, and the English troops remained as auxiliaries of the French. The Parliament was prorogued. After another short session, it was again prorogued for fifteen months on the 22nd of November. This was the result of a specific arrangement between Charles and Louis, for which the unworthy king of England received five hundred thousand crowns. The two sovereigns, with the connivance of Danby and Lauderdale, concluded a formal agreement not to enter upon any treaties but with mutual consent; and Charles accepted a pension, upon his pledge to prorogue or dissolve any Parliament that attempted to force such treaties upon him. The money was regularly paid by the French minister to Chiffinch, the notorious pander to the vices of his master; and the degraded king regularly signed a receipt for the wages of his iniquity. Such things could not go on without exciting some suspicion. The annual revenue was large, but all knew that it was insufficient to meet the riots and follies of Whitehall. Though the king was straitened in his means of extravagance by the jealousy of Parliament, the prodigality of the Court was as manifest as ever. Serious thinkers began to murmur. Gossiping loungers about the coffee-houses began to sneer and whisper. To put an end to such whispering, a proclamation appeared on the 29th of December, ordering all coffee-houses to be shut up. But the popular indignation was so great that very soon permission was given to re-open the houses for a certain time; under a severe admonition to the keepers, that they should stop the reading of all scandalous books and papers, and hinder every scandalous report against the government.

At the opening of the Session of Parliament on the 15th of February, 1677, a fierce debate took place on the question of the long prorogation, and lords Shaftesbury, Salisbury and Wharton were imprisoned for maintaining, with the duke of Buckingham, that a prorogation for so long a time amounted to a dissolution. In the Commons, the Country party were in a minority upon this question. The instalment of the king's pension from France, paid in February, was applied to get votes for a large grant. But the greater part of the supply was devoted to the support of the navy; and with this sum the Commons would not trust the treasurer, but appointed their own receivers to superintend its disbursement. The French were now carrying all resistance before them, in the Spanish Netherlands. The prince of Orange was defeated at Cassel. Valenciennes and Cambray were surrendered. The Commons voted an address praying the king to oppose the French monarch, and save the Netherlands from his grasp. Charles required an immediate grant as a preliminary to a declaration of war. The House refused it. Charles then adjourned the Parliament; obtained an increase of his pension from Louis; and gave his promise accordingly to prevent any meeting of the representatives till April, 1678.

When the English ambassador, sir William Temple, was at the Hague in 1674, he had hinted at the possibility of an union between Prince William and the daughter of the duke of York. The proposal was

renewed more formally, but the prince of Orange did not then respond. He suspected the disposition of the English government to favour the designs of Louis XIV. But the desire for an English alliance overcame this repugnance to the union. William came to England in 1677, and on the 19th of October the marriage between him and Mary, the eldest daughter of the duke of York, was agreed upon. On the 4th of November, it was solemnised—"to the great joy of the nation," says Reresby; "for his highness being a Protestant prince, this match in a great measure expelled the fears that the majority had conceived concerning Popery." This marriage gave offence to the king of France. He regarded it as a breach of faith on the part of the king of England, and he stopped the pay of his pensioner. Charles, therefore, called the Parliament together, on the 28th of January. He announced to them that he had made such alliances with Holland as were for the preservation of Flanders, and had withdrawn the auxiliary English troops from the French service. The king further asked for money to carry on the war against France, so as to support a fleet of ninety sail, and an army of forty thousand men. On the 29th of April, the Commons received a message from the king desiring that the House would immediately enter into a consideration of a supply for him, for his majesty must either disband the men, or pay them. The king and the representatives of the people now came to violent issues. A supply was refused unless a war was declared against France; if not the army must be disbanded. The army had been raised, and was encamped on Hounslow Heath. Some of the opposition to the Court was the result of a secret connexion formed with the ambassadors of Louis by some of the parliamentary leaders. Money was bestowed upon the more unscrupulous. All this evasion and delay allowed France to conclude a peace upon far more advantageous terms than Louis could have obtained if William of Orange had been adequately supported.

On the 8th of July an Act was passed for granting a supply to the king of upwards of 600,000*l.*, "for disbanding the army, and for other uses." On the 15th the Parliament was prorogued. Amidst the conflicts of party in this session, a statute had been passed, utterly abolishing all punishment by death in pursuance of any Ecclesiastical Censures. But though the progress of opinion had forced religious intolerance to assume a milder form, the dread of Popery was inextinguishable in the temper of the people. They believed, with lord Shaftesbury, that "Popery and slavery, like two sisters, go hand in hand; and sometimes one goes first, and sometimes the other, but wheresoever the one enters, the other is following close behind." The nation was under a panic which manifested itself in a temporary insanity when the rumours of a Popish plot burst upon it at the beginning of October. The generally received account is that one Kirby, on the 13th of August, warned the king, who knew him, not to walk alone in the Park; that the same evening he brought Dr. Tonge to Charles, with a narrative of a plot, of which the destruction of the king was the first object; that Charles referred it to the Lord Treasurer, being himself incredulous, and laughing at the simplicity of Danby in his wish to lay the narrative before the Privy Council. Burnet told Tonge's story "to Littleton and Powel, and they looked on it as a design of lord Danby's, to be laid before the next session, thereby to

dispose them to keep up a greater force, since the Papists were plotting against the king's life." Roger North, on the contrary, suggests that Shaftesbury "was behind the curtain, and in the depths of the contrivance." The information of this conspiracy was based on the discoveries of Titus Oates, recently an apostate to the Church of Rome. Burnet says, "The matter lay in a secret and remiss management for six weeks," till, on Michaelmas eve, Oates was brought before the Council. He related many discourses he had heard among the Jesuits at St. Omer's of their design to kill the king; he named persons, places, and times almost without number; he accused Coleman, the duke's secretary. Many Jesuits were seized. Coleman removed the bulk of his letters previous to his apprehension; but two were accidentally left addressed to the confessor of Louis XIV., which in some degree confirmed the belief of a design to overthrow the government. Previous to Oates being examined a second time by the Privy Council, he went before sir Edmondbury Godfrey, a zealous Protestant justice of peace, and made oath to the narrative which he afterwards published. A fortnight after, Godfrey was missing, having left his home on a Saturday morning. On the following Wednesday his corpse was found in a ditch at some distance out of the town, near Primrose Hill. The popular notion was that the murder of Godfrey was to deter all men from any further inquiry into the plot. There was great excitement at the funeral of the Protestant magistrate. In this feverish state of the popular mind, the Parliament met on the 21st of October. Charles alluded to information received by him of a design against his person by the Jesuits, but said he would leave the matter to the law. The Parliament appointed a Committee to inquire into Godfrey's murder and into the plot; they addressed the king to appoint a solemn fast; they further desired the removal of all Popish recusants from the metropolis and ten miles round; before a week had elapsed, a bill was passed by the Commons to exclude Catholics from both Houses. On the 1st of November, the Commons came to a resolution, in which the Lords unanimously agreed, that "there hath been, and still is, a damnable and hellish Plot, contrived and carried on by Popish recusants, for the assassinating and murdering the king, and for subverting the government, and rooting out and destroying the Protestant religion." "All Oates's evidence," says Burnet, "was now so well believed that it was not safe for any man to doubt any part of it." He named peers to whom the Pope had sent over his commissions. He accused Wakeman, the queen's physician, of a project to poison his sovereign. Bedloe, a man of notorious evil life, came forward to support Oates's accusations. The consummation of the impudence of Oates was an attempt to involve the harmless queen in a charge of having concerted the murder of her husband. The trials of the accused persons commenced in November. Stayley, a Catholic banker, Coleman, and three Jesuits, Ireland, Grove, and Pickering, were all convicted of high treason, and executed. Green and Hill, two Papists, and Berry, a Protestant, were then convicted of the murder of sir Edmondbury Godfrey, upon the testimony of Bedloe, and the pretended confession of Prance, a silversmith. The prisons were filled with hundreds of suspected traitors. Five peers were confined in the Tower under impeachment. Scrogge, the Chief Justice, conducted himself, in all the trials, with the

most ferocious determination to procure a verdict against the prisoners. Oates in a few months was at the height of his greatness. "He walked about," says North, "with his guards assigned for fear of the Papists murdering him. He had lodgings in Whitehall, and £1,200 per annum pension."

In the very height of the fever of the Popish Plot, a discovery was made of the intrigues of the king with France. In the secret treaty between Charles and Louis, it had been agreed that the English army should be disbanded. The French ambassador, Barillon, pressed its reduction to eight thousand men; which Charles as constantly evaded. Louis got out of humour with Charles, and he urged Ralph Montague, the English minister at Paris, to betray the secrets of their intrigues. Montague came home, and was elected a member of parliament. The Lord Treasurer dreaded Montague's disclosures; and ordered his papers to be seized, under pretence that he had held private conferences with the Pope's nuncio. A royal message to this effect was sent to the Commons. Montague managed to secure certain letters, two of which he read in the House. One of these, signed Danby, empowered him to stipulate for a payment to the king of six hundred thousand livres annually for three years, as the price of his neutrality. At the bottom of the letter were these words: "This letter is writ by my order, C.R." From this time all unity was impossible. The arts of the Court were met by counter-arts of the opposition; the same foreign hand which had bribed the king to degrade his country, now bribed the Parliament to contend against the king. Danby was impeached of high treason. He defended himself upon the plea that upon the matter of peace and war the king was the sole judge, and that he ought to be obeyed by his ministers of state, as by all his subjects. The continuance of proceedings against the Lord Treasurer was interrupted by the prorogation of Parliament on the 21st of December, and by its dissolution on the 24th of January, 1679.

The elections for the next Parliament "were carried with great heat, and went almost everywhere against the Court."* The duke of York, two days before the Parliament met on the 6th of March, was persuaded to go abroad, in the hope that his absence might allay the angry spirit which was manifested against him in the last Parliament. Before he left the country he required that his interests in the succession to the Crown should be protected against the pretended claims of the duke of Monmouth, the supposed eldest of the many illegitimate children of Charles II. Charles appears to have been more constantly attached to Monmouth than to any other human being; and to this circumstance may be probably attributed the very general belief that the king had been married to his mother. This opinion was too general to be despised, and Charles, on the 3rd of March, declared to his Council, "in the presence of Almighty God, that he had never given or made any contract of marriage, nor was married to any woman whatsoever but his wife, Queen Catherine, then living." James, with the duchess of York, then departed for Brussels.

Upon the meeting of Parliament, the impeachment against lord Danby was resumed. Danby immediately obtained a pardon under the great

* Burnet.

seal, which the king affixed without the knowledge of the Chancellor. The Commons declared that a pardon to set aside an impeachment could not be pleaded. After various contests, Danby was committed to the Tower, and when a prorogation took place the impeachment fell to the ground. After the fall of Danby, a great experiment in administration was resolved upon, on the suggestion of sir William Temple. The Privy Council was dissolved, and a Council smaller in number appointed, to which the management of affairs was entrusted, the king pledging himself to submit all matters to their advice. This new council was to consist of thirty members, fifteen being high officers of state, and fifteen noblemen and gentlemen of wealth and independence. It is clear that Temple's council would have been as unmanageable as an executive body as the Privy Council, which had become unfit for dispatch of affairs "by improvident increase." There was a natural jealousy of Cabals or Cabinets; but they had become indispensable in the time of Charles II. Some of the popular leaders were of this new council, such as Russell. Shaftesbury was proposed by the king, and was nominated President. The ministers very soon formed into juntos. There was a cabinet of four members within the Council. The thirty had violent contentions; and in a short time Shaftesbury appeared in the anomalous character of President of the Council, and leader of the parliamentary opposition. The king managed to frustrate all the attempts of the Council to make any reforms. With such a Council and such a sovereign, it is manifest there could be no abatement of a violent temper in Parliament. The confirmed hostility to the duke of York was manifested in a bill for his exclusion from the succession to the throne. To prevent this passing, the Parliament was prorogued on the 26th of May to the 14th of August. The king took this step without communicating with his Council. On that 26th of May, Charles, however reluctantly, gave the royal assent to a great legal reform, which had been carried through both Houses. This was the Habeas Corpus Act, the noble enactment which made that clause of the Great Charter which secures the personal liberty of every Englishman a living principle instead of a dead letter. To Shaftesbury, whatever may have been his demerits, we mainly owe the triumph of this great measure. On the same morning that the king gave his assent to the Habeas Corpus Act, he knocked off, perhaps unconsciously, the shackles of the Press. The Licensing Act of 1662, was to continue till the end of the next session of Parliament. By the prorogation of the 27th of May, that system came to a temporary close. The Parliament was dissolved by proclamation before the 14th of August, to which day it had been prorogued. The fourth parliament of Charles II. met on the 7th of October, 1679, but it was prorogued again and again, for more than a year. During the summer of 1679, the trials for the Popish Plot went forward, with no abatement of the popular outcry against the unhappy Roman Catholics. The cross-swearing on these trials was astounding, and the grossest partiality was manifested from the judgment seat. Six of the accused were executed on the 20th of June. The trial of sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, came on in July. Oates and Bedloe were as positive in their testimony, as on former trials where they easily obtained convictions. But now, to

their great astonishment, the bench allowed their assertions to be questioned. Three Benedictine monks were indicted as accomplices with Wakeman in the design to poison the king. After a trial of nine hours the whole were acquitted. The believers in the plot gradually diminished. The trials of common men were now laid aside. But Stafford and the four other lords were still in the Tower, waiting to be tried by their peers. The dissolution and repeated prorogations left their fate doubtful. In the meanwhile Oates and Bedloe were in comfortable quarters, and were receiving handsome gratuities, as well as Dugdale, another of their tribe.

After the suppression of the insurrection of Covenanters in 1666, Scotland continued in an unquiet state. Archbishop Sharp was especially feared and hated by the stricter Presbyterians. In July, 1668, as the archbishop was getting into his coach, he was shot at; and his companion, the bishop of Orkney, was wounded. No one attempted to seize the offender; but the archbishop had noted his features and general appearance. Six years afterwards, Sharp fancied that a shop-keeper who lived near him, was the man who fired at him. His name was Mitchell. He was brought before the Council, and after a solemn promise that his life should be spared, he confessed his guilt. The Council doomed him to perpetual imprisonment on the Bass Rock, after having subjected him to the torture of the boot. Upon the duke of Lauderdale's becoming supreme in Scotland, in connection with the Cabal ministry, he had attempted to carry out the same policy of a compromise with Nonconformists as was being attempted in England. Many Presbyterian ministers conformed under the Declaration of Indulgence. But very soon the principles of severity trampled down any disposition to moderate courses. To strike terror into the Covenanters, the government removed Mitchell from his wave-beaten rock in the Frith, and brought him to Edinburgh for trial. His own confession was urged against him. The promise upon which that confession was extorted was suppressed, and the man was convicted and executed. The Covenanters were not deterred by this manifestation of vindictiveness, but continued to assemble, particularly in the western counties. Lauderdale asked for authority to reduce them to submission by military force. Charles consented. The Highlanders were brought from their mountains to live at free quarters, and to plunder, in the devoted district. The inhabitants were disarmed. In the eastern districts there was the same spirit, though less openly displayed. In the county of Fife, a few religious enthusiasts resolved upon the sacrifice of the archbishop of St. Andrew's, and of Carmichael, the commissioner of the council. Ten of this band of fanatics went forth in search of their intended victims. Carmichael escaped. But they accidentally encountered archbishop Sharp as he was passing, in company with his daughter, over Magus Muir, near St. Andrew's, on the 3rd of May, 1679. He was dragged from his carriage, and inhumanly butchered, his unhappy child struggling with the murderers to save her aged father. The leaders fled into the west, and assembled some of the more violent of their own persuasion. John Graham, of Claverhouse, marched out from Glasgow with about a hundred and fifty cavalry, for the purpose of dispersing them. The number of the Covenanters had increased to five or six hun-

dred; armed chiefly with pikes and pitchforks. They had a few horse amongst them. On a marshy ground near the village of Drumclog, Claverhouse charged this irregular force. He was utterly discomfited, and was compelled to retreat to Glasgow. The insurgents followed the fugitives, their ranks receiving constant accessions. At Glasgow they were repulsed, in their first attack, by Claverhouse, who had raised barricades within the city; but their numbers becoming more and more formidable, he withdrew his forces towards Edinburgh. The council in London determined to send the duke of Monmouth to Scotland, to take the command of the government troops. He set out from London on the 18th of June. On the 22nd he was at the head of the royal army on Bothwell Moor, a few miles from Hamilton. The insurgents were encamped on the opposite side of the Clyde. The duke called upon them to lay down their arms, but refused to treat except after their implicit submission. A tremendous slaughter at Bothwell Bridge ensued. The mass of the insurgents were panic-stricken when they saw the king's troops advancing upon them, whilst the artillery from the opposite bank of the river was breaking their ill-formed ranks. They fled on every side, Claverhouse exhorting his men to avenge their defeat at Loudon Hill. All accounts agree that Monmouth laboured to stop the butchery.

From the name of contempt which was bestowed upon the poor Western Covenanters was derived the great party name of *Whig*. *Tory*, which, according to North, came in about a year before *Whig*, "signified the most despicable savages amongst the wild Irish." *Whig* was the Scottish vernacular, from whence it was borrowed, for corrupt and sour whey.

After the dispersion of the Covenanters, the duke of Monmouth was suddenly sent for from Scotland. The king was ill at Windsor. Monmouth thought he had Charles to himself, when, suddenly, the duke of York, who had travelled from Brussels in disguise, presented himself. The Court was in commotion. To preserve some tranquillity, Monmouth was sent to Flanders, and James to Scotland as Lord High Commissioner. Under this Papist prince, the Presbyterians were subjected to the grossest violence of a licentious soldiery. The military despots had full power to exercise the privileges of the Inquisition in the most summary manner. This violation of every form of law, and every principle of justice, went on for several years. Whilst James was doing his congenial work in Scotland, the faction opposed to his succession were still stimulating the prejudices of the people into an unchristian hatred of Roman Catholics. Shaftesbury had now been dismissed from the Presidency of the Council, and was the moving spirit of the popular party. On the 28th of November, Monmouth suddenly returned from Holland. The bells of the city welcomed his arrival. Charles deprived him of his offices, and commanded him to quit the kingdom. Monmouth obstinately remained. Charles had prorogued the Parliament on its meeting in October. The Country party now set on foot various petitions to the king that Parliament should meet at the end of the first short prorogation. Charles published a proclamation against subscribing petitions against the known laws of the land. The timid and servile joined in declarations of *abhorrence* of such petitions. They were denominated *abhorrers*, a name which was soon merged in *Tory*.

CHAPTER XXXI.

In the summer of 1680, Charles II. was leading an unusually quiet life at Windsor. The duke of York "now reigned absolute in the king's affairs," writes Reresby. Against the duke was all the Whig hostility now concentrated. On the 26th of June, Shaftesbury, accompanied by several lords and commoners, came before the Grand Jury at Westminster, and presented the duke as a Popish recusant. The chief justice defeated this bold measure by discharging the jury, whilst Shaftesbury was in consultation with some of the judges. The Parliament had been summoned to meet on the 21st of October. On the 20th the duke sailed for Scotland. Two of Charles's ministers, Godolphin and Sunderland, advised him to consent to a Bill of Exclusion. The duchess of Portsmouth had been induced by the Whig leaders to undertake the recommendation of the exclusion to the king, who was to receive an ample grant of money, and power to name his favourite son, Monmouth, to wear the crown after his decease. But the intrigue failed. The king wanted the vote of money to precede the Exclusion Bill. The Whig leaders wanted his assent to the bill before the vote of money. In his speech at the opening of the session, Charles promised to support the Protestant religion in every way "that may consist with preserving the succession of the Crown in its due and legal course of descent." On the 2nd of November, the Bill of Exclusion was brought in. With the projected exclusion of the duke of York was intimately associated the design to set up the duke of Monmouth as the future heir to the crown. The king's declaration of his son's illegitimacy was little heeded by the people, who made Monmouth their idol. The Protestant duke, as he was called, had made a progress in the west of England, in August, 1680, amongst popular demonstrations which were very significant of the feelings of the middle classes towards the duke of York. After many days' debate in the House of Commons, the Exclusion Bill was passed on the 15th of November, and was carried to the Peers by lord Russell. The debate of the Lords was kept up with unusual heat. The two greatest orators, Shaftesbury and Halifax, were pitted against each other in this contest, although their general principles were the same. The bill was rejected on the first reading by a majority of 33.

When Charles opened the Parliament, he had recommended further inquiry into the Popish Plot. Lord Stafford was accordingly impeached by the Commons, and brought to trial before his peers on the 30th of November. Westminster Hall had been fitted up with a more than ordinary preparation. Places were assigned to the king and queen, to the Peers, to the members of the House of Commons, to the managers of the impeachment, to the judges. The witnesses against Stafford were Oates and Dugdale and Turberville. The accused peer defended himself with unexpected ability. But Dugdale and others positively swore to Stafford's participation in a plot to assassinate the king. The majority of the Peers, eighty-six to fifty-five, pronounced him guilty, each giving his judgment, with his hand upon his breast, "upon my honour." The unfortunate

nobleman was condemned on the 7th of December, and he was executed on the 29th. In the reign of George the Fourth, the attainder of Stafford was annulled, and his descendants restored to the honours of their house. The Commons manifested an arbitrary violence in the arrest of some who had signed the declaration of "abhorrence." They exercised a more constitutional power in the impeachment of Chief Justice Scroggs for dismissing the grand jury when the duke of York was presented as a Romish recusant; for stopping the publication of a newspaper called "The Weekly Packet of Advice from Rome;" and for inflicting enormous fines upon publishers of news, and requiring excessive bail. The House at last resolved that until the duke of York was excluded from the succession, they would not grant any supply. This impracticable Parliament was dissolved on the 18th of January, 1681.

The new Parliament met at Oxford on the 21st of March. Some covert design on the part of the Crown was apprehended in thus departing from the ancient custom of assembling the Parliament at Westminster, except in times of the plague. The king went to Oxford surrounded by his guards. The Whig members were accompanied by armed bands of retainers, wearing in their hats ribbons inscribed "No Popery, no slavery." Charles had just concluded a treaty with Louis XIV. for a new subsidy of French gold, "without any condition on the king's side but that of friendship, but promises on the French part not to disturb Flanders nor Holland."*

The Parliament of Oxford lasted seven days. Charles, in his opening speech, spoke in a bolder tone than had been his wont. "What I have formerly, and so often, declared touching the succession, I cannot depart from." But he expressed his willingness to agree to any "expedient by which the Religion might be preserved, and the Monarchy not destroyed." The "expedient" which was proposed, with the sanction of the king, was to the effect that the duke of York should be banished during his life to the distance of five hundred miles from the British dominions; that certain Roman Catholics of considerable estates should also be banished; that on the decease of the reigning monarch the duke should assume the title of king, but exercise no sovereign power, the government being administered by a regent—the princess of Orange being the first regent, and the lady Anne regent after the princess. The expedient was rejected as futile. The Commons again resolved to bring in the Bill of Exclusion. During the eventful week of the session at Oxford, the apple of discord was thrown between the two Houses, by the refusal of the Lords to entertain an impeachment by the Commons for high treason of an impudent spy and libeller, Fitzharris. Being in the pay of the Court, this man wrote a violent libel against the king, which it is conjectured that he intended to put into the pocket of some Whig leader, to implicate him in a treasonable design. Fitzharris next pretended he had important discoveries to make of Court secrets; and the Whigs turned to him as a valuable auxiliary. The Attorney-General then having been ordered to prosecute him at law, the Whigs resolved to save him by an impeachment from the certain destruction of a trial at law. The Lords voted that Fitzharris

* "Life of James II.," p. 715.

should be left to the ordinary course of justice. This dispute between the two Houses was a sufficient pretence for a dissolution. On Monday, the 18th of March, the king went into the chamber of the Peers; the Black Rod summoned the Commons; and, at the royal command, the Lord Chancellor dissolved the Parliament. On the 8th of April, the king published a Declaration of the causes for the dissolution of the two last Parliaments, declaring "that nothing should ever alter his affection to the Protestant religion as established by law, nor his love to Parliament; for he would still have frequent parliaments." The royal Declaration was answered in a very elaborate "Vindication of the Proceedings of the two last Parliaments"—a calm and logical paper, which assumed the existence of a real conspiracy for the establishment of Popery. This vindication, however, produced little effect. The terrors of the Popish plot had passed away. The danger of another civil war excited, with few exceptions, an apprehension that the Whig leaders were looking beyond a constitutional resistance to arbitrary government and to a Popish successor. Addresses of attachment and confidence were now as unmeasured in their servility as in the days of the first James. Thus encouraged, it can scarcely appear surprising that the king should have followed up his triumph at Oxford by governing without parliaments; and by calling in all the machinery of tyrannous judges and corrupt juries to crush the leaders of the opposition.

Immediately after the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament, Fitzharris was put upon his trial in the Court of King's Bench. He was convicted of a treasonable libel, and was executed. Plunket, the titular archbishop of Armagh, was at the same time convicted of an Irish Popish plot. The innocence of the Roman Catholic prelate was believed even by his persecutors; but he was sacrificed by the Court, that the popular suspicion of the Popish tendencies of the king might be removed by an ostentatious piece of bloodshedding. Some of the witnesses for the Popish Plot were now as ready to give evidence against Protestants, as they had been to swear away the lives of Papists. Stephen College, a London joiner, was accused of a treasonable attempt to seize the person of the king. The evidence against him was chiefly that of Dugdale. A London Grand Jury ignored the indictment. College was then indicted in Oxfordshire, where a jury was more compliant. He was tried on the 17th of August, and on the trial Oates contradicted the evidence of Dugdale. "To punish Oates for his conduct at this trial, his pension was taken from him, and he was turned out of his lodgings at Whitehall," says Dr. Lingard. Dugdale received his wages for a year and a half longer. In spite of the contradictory evidence Stephen College was hanged. The Irish witnesses, who came over to give testimony against the Roman Catholic primate, were now ready to swear that they had been suborned by the earl of Shaftesbury to give false testimony against the queen, the duke of York, and other personages. Shaftesbury was sent to the Tower in July. He repeatedly applied for the protection of his own Habeas Corpus Act. The judges evaded the application. Every weapon of abuse was employed to prejudice a jury against him. On the 24th of November, Shaftesbury was indicted of high-treason before the Grand Jury at the Old Bailey, preparatory to trial by his peers in the Court of the High Steward. North and Pemberton sat on the bench; and,

contrary to all precedent, it was resolved that the examination of the witnesses should be in open court. The object of this was that the judges might help out the witnesses in their contradictions and awe the jury. The evidence was attempted to be supported by a treasonable document, which was sworn to have been found amongst Shaftesbury's papers. It was a plan of an association, not in his handwriting, and without a signature. The jury retired for a short time, and brought back the indictment, with "*Ignoramus*" written on the back. A shout of joy went up in the hall, and was re-echoed through the streets. Bonfires were lighted. A medal was struck to celebrate the triumph.

The refusal of the Grand Jury to find a true bill against Shaftesbury was imputed to the selection of jurymen by the Whig sheriffs. To obtain obedient sheriffs who would summon pliant jurymen was now the great aim of the Court. It was an old custom of the city for the Lord Mayor to nominate one of the two sheriffs of London and Middlesex, by drinking to him out of a gilt cup, or, if he were absent, sending the cup to him. The election of the Lord Mayor's sheriff was always confirmed by the Common Hall, as a matter of course. The other sheriff was chosen by the liverymen. For forty years this custom had been laid aside, and both sheriffs had been elected by the Common Hall. The Lord Mayor of 1682, sir John Moor, was sent for by King Charles, and persuaded to send his cup to any citizen his majesty should nominate to him. And so the cup was sent, "in full parade and form" to Mr. Dudley North, the brother of the Chief Justice. On the day of election, June 24th, there was a tremendous uproar in Guildhall. The refusal to elect the Lord Mayor's cup-sheriff was unmistakeable. The contest went on for several months. The city was in a continued fever. The Lord Mayor opened a poll at which North and another Court candidate were elected; the sheriffs opened a poll at which two popular candidates were elected. The Chief Justice and his tool Jeffreys bullied and intrigued; and in the end Dudley North and a fit coadjutor were sworn into office. Shaftesbury fled to Holland, where he died in the following year.

The duke of York, as Lord High Commissioner in Scotland, had put down an outburst of the Puritan spirit in the followers of two ministers, Cargill and Cameron, known as Cameronians. The excess of fanaticism was met by the excess of tyranny; and women, refusing to cry "God bless the king," went to their deaths as martyrs. A parliament was called. It voted that the succession to the Crown was indefeasible; it enacted a test, which asserted the king's supremacy, renounced the Covenant, inculcated the doctrine of passive obedience, and disclaimed any attempt to change the civil or religious establishments; but at the same time it expressed the adherence to the Protestant religion of the person taking the test. The courtiers proposed that all princes of the blood should be exempted from the oath. The earl of Argyle opposed this, and he was consequently marked for destruction. In taking the test himself, as a privy councillor, he said that he did not mean to bind himself, in a lawful way, from wishing and endeavouring any alteration which he might think to the advantage of Church or State, and not repugnant to the Protestant religion and his own loyalty. A few days after he was arrested; was indicted for high treason;

and was found guilty of treason and leasing-making. He contrived to escape to Holland. His estate was confiscated. Scotland was wholly under the feet of the tyrant. Judicial murders were committed in every district of the southern and western counties. Hundreds were outlawed. A seditious declaration was published by the maddened Presbyterians, renouncing allegiance to Charles Stuart. To compel suspected persons to abjure the declaration was now the business of a lawless soldiery and slavish magistrates.

In England, as well as Scotland, all the real power seemed now to lie in the hands of the Crown. The duke of York had returned to his brother's side, to give an impulse to all schemes for arbitrary power. London had lost its popular sheriffs; the choice of other sheriffs throughout the land was chiefly directed by the Court; the sheriffs could pack the jurymen upon state-trials. There was an army sufficient to make men understand the danger of insurrection. In addition to two regiments of household cavalry, there were two regiments of foot guards, a regiment of dragoons, and five other regiments of foot. There was no war to give employment to this small army, and there was no foreign garrison to absorb any portion of it. Tangier was abandoned in 1683, and the garrison brought to England. The rebellious city of London was now to be taught its duty. In the corporate franchises of the metropolis, and in those of other cities and towns, rested the chief force of the middle classes. Take away the charter of the city of London, advised the slavish lawyers, and break up that strong-hold of democracy. An Information was laid in the King's Bench against the Corporation of London for two misdemeanors—for having taken tolls under a by-law, and for having petitioned the king to assemble the Parliament, in 1679. On the 18th of June the Lord Mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen knelt before the king, and humbly petitioned that his majesty would not enter up judgment against the city; and they were required to make no future election of mayor, sheriff, aldermen, recorder, or other officers, without the royal approbation. Other corporations were terrified into the surrender of their charters. There was little chance after this that a Parliament should be chosen in which the burgesses of England should have any due share of representation. The Court judged that resistance to its behests was now utterly at an end. The royal influence was exerted, at one time to effect the utter ruin of a citizen for a few hasty words, at another to procure the escape from punishment of a detestable murderer, Count Königsmark, who caused Thomas Thynne to be openly assassinated in Pall Mall.

In the summer of 1683, Keeling, a vintner, communicated to one of the secretaries of state that a plot had been devised for engaging forty men to way-lay the king and his brother, as they returned from Newmarket, at a farmhouse called the Rye, in Hertfordshire; that the king returning sooner than was expected, that scheme was given up, and a general insurrection was projected by certain eminent persons, amongst whom were the duke of Monmouth, lord Essex, lord Howard of Escrick, and lord William Russell. Some of the inferior persons accused were first apprehended. The Rye-House Plot appears to have been a real conspiracy amongst obscure men. That the Whig leaders participated in the design of assassination was not considered probable even amongst royalists of the time.

The duke of Monmouth, lord Grey, sir Thomas Armstrong, and two others, for whose arrest a proclamation was made, escaped. The trials of three minor conspirators were hurried on, and they were convicted on the evidence of their associates. On the 13th of July, lord Russell was brought to trial. The forms of indictment having been gone through, and the prisoner having in vain requested a postponement of the trial for a day, that he might produce witnesses not yet arrived, he said, "May I have somebody to write, to help my memory?" "Yes, a servant," was the answer. "My wife is here to do it." And so, by her lord's side, sat that noble wife, calmly doing her office amidst the most exciting scenes. Russell's relative, lord Howard of Escrick, was put in the witness-box. To save himself he had offered to criminate his friends. The evidence of Howard and other witnesses went to show that Russell, before Shaftesbury left the country, had attended a meeting in the city, at which a rising was debated. Howard also asserted that there was a cabal of six persons, Monmouth, Essex, Russell, Sidney, Hampden, and himself; and that one of their objects was to draw the Scotch malcontents to join with them. Russell made a very short defence, in which he solemnly denied the charges imputed to him. During the trial, the news came that Essex had committed suicide in the Tower. This fatal news was prejudicial to Russell. He was convicted of treason, though certainly he was illegally convicted. Extraordinary efforts were made to save his life, but Charles was not to be moved, even by the offer of a hundred thousand pounds. Russell went to his death with Christian fortitude on the 21st of July, on a scaffold erected in Lincoln's-inn-Fields. The trial of Algernon Sidney was postponed till the 21st of November. Pemberton was Chief Justice when Russell was tried. He was removed to make room for Jeffreys. Lord Howard of Escrick was again the chief witness. The want of the second witness required by the Statute of Treasons was supplied by a manuscript found amongst Sidney's papers, in which treasonable principles were held to be advocated. Of course Sidney was convicted in the utter absence of all legal evidence of treason. He was brought up for judgment on the 26th, and executed on the 7th of December, on Tower Hill. He died with a simple courage and unostentatious composure worthy of his strength of mind. Sidney was the last of the old Commonwealth-men, of the school of Vane. He hated the legitimate tyranny of Charles as much as he hated the usurped power of Cromwell. He disliked Popery rather with the dislike of the philosopher than that of the Christian. Neither Russell nor Sidney contemplated the removal of political evils by the assassination of the king, although we cannot doubt that "a few great men" contemplated some coercion of the government, perhaps short of rebellion, despairing of "having things redressed in a legal parliamentary way." Monmouth was ultimately pardoned. Sir Thomas Armstrong was given up by the States of Holland, and executed without a trial upon his sentence of outlawry, although he had surrendered within the year, during which the law allows the accused to claim a trial.

The connexion of the English Whigs with the discontented in Scotland gave birth to a terrible persecution in that enslaved kingdom. The prisons were crowded with Covenanters. In England, James had openly succeeded

to the chief administration of public affairs. He had not withheld his consent from the marriage of his daughter Anne, to the Protestant prince George of Denmark. The king rewarded the duke by his restoration to his offices of High Admiral and Privy Councillor, dispensing with the Test Act. Titus Oates was indicted for *scandalum magnatum*, and damages of 100,000*l.* for a libel against the duke were awarded. The Rev. Samuel Johnson, chaplain to the late lord Russell, was persecuted for writing a book called "Julian the Apostate." He was condemned in a fine of five hundred marks, which he was unable to pay; and was committed to prison. Arbitrary government had now its full swing. The confidence of the ultra-royalists was unbounded.

On Monday morning, the 2nd of February, 1685, the king was struck with apoplexy. On the Tuesday, he had somewhat recovered. On the Thursday his case was considered hopeless. Two bishops came to him; he said he was sorry for what he had done amiss; heard the form of absolution; but declined to receive the sacrament. The duchess of Portsmouth, who had manifested a real grief, told Barillon, the French ambassador, that Charles was really a Roman Catholic. The duke of York brought Father Huddleston, a Benedictine monk, to the king, who confessed, and received extreme unction. Then the sacrament was administered by Huddleston. Charles died at noon on Friday, the 6th of February.

William Penn, the only son of the famous admiral, much to the annoyance of his family, had embraced the principles of George Fox, the founder of the sect of Quakers, and had encountered the usual persecution shown to those undaunted Nonconformists. His father had died in 1670, leaving his Quaker son a considerable property. The duke of York, a friend of admiral Penn, had undertaken to be the young man's protector. He was kind to Penn; who became a person of consequence at Whitehall. A considerable sum, about 16,000*l.*, was due from the treasury to Penn as his father's heir—the amount of money lent by the admiral, with accumulated interest. He petitioned to have his claim settled by the grant of a large tract of land in America. During sixty years the colonisation of the great North American continent by Englishmen had gone steadily forward. Not so solicitous for worldly profit, as for a home for his followers beyond the reach of penal laws, Penn assiduously pressed his suit; and on the 5th of March, 1682, he stood before the king and council, to have his charter signed. The Quaker legislator and his friend Algernon Sidney, the republican, drew up a constitution for the new colony. It was essentially democratic. Religious liberty was its great element, and with that was necessarily connected civil freedom. Penn set sail in the "Welcome" from Deal on the 1st of September, 1682. There were a hundred passengers on board, of whom a third died of the small-pox during the voyage. On the 27th of October, the survivors, with their governor, landed at Newcastle, on the Delaware. The next day Penn assembled the inhabitants, consisting of families of various nations, Germans, Dutch, Swedes, English. He produced his charter, and explained his system of government. Penn's relation, colonel Markham, had arrived before him, and had prepared the way for him, by calling an assembly for the purposes of legislation. In three days, Penn's constitution was adopted; and supplementary laws were

enacted to carry out its spirit. The governor had much labour before him, but he went through it resolutely. Philadelphia was founded, upon a plan which contemplated the growth of a magnificent city. In a year many houses had been built. Schools were established. A printing-press was set up. A post was instituted. The principles of justice, upon which the new colony was founded, were to guide the conduct of the colonists towards the native Indians. The treaty with the red men was one of friendship and brotherhood and mutual defence.

In James's address to the assembled courtiers after his brother's death, he declared that he would preserve the government in Church and State as by law established. Finch, the Solicitor-General, wrote a report of this speech, which the king approved, and ordered to be published. The biographer of James says that Finch worded the speech as strong as he could in favour of the established religion, and that James passed it over without reflection. James the Second was proclaimed that same afternoon at Whitehall-gate, at Temple-bar, and at the Exchange. The council, and other officers of state, accompanied the procession. On their return they all kissed the hands of the king and queen. Charles the Second was buried on the 14th, "without any manner of pomp." This absence of the usual ceremonies is accounted for by the fact that the late king had died a Roman Catholic. That fact was not as yet public. At the coronation, on the 23rd of April, some alterations were made in the ritual, and there was no sacrament. The second Sunday after he came to the throne the king went openly to mass; and within a month of Charles's death the Romanists "were swarming at court with greater confidence than had been ever seen in England since the Reformation, so that everybody grew jealous as to what this would tend."* The counsellors chosen by the king for his especial confidence were his brother-in-law, Rochester; Sunderland, who had been Charles's Secretary of State; and Godolphin, who had been First Lord of the Treasury; Halifax, who had held the Privy Seal, was appointed to the unimportant office of President of the Council. The king's other brother-in-law, Clarendon, was made Privy Seal. Soon after his accession, James "gave it in charge to the judges to discourage prosecutions in matters of religion, and ordered by proclamation the discharge of all persons confined for the refusal of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy."† This relief extended only to Roman Catholics and Quakers. The relief to Quakers was the result of a conviction that they were a harmless sect, who carefully abstained from all political action, and avoided even political conversation. The number of Quakers liberated was estimated at above fourteen hundred. Roman Catholics were liberated to the amount of some thousands.

The meeting of the Estates of Scotland preceded that of the English Parliament by nearly a month. In obedience to a special letter from the king, it was enacted on the 8th of May, that the punishment of death, and confiscation of land and goods, should be awarded against those who should preach in a conventicle under a roof, or should attend a conventicle in the open air, either as preacher or auditor. James made the Puritan

* Evelyn, "Diary." † Dr. Lingard.

religion a pretence for manifesting his hatred of the Puritan love of freedom.

The English boroughs were now almost wholly in the hands of the Court; the old charters having been superseded by new charters, which placed the returns in the power of a corrupt few, nominated by the Crown. James had some ambitious projects floating in his mind, and especially exciting him to secure an obedient Parliament. Under the Stuarts there had been a vast increase of the peerage. Including twenty-five spiritual peers (the see of York was vacant), there were a hundred and eighty-one lords of parliament. The number of members of the House of Commons was five hundred and thirteen. There were not more than a hundred and thirty-five who had sat in former parliaments. The Whig majority was gone. The Parliament assembled on the 19th of May. In his speech from the throne, James repeated the exact words of the speech which he had addressed to the Privy Council on the day of his accession. He then demanded the settlement of the revenue for his life; and the whole House of Commons, with one exception, voted it unanimously. A few days later a resolution was passed in Committee "to assist and stand by his majesty, according to our duty and allegiance, for the support and defence of the reformed religion of the Church of England, as now by law established." Another resolution was, that the House be moved to make an humble address to his majesty, to publish his royal proclamation "for putting the laws in execution against all Dissenters whatsoever from the Church of England." These votes gave great offence to the king and queen, and orders were issued to the Court members to get rid of them. The House then resolved unanimously, "That this House doth acquiesce, entirely rely, and rest wholly satisfied, in his majesty's gracious word, and repeated declaration, to support and defend the religion of the Church of England, as it is by law established, which is dearer to us than our lives."

Oates, the chief witness to the Popish Plot, had long been lying in prison, heavily ironed, in default of payment of the excessive fine imposed upon him on his conviction for libelling the duke of York. He was brought to trial on the 7th of May in Westminster Hall, and was sentenced to be pilloried in Palace Yard and at the Royal Exchange. He was to be whipped from Aldgate to Newgate on one day, and then again to be whipped from Newgate to Tyburn. He was to be imprisoned for life. He was to stand in the pillory five times every year. Intercession was made to the king to remit the second flogging. The answer was, "He shall go through with it, if he has breath in his body." He did go through with it, and survived even seventeen hundred lashes. Whilst Titus Oates was unmercifully scourged for the satisfaction of the Papists, Richard Baxter was harassed, insulted, fined, and imprisoned, for the terror of the Puritans. Baxter was tried for a seditious libel, contained in his Paraphrase on the New Testament, in which he somewhat bitterly complained of the wrongs of the Dissenters. The barristers who defended the venerable man were insulted by the brutal Jeffreys. The famous Nonconformist was of course found guilty. He was unable to pay his fine of five hundred marks; and he remained in prison for eighteen months; when his pardon was obtained.

The king, in his speech to the two Houses on the 23rd of May, informed

them that he had received news that morning from Scotland, that Argyle had landed in the West Highlands, with men from Holland. The earl had been three years and a half in Holland, an exile under his unjust sentence. Many who had fled from the oppressions exercised upon the Presbyterians had gathered around him. He was fully prepared with money and with arms. Three ships, on board one of which was Argyle, sailed out of the Zuyder-Zee on the 2nd of May. At Kirkwall, in the Orkneys, two men were allowed to go on shore. They were arrested; and the news of the armament quickly reached Edinburgh, whilst Argyle was lingering on the coast to obtain the release of his men. When he reached Lorn, no person of mark came to join in the war-cry of the Campbells. Many humble vassals, however, assembled at Tarbet. After various encounters with the king's troops, Argyle was marching into Inverary, when the Lowlanders of his army refused to advance into the Highlands. He then, with a greatly reduced number of followers, moved to Dumbartonshire, intending to march for Glasgow. Meanwhile, his ships had been taken, and the stores which he had disembarked were also lost. Disaster followed upon disaster. When the rebel army crossed the Leven they were surrounded by the royal troops. It was determined not to risk an engagement, but to advance upon Glasgow by a night march. They mistook their course. The little army was reduced by desertion to a few hundred men. Their leaders fled. Argyle, disguised as a peasant, was at last captured. He was conducted to Glasgow, and thence to Edinburgh. The same humiliations were inflicted upon him as were inflicted upon Montrose. It was determined to execute him, without any further trial, under the flagitious sentence that had condemned him to death in 1681. He was threatened with torture; but he refused to criminate any of his friends. He made no supplications for mercy, but he prepared himself for the scaffold with the proud consciousness that he fell in a good cause, and with the calm fortitude of an undoubting faith.

At daybreak of the 11th of June, three vessels were descried in the bay of Lyme. About sunset, some boats filled with men rowed in-shore. The men landed. The few borough militia ran away. Some of the townsmen cried "A Monmouth! A Monmouth! The Protestant religion!" Monmouth had landed with only eighty-three followers. Before night-fall the duke's standard was set up in the market-place of Lyme, and a declaration was read, accusing the existing Government of attempting to turn "our limited Monarchy into an open Tyranny," and to undermine "our Religion by Popish Councils." It then accused the duke of York of having contrived the burning of London; of having fomented the Popish Plot; of having assassinated the earl of Essex; of having poisoned his own brother, the late king. It asserted the legitimacy of Monmouth, and his consequent right to be king of England, and declared that the sword should not be sheathed till the reigning monarch was brought to condign punishment. A royalist force had collected at Bridport, and Monmouth resolved to attack them. On the day after his landing, he had a thousand foot under his command, and a hundred and fifty horse. On the 14th lord Grey marched to Bridport; fought with the militia there; and then retreated in disorder to Lyme. The duke of Albemarle, lord-lieutenant of Devonshire, marched

from Exeter, with four thousand of the trainbands. On the 15th he was met at Axminster by a large body of the insurgents. His men were not staunch, and he thought it judicious to retreat. Monmouth marched to Taunton, which he reached on the 18th of June. He found that the population had possessed themselves of the arms stored in the belfry of their church, ready for his service. Hundreds went out to meet their idol. The ways were strewed with flowers; the windows were hung with garlands; maidens of good families went in procession to offer him twenty-seven standards, which they had worked with their own hands. This reception at Taunton probably decided Monmouth to proclaim himself king. That resolve was not in accordance with his first declaration, and was offensive to many of his followers, who cherished the notion of a republic. The assumption of the regal title secured Monmouth no real accession of strength. Not a nobleman joined him; not even any head of a rich and influential Whig family. Monmouth marched from Taunton to Bridgewater with six thousand men. On the 22nd of June he reached Glastonbury. On the 25th he crossed the Avon at Keynsham. Bristol was suspected of being well-affected towards Monmouth. The king's forces now surrounded the insurgents. They became irresolute, and marched away to Bath. The large reward of five thousand pounds had been proclaimed for any who should kill Monmouth. No attack was made upon Bath, which had a strong garrison. The rebels marched to Philip's Norton, half-way between Bath and Frome. On the morning of the 27th, they fell in with the advanced guard of the king's army. That guard was commanded by the duke of Grafton, the youngest of the illegitimate sons of Charles II. There was fighting for several hours; and the cause of the insurgents was strengthened by the proof that, raw and undisciplined as they were, they could stand up against regular troops. The royal army retreated to Bradford. Defoe says, that if Monmouth had pursued his advantage, he would have gained a complete victory. The same night the insurgent army marched, under incessant rain, to Frome. This night-march, and the morning engagement, greatly reduced the number of Monmouth's followers. At Frome, Monmouth heard of the defeat and capture of Argyle. His prospects became more and more dark. At Wells his army had become unmanageable. They lived at free quarters, and attempted to deface the cathedral. On the 2nd of July, they marched on towards Bridgewater, which they reached on the 4th. On Sunday, the 5th, the earl of Feversham, at the head of the royal army, entered the great moor, called King's Sedgmoor, which stretches in a south-easterly direction from below Bridgewater to Somerton. He encamped on this morass, which was intersected by deep and broad ditches, called Rhines, and high causeways. His horse were quartered in the village of Weston Zoyland. His infantry were under canvas. On that Sunday the determination was taken by the insurgent leaders to attack the king's army at night, to anticipate the expected assault of Feversham. Monmouth had undertaken a night-march of extraordinary difficulty. The front of the royal army was covered by the great drain or cut, called the Old Bussex Rhine, which was filled by the recent heavy rains. Defoe says, "Had he not, either by the treachery or mistake of

his guides, been brought to an impassable ditch where he could not get over—in the interval of which the king's troops took the alarm by the firing of a pistol amongst the duke's men, whether also by accident or treachery is not known—I say, had not these accidents and his own fate conspired to his defeat, he had certainly cut the lord Feversham's army all to pieces." Monmouth came up to the edge of the Rhine; and shots were exchanged across that impassable ditch for some time. The whole army was now roused. The Life Guards scoured the moor, and the foot-guards and other regiments advanced in compact lines. Monmouth fled from the field when he saw that his horsemen and his waggons had gone. The peasants and cloth-workers made a brave stand with their scythes and pikes; and the Mendip miners, also, stood their ground to the last, "and sold their lives very dearly." Monmouth, with Grey and two or three others, rode all day towards the New Forest, till their horses were exhausted. Disguised as countrymen they proceeded on foot. Parties of militia were on the look-out on every side. Grey was taken early on the morning of the 7th, near Ringwood. On the 8th, Monmouth, worn out with fatigue, and starving, was found in a ditch, in the garb of a shepherd. He was conveyed to Ringwood. His first act was to write an abject letter to King James, expressive of remorse for the wrongs he had done him. He could say many things to move compassion, but he only begged to have the happiness to speak to the king, for he had that to say which he hoped would give his majesty a long and happy reign. He had one word to say of too much consequence for him to write. After remaining at Ringwood two days, Monmouth and Grey were conducted to London under a strong escort. They were three days on the road. Monmouth was prostrated by his fears; Grey was unmoved by his impending danger. Arrived at Whitehall, the sovereign saw the prisoner whose life he had determined not to spare. Monmouth was brought pinioned into his uncle's presence. The "one word," if spoken, was of no avail to save his life. Monmouth recovered his courage when the last great trial was at hand. His death was a horrible butchery, through the unskilfulness of the executioner, and the multitude around, who, for the most part, regarded the duke as martyred for the Protestant religion, yelled with fury when they saw their idolised favourite thus mangled.

In the autumn of 1685 Chief Justice Jeffreys condemned three hundred and thirty-one persons to the death of traitors, during one terrible assize. In addition to those who suffered the extreme penalty, eight hundred and forty-nine of the insurgents were transported; and thirty-three were fined or whipped. The Lady Alice Lisle, then seventy years of age, was the first victim. Every exertion was made to obtain the pardon of this lady, whose only crime was giving a meal and a lodging to two fugitives, but King James was inexorable. It was enough that she was the widow of John Lisle, the member of the Long Parliament and of the High Court of Justice. The barbarous executions of this evil time can only be matched by the infamy of the great, in seeking to make a money advantage in proportion to the number of prisoners to be transported. It was calculated that a thousand of these unfortunates were to be distributed amongst certain favoured persons, to be sold for field-labour in Jamaica, Barbadoes,

and the Leeward Islands. More than two thousand pounds were paid to the maids of honour to avert a prosecution of the young girls of Taunton who had presented the embroidered banners to Monmouth on the day of his triumphal entry. Jeffreys returned from his Bloody Circuit to be rewarded with the Great Seal.

CHAPTER XXXII.

BEFORE the meeting of Parliament, Halifax was dismissed from his office of President of the Council. The schemes of James were maturing; and he desired to be surrounded by ministers who would have no scruples in seconding them. The removal of the barriers which opposed the admission of Roman Catholics to office; the repeal of the Habeas Corpus Act: and the establishment of a large standing army, were the objects to which the king devoted himself without reserve. The Protestants in France had lived undisturbed in the exercise of their religion under the protection of the Edict of Nantes, which had been originally declared to be a perpetual and irrevocable law. In October, 1685, that Edict was suddenly abrogated, and the most violent persecution of the Protestants took place. The ministers of the reformed faith were banished or imprisoned; children were taken away from their parents; women were driven into nunneries; dragoons were let loose upon the people, to pillage and to destroy. The persecuted families carried their industry to other countries. "The tyrant's revenue," says Evelyn, "was exceedingly diminished; manufactures ceased." At the moment at which the Protestant refugees were pouring into England, James was labouring to attain the same power that Louis had so wantonly exercised.

The Parliament met on the 9th of November. The king's opening speech contained a bold avowal of his intentions. He had increased the number of the standing army. He asked for a supply answerable to the expenses of that force. He acknowledged that there were "some officers in the army not qualified, according to the late tests, for their employments." To put the power of the sword into the hands of Popish officers, and to ask the Protestant Commons to pay for this dangerous army, was something more than could be borne. The House beat the Court in a division of 183 against 182. It then, cautiously and timidly, gave the king to understand that he had committed an illegal act in appointing officers without their taking the test. James frowned and scolded, and the Commons were awe-struck. A country gentleman, Cook, of Derbyshire, was committed to the Tower for a few bold words. But the spirit of resistance began to spread. The Peers manifested a deeper indignation than the Commons had dared to exhibit. The sarcasm of Halifax was supported by the zeal of Compton, the bishop of London, and by the boldness of lord Mordaunt, afterwards the famous earl of Peterborough. The king was present at a great debate.

The government dared not divide upon the motion to take the king's speech into consideration; and the next morning the Parliament was prorogued, without any supplies having been voted.

From the time of this first dissension with the most obsequious Parliament that had sat since the early years of the Restoration, James manifested the most perfect reliance upon his own self-sufficient power. England was again to be governed without a Parliament. After the prorogation of the 20th of November, 1685, it was twice prorogued in 1686, and twice in 1687; and it was dissolved by proclamation on the 2nd of July in that year. Having dismissed the Parliament, James had a little more judicial business to accomplish. He pardoned Grey for his part in Monmouth's rebellion, because he could induce him to play the betrayer, having bought his life at a heavy money payment and the heavier price of his forfeited honour. Lord Gerard of Brandon, and John Hampden, were tried for their participation in the Rye-House Plot, upon Grey's confession. Their lives were spared. The earl of Stamford had been indicted upon the same charge; but the prorogation of Parliament prevented his trial before his peers. Lord Delamere was tried before the Court of the High Steward. Jeffreys, who presided, had used every means to obtain a conviction, but Delamere was acquitted. The most courtly began to feel that enough vengeance had been taken for past offences.

Sunderland was now the prime adviser of the king, for he had consented to embrace Catholicism, and he shamelessly received a pension of twenty-five thousand crowns from the French king to espouse his interests, and prevent the re-assembling of the Parliament. James looked coldly upon his brothers-in-law, Clarendon and Rochester, for they were stedfast in their adherence to their Protestant convictions. The Jesuits, with Father Petre as their great director, were now paramount in the government of England. It was determined to send an ostentatious embassy to the Pope. Lord Castlemaine was appointed to this mission. The pontiff, Innocent XI., was not favourable to the Jesuits, and was opposed to the measures of the French king. Castlemaine was instructed to listen to the counsels of the General of the Jesuits and of the Ambassador of France. Although the king of England had at first exhibited some pity for the persecuted families who had sought refuge in his dominions, he ordered to be burnt by the common hangman "a translation of a book written by the famous Monsieur Claude, relating only matters of fact concerning the horrid massacres and barbarous proceedings of the French king against his Protestant subjects." Evelyn adds, "So mighty a power and ascendant here had the French ambassador, who was doubtless in great indignation at the pious and truly generous charity of all the nation, for the relief of those miserable sufferers who came over for shelter." The bishops, who had never ceased to preach the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, and some of whom had been suspected of inclinations towards Popery, were now alarmed at the tendencies of the king. A brief had been ordered in Council for collecting contributions for the French refugees. The collection was put off under various pretexts. The king intimated to the archbishop of Canterbury that he must warn his clergy not to preach on the miseries which the bigotry of Louis had inflicted on his unhappy

Protestant subjects. The clergy were not propitiated by the intolerant resolution of the king that, in the distribution of alms to the refugees, the commissioners appointed to that duty should only relieve those who would conform to the Church of England, by receiving the sacrament according to its ritual.

The right of the sovereign to abrogate express laws by his prerogative had been exercised in the earliest times of the Constitution; and it still continued to be exercised in matters of trifling import. But to admit this dispensing power as a general principle, applicable to all statutes affecting the well-being of the community, would be to render the monarchy of England absolute. James the Second openly proclaimed his design to render the Test Act nugatory by his dispensing power of admitting to all offices, secular or ecclesiastical. He had appointed sir Edward Hales, a Papist, to be governor of Dover Castle, and colonel of a regiment. He resolved to make an effort to have his dispensing power sanctioned by the courts of law. Four of the judges, although not opposed to the politics of the Court, remonstrated with the king on the illegality of his proposed measure; and they were dismissed from their offices. His Solicitor-General, Finch, held the same conviction; and he was also dismissed. Four subservient judges, and a crawling solicitor, were appointed in their places. A collusive action was brought in the Court of King's Bench for the penalty incurred by sir Edward Hales, for not taking the Sacrament according to the Test Act. The information was laid by his own servant. The king's dispensing power was now solemnly confirmed by "the new, very young, Lord Chief Justice Herbert. . . . . By which [judgment] the Test Act was abolished." * The Attorney-General, Sawyer, had refused to draw warrants, which the king required him to draw, by which members of the Church of Rome were authorised to hold benefices of the Church of England. The Solicitor-General was more obsequious. The warrants were issued. To sap the foundations of the Anglican Church one step remained to be taken. James created a Court of Ecclesiastical Commission.

The king, as the Head of the Church, had issued directions to the clergy not to introduce into their pulpits any discussion upon doctrinal points which were matter of controversy. A divine of high reputation, Sharp, rector of St. Giles'-in-the-Fields and Dean of Norwich, refused to submit to this decree. Compton, the bishop of London, was required to suspend Dr. Sharp. He declined to do so; but he requested the offending dean to suspend his preaching for a season. Compton was called before the Ecclesiastical Commission. Jeffreys, the Chancellor, to whom all religious and moral principle was a matter of indifference, was the president of this partial and illegal tribunal. Sancroft, the archbishop, would not act. The bishops of Durham and Rochester were more compliant. Sunderland, the new convert to Rome, and Herbert, the advocate of the dispensing power, were two other commissioners. The Protestant convictions of Rochester, another of the commissioners, were not strong enough to lead him to risk his loss of place. Compton was suspended

* Evelyn.

from his spiritual functions. The Crown did not dare to seize his revenues; for the courts of law must have restored them.

The king placed fourteen Benedictine monks in the chapel of St. James, and allowed the Jesuits to build a chapel in the Savoy. He left the old chapel at Whitehall to the Protestants, and built a new one for himself, which was opened with all the pageantry of the Romish ceremonial, at Christmas, 1686. A bishop was consecrated on the 29th of December. The Benedictine monks at St. James's, the Jesuits' college in the Savoy, were only parts of a general system. The Franciscans had their chapel in Lincoln's Inn Fields; the Carmelites settled in the city. Such things could not be without exciting the violent dislike of the populace. Riots took place in London. The priests were insulted in their worship in new chapels in the country. The schools of the Jesuits obtained little favour from their being opened to children of Protestant as well as Catholic parents. The dread of proselytism assumed a practical shape, in the rapid establishment of charity-schools throughout the land.

The formation of a great camp on Hounslow Heath naturally gave rise to "jealousies and discourses." The Reverend Samuel Johnson had been in prison since his conviction in 1683 for writing "Julian the Apostate." A restless and dangerous man, Hugh Speke, was his fellow-prisoner; and in the spirit of mischief he excited Johnson to write an exhortation to the Protestant officers and soldiers not to serve as instruments to enslave their country, and to ruin the religion they professed. Johnson was discovered as the author. He had the generosity not to implicate Speke, and he alone suffered. He was convicted, on the 16th of November, of a libellous publication, and was sentenced to stand three times in the pillory, and to be publicly whipped. Previous to his punishment, he was stripped of his gown.

The censorship of the Press had been revived; but the licensing system could not restrain works of theological controversy, of which the archbishop of Canterbury was the licenser. There were divines then in England who were fully equal to the task of defending their Church against the advocates of Rome, whose pamphlets were encouraged by the Court, and issued by its printer. But the contest soon grew beyond the skirmishes of a paper-war. On the 7th of February a royal letter was sent to the authorities of the University of Cambridge, commanding that Alban Francis, a Benedictine monk, should be admitted to the degree of Master of Arts. The authorities required the Benedictine to take the oaths which had been provided by Acts of Parliament to exclude Catholics from academical honours and offices. He declined, and left Cambridge, hinting at the consequences of a refusal to submit to the sovereign will. The vice-chancellor and the senate were summoned before the Ecclesiastical Commission. Their judges were Papists, or of Papistical tendencies. Pechell, the vice-chancellor, was frightened. The other delegates of the senate in vain pleaded that they had acted in obedience to the laws. The vice-chancellor was deprived of his office, and suspended from the enjoyment of his revenue as Master of Magdalen College. Oxford had accepted a Papist dean of Christchurch, and had suffered mass to be performed in two of its colleges. It was concluded that resistance would not come

from Oxford, whatever might happen. Nevertheless there were premonitory symptoms that the spirit of English gentlemen would at length be roused out of the sleep of slavery. The crisis was at hand. The presidency of Magdalen College was vacant. It was rumoured that Anthony Farmer was to be recommended by a royal letter. This man was not qualified by the statutes of the college, the presidency being limited to fellows of Magdalen or of New College; he was of notoriously immoral life; he had become a pervert to Rome. The Fellows of Magdalen remonstrated in vain against the probability of this indecent choice. The royal letter came. John Hough, a man worthy of the office, was elected. The Fellows were cited before the Ecclesiastical Commission. They produced such proofs of Farmer's unfitness, that no attempt was made to enforce his election; but that of Hough was declared void. In August, a royal recommendation of Parker, bishop of Oxford, arrived. The Fellows justly held that the presidency was not vacant. The king had set out on a progress. On the 3rd of September he reached Oxford. The Fellows of Magdalen College were sent for, scolded, and threatened; but they continued resolute. They persisted in their right of election. Their legal president was ejected by a special commission, whose decrees were enforced by troops of cavalry. Hough refused to give up the keys of the college, and the doors were broken open. The bishop of Oxford was installed by proxy, only two Fellows of the college giving their attendance. The other Fellows at length consented to a modified submission to the authority which had been forced upon them. The king required a public acknowledgment that they had acted undutifully; and that the appointment of the bishop of Oxford was legal: they must sue for pardon. They one and all refused to submit to this humiliation. They were one and all ejected from their college, and declared incapable of holding any ecclesiastical appointment. Magdalen College soon became a college of Papists, with a Roman Catholic bishop at its head.

In the beginning of 1687, the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, Clarendon, was displaced by lord Tyrconnel, and the lord treasurer, Rochester, was dismissed. The fall of the two Hydes, the brothers-in-law of the king, showed that the ties of relationship were of no moment, when James's one dominant idea was to coerce all around him into his measures for forcing his creed upon a reluctant nation. Tyrconnel, whose violence and rashness were objected to even by moderate Catholics, was instructed to depress the English interest, and proportionately to raise that of the Irish; "to the end that Ireland might offer a secure asylum to James and his friends, if by any subsequent revolution he should be driven from the English throne."* But Tyrconnel had another object in view. He entered, with the sanction of the king, into secret negotiations with Louis XIV., "to render his native country independent of England, if James should die without male issue, and the prince and princess of Orange should inherit the crown." Ireland was then to become a dependency of France. Tyrconnel went about his work in a wild way. He displaced the Protestant judges, and filled their seats with Catholics. He terrified the

* Lingard.

cities and towns into surrender of their charters, and gave them new charters which made parliamentary representation a mockery.

In February, 1687, James issued in Scotland a Declaration for Liberty of Conscience. The moderate Presbyterians might meet in their houses; but field conventicles were still to be resisted with the utmost severity. Quakers might meet and exercise their worship in any place. Above all, the various prohibitions and penalties against Roman Catholics were to be void; and all oaths and tests by which any subjects were incapacitated from holding place or office were remitted. The Council of Scotland made no sign of resistance to this decree. In April, James tried the same experiment in England. He summoned his Council to proclaim to them his new charter of religious liberty. At the same time he was sounding every peer and influential commoner who approached him, as to the probability of parliament sanctioning the abolition of the Test Act. The Houses were shortly expected to meet, and it was desirable to secure the adhesion of the members to this object, upon which the king had set his heart. He was met by coldness or open refusal by many upon whom he thought he could count. Upon those who held places, he felt sure that he could successfully operate for, says Reresby, "every man that persisted in a refusal to comply with this suggestion was sure to be *outed*." Penn went over to Holland to sound the prince of Orange. William told him "that no man was more for toleration in principle than he was; he thought the conscience was only subject to God; and as far as a general toleration, even of Papists, would content the king, he would concur in it heartily. But he looked on the tests as such a real security, and indeed the only one, when the king was of another religion, that he would join in no councils with those that intended to repeal those laws that enacted them."* James at last resolved to do without the parliament; which he prorogued for six months, with a full determination to be truly the absolute king. On the 4th of April he issued his Declaration for entire liberty of conscience. He would protect the Established Church in its legal rights, but all penal laws against all Nonconformists were suspended. All religious tests as a qualification for office were abrogated. Every form of worship, Roman Catholic or Protestant, might be publicly followed. These declarations were regarded with equal suspicion by churchmen and by Dissenters. The tolerant principle maintained in them is now found to be perfectly compatible with the security of an Established Church. But it is impossible to imagine that any true tolerance could have been effected by the interested will of a Papist king, who had himself been the fiercest of persecutors, who had adopted, to their fullest extent, the hatred of his family to every species of Nonconformity. Regarded simply as a matter of political expediency, without reference to higher principles of action, the Declaration of Indulgence was a master-stroke worthy of the Jesuitical subtlety to which it doubtless owed its origin. The united support of the Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, and Quakers would be an important counterpoise to the dissatisfaction of the Churchmen. Many Dissenters were happy to embrace the relief which was thus afforded them.

* Burnet.

But the great body held aloof from the blandishments of the Court, and ultimately made common cause with the Church.

In the summer of 1687, a great camp was again formed on Hounslow Heath. The standing army had been trebled, as compared with its number in 1688. The courtly habits of its commanders caused the people to regard this army as the instrument by which the king could accomplish his designs against their liberties and their religion. The Londoners went out in holiday parties to look upon this military display of royal and aristocratic luxury. Windsor was now the scene of a gorgeous ceremony, such as could scarcely have been exhibited without danger in the streets of Westminster. James received the papal Nuncio with a pomp that belonged to past generations. It had been resolved that a duke should introduce this ambassador of the Pope. The duke of Somerset refused the dangerous honour, which was undertaken by the duke of Grafton. There was a procession to the castle of thirty-six coaches, each drawn by six horses. In that train of equipages were the coaches of the ministers of state, and great officers of the household; of the bishop of Durham and the bishop of Chester. This outrage upon the popular feeling took place on the 3rd of July. On the 4th a proclamation dissolving the Parliament appeared in the London Gazette.

In the autumn of 1687, the king made a progress through some parts of the West of England. One of his objects was to propitiate the Dissenters, who had taken so prominent a part in the insurrection of Monmouth. He gained little by his blandishments. In London, James had put in an Anabaptist Lord Mayor. When the sheriffs invited the king and queen, according to custom, to feast at Guildhall, the king commanded them to invite the Nuncio. The mayor and aldermen disowned the invitation, which much offended the king, who said, "he saw the Dissenters were an ill-natured sort of people, that could not be gained." Although the power of the Crown to nominate corporate functionaries, as well as to eject them, was disputed, the process of ejection was very summarily exercised. The supporters of Church and King were thrust out; the Papists and the Independents were nominated. Nonconformists of different ranks of life were brought together in a way that offended the pride of the upper classes amongst them. The process of regulation, as it was called, was not successful. Many of the charters were consequently attempted to be called in; but the resistance carried on in the law courts by corporations was almost general. All these arbitrary measures of the Crown had reference to the necessity which might arise of calling a parliament, and to the readiest means of procuring a servile parliament.

The year 1688 opened with "a solemn and particular office of thanksgiving for her majesty being with child." An heir to the throne had long ceased to be expected as the issue of James and his queen. On the 27th of April, the king issued a second Declaration of Indulgence. It was a repetition of the Declaration of 1687, with an avowal that his resolution was immutable, and that he would employ no servants, civil or military, who refused to concur with him. He would hold a parliament in the following November; and he exhorted his people to choose representatives who would support him in his resolves. By an Order in Council of the

4th of May, he commanded the Declaration to be read in all churches and chapels throughout the kingdom, on two successive Sundays, by the ministers of all persuasions. The Gazette of the 7th of May fixed the 20th of that month for the first reading in London and the neighbourhood. In the country, the first reading was to take place on the 3rd of June. The most eminent of the London clergy came to a resolution not to read the Declaration; and a large majority joined in the same pledge. On the 18th a great meeting of prelates and other divines took place at Lambeth, and a petition to the king was drawn up by the archbishop of Canterbury, praying James not to insist upon their distributing and reading this Declaration, which was "founded upon such a dispensing power as hath been often declared illegal in Parliament." The archbishop and six suffragan bishops signed this petition. Sancroft was not received at court; and therefore, without their head, bishops Lloyd, Turner, Lake, Ken, White, and Trelawney, immediately went to the king's palace, and were admitted to the royal closet. When James read the petition he broke out into unseemly violence. His final threat that they should disobey him at their peril was met by "God's will be done" from the lips of Ken. The petition of the prelates was circulated through London on that Friday night. On the Sunday following in only four of the London churches was obedience yielded to the mandate of the king. Over all England, not above two hundred of the clergy read the Declaration. The bishops were summoned to appear on the 8th of June before the king in Council. During this interval, there had been no signs of submission in the metropolis or in the country. The archbishop of Canterbury, and his six suffragans, came into the royal presence at Whitehall on the appointed afternoon. They were asked if they acknowledged the petition to be theirs. The archbishop said that if the king positively commanded him to answer he would do so, in the confidence that what he said in obedience to that command should not be brought in evidence against him. The command was given, and Sancroft and his brethren then acknowledged their hand-writing. They were immediately called upon to enter into recognizances to appear in the Court of King's Bench on a Criminal Information for libel. They refused, maintaining that as peers they could not be so called upon. A warrant was made out for their committal to the Tower. Never had there been such an outburst of popular feeling as on this evening of the 8th of June. The seven prelates, surrounded by guards, passed through lines of weeping men and women, who prayed aloud for their safety, and knelt to ask their blessing. Their very guards in the Tower would drink no other health than that of the bishops. Day by day numbers of persons flocked to them. Most indignant was James when ten Nonconformist ministers visited the prelates in the Tower. On the 15th of June the bishops were brought before the Court of King's Bench. There was the same throng of spectators begging their blessing. They were called upon to plead, after legal objections against their commitment had been over-ruled. Their trial was fixed for the 27th, and they were then enlarged upon their own recognizances. On the day of trial Westminster Hall and the whole neighbourhood were thronged with eager crowds. The trial lasted from nine in the morning till six in the

evening. Every point was ably contested by the lawyers on each side. In spite of the king's implied promise that their confession before the Privy Council should not be used against the petitioners, the clerk of the Council was brought forward to swear to that confession. The Chief Justice, Wright, summed up that the petition was a libel. Justice Alibone held the same opinion. But the other two judges, Holloway and Powell, differed from them; and Powell affirmed that the dispensing power, as then administered, was an encroachment of the prerogative, and if not repressed, would put the whole legislative authority in the king. The jury were locked up all night. At ten o'clock in the morning, the verdict of "Not Guilty" was delivered. The shouts went from the benches and galleries of the court to Westminster Hall; from the Hall to the streets and the river; from London to every suburb. They were echoed by the camp at Hounslow, when an express came there to James to tell him of his great failure. On the night of the 30th of June, London was one blaze of bonfires and illuminations. The two judges, Holloway and Powell, as soon as the term was over, were dismissed from their seats on a bench where independence and honesty were qualities not to be endured.

Evelyn enters in his Diary of June 10th, "A young prince born, which will cause disputes." The legitimacy of this young prince was long disputed. It was almost universally believed that imposture had been practised. The princess Anne shared this belief, as well as the prince of Orange and his court. William of Orange had stood aloof from any connection with plots in the later years of Charles, or with insurrections in the first year of James. The one great purpose of his life was to resist the overwhelming ambition of Louis XIV. By the League of Augsburg, in 1686, his unrivalled sagacity and prudence had succeeded in uniting rulers of Catholic as well as of Protestant States, in a determination that the Balance of Power in Europe should not be destroyed. William desired that in England there should be union between the Crown and the Parliament; for then England would be strong, and capable of taking a part once more in such a joint system of action as was contemplated in the Triple Alliance. That hope was now utterly gone. It was clear that James and his people would never be at accord. It was equally clear that any bold and elevated foreign policy was hopeless. Still William would have chosen to wait. The time might come when the princess of Orange would be queen, and it was the desire of Mary that her husband, in that event, should be the real sovereign. But at the very climax of the folly of James that event occurred which made William and his wife believe that their just rights were attempted to be set aside by an imposture. The time for decision was come. Edward Russell had been over to the Hague in May, to urge the prince of Orange to a bold interference with the affairs of England. The prince refused to act without "formal and direct invitation." On the 30th of June, the great day of the acquittal of the seven bishops, an invitation to William of Orange, to appear in England, at the head of a body of troops, was sent by admiral Herbert. It was signed in cipher, by the earls of Shrewsbury, Danby, and Devonshire; Compton, the suspended bishop of London; Henry Sidney, the brother of Algernon; Lumley and Russell. William took his determina-

tion. With a secresy as remarkable as his energy, he set about the preparation of such a force as would ensure success, in conjunction with the expected rising of nineteen-twentieths of the people. King James never gave any real credit to the belief that the preparations of the prince of Orange were designed against himself, till the middle of September. Louis XIV. saw clearly the danger. He exhorted James; he remonstrated; he offered naval assistance. James, in a spirit almost incomprehensible, despised the protection, and rejected the proffered aid. The intentions of the prince of Orange to come to England with an army were soon made manifest. A proclamation was prepared by the Grand Pensionary, Fagel, which Burnet translated into English. It set forth, in a calm and dispassionate tone, the violations of their laws, liberties, and customs, to which the people of England had been subjected. It alluded to the general belief that a pretended heir to the throne had been set up, against the rights of the princess of Orange. It declared that, for these reasons, the prince of Orange had thought fit, at the earnest entreaty of a great many lords, both spiritual and temporal, and of many gentlemen, and other subjects of all ranks, to go over to England, and to carry with him a sufficient force to defend him from the violence of the king's evil counsellors. "We, for our part, will concur in everything that may procure the peace and happiness of the nation, which a free and lawful parliament shall determine, since we have nothing before our eyes, in this our undertaking, but the preservation of the Protestant religion, the covering of all men from persecution for their consciences, and the securing to the whole nation the free enjoyment of their laws, rights, and liberties, under a just and legal government." The Declaration is dated from the Hague on the 10th of October. King James now endeavoured to put himself in a new attitude towards his people. He dissolved the Ecclesiastical Commission. He sent his Chancellor to deliver back to the corporation of London their ancient charter; and he issued a proclamation restoring all the municipal corporations to their ancient franchises. He gave powers to the bishop of Winchester, which allowed him, as visitor, to re-instate the ejected fellows of Magdalen College.

On the 16th of October, the prince of Orange, having taken a solemn leave of the States of Holland, embarked at Helvoetsluys, with four thousand horse, ten thousand foot soldiers, and a fleet of fifty men-of-war, twenty-five frigates, many fire-ships, and four hundred transports. Contrary winds compelled the Dutchmen to return to the shelter of their own havens. But on the evening of the 1st of November, the fleet of William was again at sea. The east wind was full and strong, and it bore the Dutch fleet towards our western shores, whilst it kept the English fleet in the Thames. On the 5th, the whole of the infantry was on shore at Brixham. William and marshal Schomberg were amongst the first to land. "The prince's army marched from Torbay, about noon the next day, in very rainy weather, and bad roads." * It was the fourth day from the landing before William made his public entry into Exeter. No man of rank, with troops of followers, was there to salute him. "The clergy

* Rapin.

and magistrates of Exeter were very fearful and very backward. The bishop and the dean ran away."* It was a week from the landing before any gentleman of Devonshire joined the prince; but "the rabble of the people came to him in great numbers." In the second week the feeling of confidence became more strong. Sir Edward Seymour arrived, with "other gentlemen of quality and estate," and he organised an Association.

From the time that the news arrived of the landing at Torbay, the metropolis was naturally the scene of the greatest excitement. A proclamation was issued, prohibiting all persons from reading the Declaration of the prince of Orange. The king sent for the primate and three bishops, and required from them a declaration of abhorrence of the proceedings of William. They refused to stand alone in such a declaration, and the king in anger sent them away. A large force had been assembled at Salisbury. On the 15th, the king received the news that lord Cornbury, the eldest son of the earl of Clarendon, had marched from the camp, at the head of three regiments of cavalry. He did not carry through his design of joining the army of William, for his officers refused to proceed; but he arrived at the Dutch camp himself, and many of the men followed his example. James called together the officers of the army, and exhorted them to preserve their loyalty as subjects, and their honour as gentlemen. They all vowed that they would serve him to the last drop of their blood. James then set out for Salisbury, which he reached on the 19th. On the 22nd, when the army of the prince of Orange was at a short distance from Salisbury, the earl of Feversham, the commander of the royal troops, intimated that there was defection in the camp, and advised arrests. James called a council of war on the evening of the 24th. On the morning of the 25th, lord Churchill and the duke of Grafton, two of the officers who had sworn fidelity to James before he left London, were in William's camp. All was alarm; and an immediate retreat was commanded by the king. At Andover, the prince of Denmark fled from him, with two noblemen. On the king's arrival in London on the evening of the 26th he found that his daughter, Anne, was gone. "God help me," exclaimed the wretched king, "my own children have forsaken me." James himself records, that "The contagion was spread so universally, that all parts of England furnished the same news of risings and defections; the only strife was who should be foremost in abandoning the king." James had sent the infant prince of Wales to Portsmouth, to be conveyed to France, if there was no turn in affairs. The Admiral of the Fleet refused to be a party to carry the prince out of the country, and the child was brought back to Whitehall. Father Petre, and other obnoxious advisers, had fled. There was no manifestation of aid on the part of the king's Roman Catholic subjects. In his deep distress, James called a meeting of all the peers who remained in London. Nine spiritual lords, and between thirty and forty temporal lords, attended him at Whitehall, on the 27th. They suggested that it would be desirable to send commissioners to treat with the prince of Orange. They also urged a general amnesty. Three commissioners, Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin, were appointed to treat

* Burnet.

with William. A proclamation for a general amnesty was issued, writs were ordered to be sent out to call a Parliament for the 13th of January. The commissioners proceeded to the camp of the prince of Orange at Hungerford, which he had reached on the 6th of December. A skirmish took place at Reading between two hundred and fifty of his advanced guard, and six hundred Irish troops who had entered the town. The inhabitants joined with the Dutch troops in attacking the Irish, who were regarded by them as enemies. It was the only serious affair of arms during this bloodless contest for a crown. James's commissioners announced to William, amidst a crowd of his supporters, that the proposition which they had to make was, that all matters in dispute should be referred to the Parliament, for which writs were being issued; and that in the interval the prince's army should not approach within thirty miles of the capital. The majority of William's adherents considered that the proposition of the king should not be accepted. The prince thought otherwise. But he required that if his troops were not to approach London within the prescribed distance on the west, the king's troops should be removed to an equal distance on the east. Whilst the negotiation was proceeding at Hungerford, the queen and the prince of Wales were privately conveyed down the river, and the vessel in which they were aboard sailed with a fair wind for France. This was on the 10th of December. At three o'clock of the morning of the 11th, James stole out of Whitehall by a secret passage; entered a hackney-coach provided by sir Edward Hales; crossed the Thames in a wherry, and, before London was awake, was far on the road towards Sheerness. He had previously sent for the Great Seal, and for the writs to summon a Parliament that had not gone out. He threw the writs into the fire, and the seal into the river. James had commanded the earl of Feversham, by letter, to disband his troops; and they were let loose without any of the restraints of discipline. In this emergency, seven spiritual lords, with Sancroft at their head, and twenty-two temporal peers, drew up a declaration that the flight of the king having destroyed the hope of a parliamentary settlement of affairs, they had determined to join the prince of Orange, and until his arrival to preserve order by their own authority. Never was some authority more necessary. The night came, and a fierce multitude, amidst the cry of No Popery, burnt Roman Catholic chapels, and attacked the houses of ambassadors from Roman Catholic States. But no lives were sacrificed. The next day the trainbands were under arms; and tumults were kept down by some troops of cavalry. On that day, the hated Lord Chancellor, Jeffreys, was discovered in the disguise of a sailor, in a public-house at Wapping. He was saved from a fierce mob by the trainbands, but not without severe injury, and was sent to the Tower by an order from the peers at Whitehall. In the night of the 12th, a rumour was spread that the Irish troops of Feversham's disbanded army were marching on London. The alarm was altogether false, but it produced an exaggerated terror; and by some unknown agency the same consternation was excited throughout the country.

James had gone on board a hoy at Sheerness. But the vessel was detained by the state of the tide, and when she was about to sail at night,

she was boarded by fishermen, who carried the king and sir Edward Hales ashore to Sheerness. James was recognised by the crowd around the inn to which he was taken; but although they treated him with respect, they refused to let him go. The Council in London were assembled, when a paper was brought from the king, calling upon all good Englishmen to rescue him. A troop of life guards was immediately sent off, and James was moved to Rochester. On Sunday, the 16th, the king was persuaded by his friends to return to Whitehall. William was then at Windsor, where a Council of Lords was held on the 17th. It was determined that the king should not remain at Whitehall. A message was sent to recommend him to move to Ham House, near Richmond. James said he would prefer Rochester. Meanwhile the army of William was advancing. On the night of that Monday, Whitehall was guarded by Dutch troops. The next day, James left London, and that night the prince of Orange slept in St. James's Palace. On the 19th William held a Court. Thither came the corporation of London in state. All the prelates were there, with the exception of the archbishop of Canterbury. The London clergy were not wanting in their tribute of respect. Nonconformist divines also attended in a body, and all the men of the law. Amidst this throng, William stood, "stately, serious, and reserved."* His position was one of exceeding difficulty. He resolved to assemble, provisionally, two bodies that should represent the Lords and Commons of England. He invited the peers to attend him; he invited also those who had sat in the House of Commons during the reign of Charles II., and with them the aldermen of London, and a deputation from the common council. He begged them to consider the state of the country, and communicate to him the result of their deliberations. The two bodies each finally agreed to request William to summon a Convention of the Estates of the realm, and in the meantime to take upon himself the administration of government. These resolutions were agreed to with less hesitation when it was known that James, after staying a week at Rochester, had gone over to France. William applied himself with all the energy of his character to extricate the nation out of its confusion. The exchequer was almost empty. Such was the confidence in him that, upon his word alone, two hundred thousand pounds were immediately placed in his hands by the common council of London, as a loan subscribed by the merchants. The letters for calling the Convention were sent out; the old charters had been restored; and the elections proceeded without any interference with the freedom of the electors, by the influence of the servants of the Government. The prince of Orange had also been requested to proceed in the same manner in regard to Scotland as in England—to take on himself the provisional administration, and to call a Convention of the Estates.

On the 22nd of January the Convention met. On the 28th the Commons resolved that King James II. had abdicated the government, and that the throne was vacant. On the 29th they passed another resolution: "That it hath been found, by experience, to be inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant kingdom, to be governed by a Popish

* Evelyn.

prince." The Lords, on receiving the Resolution of the Commons that the throne was vacant, to which their concurrence was desired, entered upon long and serious debates, having concurred in the Resolution that the kingdom ought not to be governed by a Popish prince. They discussed the abstract question of an original contract between king and people. This position, which rejected the notions of absolute authority that had been so servilely maintained since the Restoration, was carried by fifty-three votes against forty-six. It was then resolved, that King James had broken the contract. But it was decided by a majority of fifty-five to forty-one, that the throne was not vacant; the majority maintaining that in the monarchy of England the throne could never be vacant; that upon the demise of the crown the right of the heir was complete; any other principle would make the monarchy elective. A conference between the two Houses was carried on with remarkable ability. The Lords finally agreed to the Resolution of the Commons, without alteration; and further resolved, that the prince and princess of Orange should be declared king and queen of England and all the dominions thereunto belonging. On the 13th of February, the two Houses of the Convention went in a body to Whitehall. The princess of Orange, who had arrived from Holland on the previous day, sat with her husband, under a canopy in the Banqueting-house. The clerk of the House of Lords then read the Declaration which had been issued by both Houses. This document first set forth the various modes in which King James had violated the rights and liberties of the kingdom. It then proceeded to a detailed assertion of those rights and liberties—followed by the Resolution, "that William and Mary, prince and princess of Orange, be, and be declared, king and queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging . . . during their joint lives; and after their deceases the said crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to be to the heirs of the body of the said princess; and for default of such issue to the princess Anne of Denmark, and the heirs of her body; and for default of such issue, to the heirs of the body of the said prince of Orange." The whole concluded with the abrogation of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. After the reading of the Declaration, lord Halifax, in the name of all the Estates of the realm, requested the prince and princess to accept the Crown. "We thankfully accept," said William, "what you have offered us." This recognition of the gift also recognised the conditions of the gift, that the rights and liberties of the people, and the legal prerogatives of the sovereign, were thenceforth to be inseparable. A few words of assurance from William's undemonstrative lips,—that the laws should be the rule of his life, that he would endeavour to promote the kingdom's welfare, and that he would constantly seek the advice of the two Houses of Parliament—and then, amidst the shouts of the people, the prince and princess of Orange were proclaimed king and queen of England.

The title of William and Mary was irrevocably associated with the Declaration of Rights. The Revolution of 1688 was based upon parliamentary representation. For this reason, especially it may be considered the commencement of a new era in English history.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

To our minds the quarter of a century that succeeded the Revolution is a period of extreme interest. It is the period of transition from the plough to the loom; from the spinning-wheel to the factory; from the age of tools to the age of machinery. It is that period of our national progress in which England is very slowly developing herself into a manufacturing and commercial country. This gradual expansion of her resources constitutes the most important feature in her advancing political condition.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the west of England was the seat of the greatest commercial and manufacturing industry of the kingdom. In the first year of William and Mary an Act was passed "for the better preventing the exportation of Wool, and encouraging the Woollen Manufactures of this kingdom." That manufacture, which was justly held to be "eminently the foundation of England's riches," was chiefly in the western counties, as it had been from the time of Edward VI. The clothing trade of the west was created by the adaptation of the district to sheep pasturage; and the waters of the Lower Avon, with its many branches, were especially fitted for fulling and dressing and dyeing cloth. The foreign trade in English broad-cloths was greatly straitened by circumstances and opinions. After the accession of William and Mary, when the nation was at war with Louis XIV., all trade and commerce with France was prohibited. But the North American colonies and the West Indies had now become important customers for our woollen manufactures. In this foreign trade ships were employed of a larger tonnage than was fitted for small ports, and thus great towns alone became the seats of external commerce. Plymouth, the noble estuary of the Tamar and the Plym, had long been the most considerable port for merchandise of South Devon, as Bideford on the Torridge, and Barnstaple on the Taw, had chiefly absorbed the commerce of North Devon. At the end of the seventeenth century Plymouth was not a great naval station. William III. imparted the first impulse to the creation of the arsenal which was to rival Portsmouth, by building two docks, which were begun in 1691.

In the seventeenth century the forest of Dean was the principal seat of the iron manufacture. It had been an iron-making district from the time of the Romans. The woods of the forest of Dean were burnt for charcoal, in a country of pit-coal, and the best "sow-iron" was made from the half-smelted Roman cinders, which still lie like pebbles on the sea-shore on the left bank of the Wye. This sow-iron was sent by the Severn into Worcestershire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and Cheshire, and there made into bar-iron. The notion of smelting the iron ore by coal was not fairly tried till after 1740, at which time the annual produce of iron in the whole country was only about seventeen thousand tons,—the two-hundredth part of all the iron produced in the United Kingdom in 1857.

The western extremity of England was also the most ancient seat of her

mining riches. In the middle of the eighteenth century the produce of these mines was about a seventh of the present annual produce. At the beginning of that century some adventurers from Bristol thought that copper ore might be found in Cornwall, and set up mills in their city for the production of brass-ware, to which use the first copper-ore was applied. Sixty years afterwards, the copper produced from the ore of Cornwall was only about three thousand tons. In another century it had quadrupled in amount and value. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the vast mineral wealth of the South Welsh coal-field was scarcely worked. No adequate machinery was employed either in these mines or in the lead mines of the High Peak in Derbyshire. In the rural economy of the west there was nothing peculiar but the apple-growth. It was especially the "Cider-land." This district probably exhibited at this period a greater variety of employments than any other district of England. The people were miners, fishers, cultivators, orchardists, shepherds, weavers, sailors.

The iron-ware of Birmingham was in repute long before the beginning of the eighteenth century. Under the encouragement given by William III., Birmingham began in his reign to make fire-arms. But before the middle of the century under review the greater part of that wonderful variety of industry which has given Birmingham a population of a quarter of a million of souls was quite unattempted. The anvils of Wolverhampton, Dudley, Walsall, Bilston, Wednesbury, were then employed in the humblest works of iron manufacture. The vast surface of the great coal and iron field around Birmingham was scarcely penetrated. That district of North Staffordshire, now known as the Potteries, abounded in clays fit for earthenware; but the art of producing the finer sorts was wholly neglected. There was a manufacture of common cooking ware at Buralem at the beginning of the eighteenth century. About the time of the Revolution, superior clays were introduced; and an improved ware was manufactured in small quantities. But any approach to a home manufacture of porcelain was far distant. The manufacture of glass, at the beginning of this century, and during its first half, was principally confined to green glass, and the commonest window-glass. The glass-houses of London had nothing of the character of factories about them. They were scattered in obscure districts amidst a wretched population.

The long wool of the Leicester sheep gave rise to the worsted stocking-trade. In the town of Leicester, and in other neighbouring towns, the weaving of stockings by frames had become the general employment. The western and southern counties were then the great seats of the bone-lace manufacture. The social condition of Manchester, at the end of the seventeenth century, was very primitive. Its manufactures of fustian, girth web, ticking, tapes, were carried on by small masters, who had apprentices residing in their houses. To every town the fustians and "small things called Manchester-ware" were borne by horse-packs. There was then very imperfect communication between the trading-towns. Manchester had few rival neighbours in its trade of fustians and dimities. Warrington was the seat of a considerable linen trade. The table-linen called huckaback, was extensively made in the neighbourhood of this

place. But every discouragement was given to the English linen manufacture. It was maintained that England should attempt no other manufacture than the woollen manufacture, which had been for ages the support of the nation. At the beginning of the eighteenth century there were in Yorkshire five centres of this great manufacture, which were known as clothing-towns—Bradford, Huddersfield, Wakefield, Halifax, Leeds. The linen manufacture of Yorkshire did not then exist. The weaving industry of Norwich was more important at this period than the industry of any other city or town of England. What was known as the stuff-weaving trade had been pursued in that neighbourhood for four centuries.

Sheffield had been famous for its cutlery from the time of Edward VI. At the end of the seventeenth century it had one mill for turning grindstones, and it was boasted that around Sheffield were six iron-furnaces, supplied by its neighbouring woods. The vast expansion of mining and manufacturing industry which has taken place during the last century and a half may be dated, in great part, from a private Bill of the tenth year of the reign of William III., entitled "An Act for the encouragement of a new Invention of Thomas Savery, for raising Water, and occasioning Motion in all sorts of Mill-Work, by the impellant force of Fire."

Hull was an exceedingly prosperous port at the beginning of the eighteenth century; although it had no dock till 1788. Liverpool, at the date of the Revolution, had no proper harbour and no quay. The trading-ships lay in the offing, and their cargoes were borne to them or from them in boats. In 1700 Liverpool had built a dock—now known as the Old Dock. From that epoch the rapid progress of Liverpool may be dated.

The great seats of tillage were the South-Eastern, the South Midland, and the Eastern districts. The whole of the eighteenth century was a period of very tardy improvement in cultivation. The alternate system of husbandry—the growth of turnips or clover after a corn crop—had been recommended in the middle of the previous century. But the old system of fallows, by which half of the cultivated land always lay idle, was steadily adhered to. The cultivators were slow to receive any improvement; and in their pursuit, as in many commercial pursuits, it was held that labour-saving expedients were an injury to the poor. The farmers, and the smaller freeholders, were, with the exception of their greater command over the necessaries and comforts of life, at no great elevation above the husbandmen who worked for wages. They were almost equally shut out from any very extensive commerce with the general world.

A large quantity of corn was necessary for the consumption of the comparatively large population of London and Westminster, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and much corn was grown within the districts most convenient for carriage. Farnham was the greatest provincial corn-market in England, particularly for wheat, until the farmers of Sussex and Chichester ground their wheat, and sent the meal to London by sea. The commerce of the port of London, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, inconsiderable as it was when compared with the gigantic operations of our own time, must have been sufficiently imposing to the foreigner, and even to those who habitually looked upon it. The Pool

was crowded in the reigns of William III. and Anne with colliers and coal-barges, waiting to deliver their cargoes at numerous private wharfs. Billingsgate, in 1699, was made a free market for the sale of fish. But more speculative commercial operations were going on in the port of London than those connected with the supply of grain, or coal, or fish. Two East India Companies were quarrelling for the twelve years succeeding the Revolution; but at length their differences were composed; they established a common stock; and the Old Company which was formed at the beginning of the seventeenth century was incorporated into the New Company at the beginning of the eighteenth. The use of tea was spreading amongst the higher and middle ranks, and a new source of profitable commerce was opened by the change of habits in the people. Several of the old trading companies of London were at this time carrying on their adventures with success. The system of banking, which had been slowly growing up in London from the time of Charles II., was not followed at all, or at least very imperfectly, in the country districts. Remittances to London, even of the taxes collected for the government, were made in specie. In 1694 the Bank of England was incorporated, and carried on its first operations, with fifty-four cashiers and clerks, in the hall of the Grocers' Company. The age of Companies came very soon after the Revolution. The spirit of gaming had taken possession of the people in the humblest as well as the highest transactions. The newspapers of 1710 are full of the most curious advertisements of lotteries, called sales. In that year an Act was passed for suppressing of lotteries. Utterly opposed to the spirit of lotteries was the principle of Insurance. There were two Insurance Offices against fire established before 1687; and a Society for insuring lives was chartered in 1706.

One of the most certain indications of the improving state of the middle classes at this period, is the more luxurious nature of their diet; the wear of better clothing; the employ of more domestic servants; the furnishing their houses with articles of improved taste. But the facilities possessed by the people of passing from one occupation to another occupation were very limited, and the power of what we call rising in the world was equally restricted. In the locality in which a labourer was born he generally remained to the end of his life, and the barriers which prevented the artificer or the trader from passing out of his first condition to one more eligible were almost as onerous.

The London of the beginning of the eighteenth century was in what we should now deem a condition most unfavourable to health, comfort, and security. There were no foot-pavements as distinguished from the carriage-road. There were lines of posts in the chief streets, within which alone it was safe to walk. The carmen in the principal road were fighting with the hackney-coach drivers. Every square and open place was a deposit for rubbish and filth, gathering in heaps of abomination, to be very tardily removed by the dustman. The streets were resonant with the bawlings of higlers and wandering merchants of every denomination. A crowd of vagabond boys were often pursuing their sports in the most crowded thoroughfares. But it was at night that the real dangers of the street began. The Watch was in the most lamentable state of imbecility.

Robberies were common in every great thoroughfare. At this period, and long after, we see no struggle against great social evils on the part of the clergy or the laity. Every attempt at social reform was left to the Legislature. Education, in any large sense, there was none. The instruction of the lower classes was neglected upon principle. Many great writers believed that to educate the bulk of the people was to destroy the distinctions of rank. It must have been somewhat of a melancholy period for the cottagers and labourers—unable to instruct or divert themselves with reading; the old sports very nearly extinct; wakes and Whitsun-ales kicked out by the Puritans, never to revive; the old love of music extinguished by the same tyranny. Disease committed its ravages, unchecked by any attempt to mitigate the evils of standing-pools before the cottage door, and pestilent ditches in the towns. The horrible state of the prisons was well known. London, and all other great towns were swarming with destitute children, who were left to starve, or to become thieves, and in due course be hanged. The evils of society at this period were not laid bare by publicity, the one first step towards their remedy. Daniel Defoe's "Review" was the first periodical work that sought readers amongst the people. The real news-writer at the commencement of the eighteenth century was surrounded with a hundred difficulties and perils. He was shut out of the House of Lords, and out of the House of Commons; he never went into the law courts, for, except on great occasions, the people took no interest in their proceedings; he ran extreme risk in giving any political news, for the "publisher of false news" was a person for whom the pillory was an especial terror; he had no correspondents in distant parts of England; and so the coffee-house, with its rumours about public events, became the "Staple of News." The cheap tract-writer tasked his imagination to produce much more exciting narratives than the dull paragraph-monger, till, in 1711, an Act, which imposed a duty of a half-penny on every single half sheet, nearly put an end to Grub Street "penny-a-liners." The "Review" of Defoe looked upon the town from another point of view than that of the wits and gossipers of the coffee-houses. But Defoe saw only the broader aspects of society; felt little interest in its amusements; and despised its frivolities. He addressed his "Review" to men who clung to the great principles of civil liberty, and religious toleration. Steele, and his associate, Addison, on the other hand, addressed themselves, in the "Tatler," to the far larger class who had not very strong political or religious convictions; and who were glad to find a new kind of literature set on foot that, on the face of it, promised amusement rather than instruction. The "Spectator," which succeeded the "Tatler," was published daily, instead of three times a week. The "Guardian" succeeded the "Spectator," and was also published daily. It was fortunate for the circulation of these works that the better regulation of the post had not been neglected by the government amidst their party conflicts. In avoiding the bitter exaggerations of the professed [illegible], Steele and Addison give us real pictures of the every-day life of [illegible]. But these first and greatest of the essayists have a further [illegible] in our eyes, in reflecting the general character of the education [illegible] people. "It is a great pity," writes Addison, in 1713, "there

should be no knowledge in a family." We cannot look without admiration upon the judicious mode in which the first essayists endeavoured to diffuse some desire for knowledge, and some taste for the higher efforts of genius, throughout a nation with whom superior rank and riches did not necessarily infer a more liberal cultivation of the mind, than amongst those who laboured for their bread. Not the least of their services was to meet, in however limited a degree, that craving for fiction, which is even stronger amongst the imperfectly educated, than amongst those of higher refinement. For women, especially, studies "for delight, for ornament, and for use," were almost unknown. The ladies of England were at this time amongst the keenest and noisiest of politicians. We must ascribe a great deal of this disposition to engage in party-conflicts to the absence of occupations of an intellectual character. It must be remembered that the domestic accomplishments of the English lady were then almost unknown. The greater number of fashionable women "spend their hours in an indolent state of body and mind, without either recreations or reflections." Stimulants, if we may believe the censor, were sometimes resorted to. There was unquestionably a very low estimate of the female character from the period of the Restoration to the middle of the eighteenth century.

However low, by comparison with modern times, might be the state of popular enlightenment, the amount of intellectual activity in every department of knowledge was very remarkable. In literature there was evidently forming a reading public. There is nothing more characteristic of the eminent writers of the earlier part of the eighteenth century, than the persistent way in which they addressed themselves to the popular understanding. Even the prevailing mental philosophy had little in it that was abstruse or recondite. The theology and the philosophy were equally cold and passionless, equally narrow and incomplete. But they were adapted to their age; and they were not without their beneficial influence in preparing the way for something higher and nobler. The same principle, which really consisted in presenting only one portion of a subject in the most palpable form, influenced the lighter writings of that age. It equally pervades the poetry of Pope, and the prose satire of Swift; the broad delineations of Defoe, and the striking pictures of Hogarth. The poets of the reign of Anne, and of the reign of the first George, occupy the most considerable space in the literary history of those times. Of these there are only about seven whom the world has not very "willingly let die," and Pope is almost the sole name that is not partially or hermetically sealed up in "the monument of banished minds." Pope's resolute application won him higher rewards than literature had ever before won in its own open market; whilst his small patrimony kept him from the shifts and humiliations that then, and long after, were the hard destiny of those who wrote for their daily bread. During the reign of Anne, "the favour of great men" was the ruling idea of those who devoted their lives to authorship. Swift, who always affected to be greater than the men to whom he was paying court, cherished bitter resentment against the Whigs for not having given him any valuable preferment, and sold himself to the Tories for the promise of a bishopric. Harley and St. John made him their tool by deference to his intellectual greatness, and this

most able but most unscrupulous of all party-writers, was not saved by his pride of intellect from going all lengths in doing dirty work for his patrons. The famous "Act for the Encouragement of Learning," which settled the conditions of copyright, was passed in 1710, and from this time we may date the slow but certain establishment of literature as a profession, deriving its support, like every other branch of industry, under the general laws of demand and supply.

The popular literature created by Addison and Steele had made the lay preachers effective at a time when the clerical preachers were the very reverse of effective. The divinity of that generation, and, indeed, of the next, was for the most part formal and unimpassioned. Burnet, who was a severe censurer of his brethren, admits that the greatest part of them live without scandal, but he says, "I must own, that the main body of our clergy has always appeared dead and lifeless to me, and instead of animating one another, they seem rather to lay one asleep." The mean worldly estate of the great body of the clergy may in some degree account for the low estimate of their condition and character which has been taken at this period. The lesser clergyman ranked in point of the annual means for the support of his family, as below the small freeholder; a little above the farmer; and not very much above the handicraftsman. Can we wonder, therefore, that servility and coarseness were considered the characteristics of the class.

The nobility—the "temporal lords"—were, as they always had been, a most important portion of the rural aristocracy. They were the lords-lieutenant of counties, and, as such, had the control of the militia force of the kingdom. As born legislators their direct power was far greater than in the nineteenth century. The desire of the nobility and other landowners to congregate in London was not an unnatural one, and was in some degree absolutely necessary when the parliamentary system of government became the rule under which England was to live. "The yeomen and gentlemen of smaller estates," says Mr. Hampden, "are now, generally speaking, the only constant residents in the country." But even the gentlemen of smaller estates were frequently craving for "a Journey to London." These excursions of the gentry to London, however rare, at any rate spread the worst follies of the town, where their time was divided between the attractions of the masquerade, the puppet-show, the Italian opera, the bear-garden, and the gaming-table. Gaming was the universal passion of the reign of Anne. Gentlemen were not ashamed to stake their money against the money of the lowest sharpers. Steele carried on a persevering war against the gamesters, for which good service he was threatened with personal injury. Burnet denounces the country gentlemen of his time as ignorant and irreligious. Macaulay speaks of the country gentleman's "unrefined sensuality;" his "language and pronunciation such as we should now expect to hear only from the most ignorant clowns;" his habitual intoxication "with strong beer;" his "bargains over a tankard with drovers and hop-merchants." But some sketches of the country gentleman, written in 1711, may be set in merciful contrast to these accounts. The sir Roger de Coverley of Addison and Steele is not ill-bred, haughty, and insolent, as Burnet describes the class. His

knowledge is not extensive; but he does not pretend to be what he is not. The most repulsive feature in the character of the English country gentleman of the time of William and Anne was his political and religious bigotry. This humour took the practical form of one continued struggle for political supremacy. The machinery of both sides—Whigs and Tories—was unlimited bribery.

In this age of strong political animosities, and of equally strong religious prejudices, a spirit of friendliness and mutual respect was preserved in London by the system of club-life. The clubs, which induced a comparison of thought with thought, were carrying on the general spread of intelligence more effectually, perhaps, than books.

It is only just to the statesmen of the seventeenth century to point out that, in several instances, they manifested their convictions of the direct value of philosophical research and discovery. From the foundation of the Royal Observatory at Greenwich, in 1676, may be dated the progress of scientific navigation. At this period the study of facts had succeeded to the theories and empirical remedies of the school before Harvey and Sydenham. Botany had been systematised by Ray; and the medical student had the opportunity of becoming familiar with plants in the "Physic Garden." The Royal Society was incorporated by charter in 1662; and commenced the publication of its Transactions in 1665. But many years before the end of the seventeenth century, that great genius had arisen, whose discoveries made the enthusiastic poet exclaim, "God said let Newton be, and there was light."

The arts, with one exception, were at this period in a very depressed condition. Charles I. had laboured strenuously during his troubled reign, to add to the splendour of his court by the liberal patronage of art and artists. But the taste had penetrated but little downwards, and the influence was not abiding. Painting and sculpture were, consequently, at a low ebb when William and Mary ascended the throne, and William was not a man to waste time on what he would consider trifling pursuits. His immediate successors contributed even less to the advancement of the arts. But if William cared little for the other arts, he did not neglect architecture,—the one branch of art in which England excelled. It was, however, the genius of one extraordinary man, called out by the greatness of the occasion, which re-created English architecture. It was the Fire of London which gave Wren his grand opportunity, and imparted the strongest and most permanent influence to his genius. In church architecture Wren was succeeded by his pupil Hawksmoor, and by Gibbs, for the exercise of whose talents a favourable opportunity was afforded by the Act of Anne, which provided for the erection of fifty new churches in London, though not nearly so many were built. What Wren did for ecclesiastical, Vanbrugh did, though in a lesser measure, for English palatial architecture. An evidence of the interest taken in architecture was the existence of amateur architects who erected buildings little inferior to those of their professional contemporaries. The accession of the House of Brunswick inaugurated an epoch of this art as dreary as that of William had been glorious. Sculpture at this period was the handmaid of architecture. In the decorations of St. Paul's, Wren was

able to avail himself of the best talent in the country. There were, however, but few native sculptors, as there were but few native painters. England possessed neither a school of painting nor galleries of pictures, nor writers on art. There were no means of instruction for patrons or for students. The demand for pictures was supplied almost wholly by foreign painters of second-rate ability, who found here an amount of patronage they could not hope for in their native places. The true regenerator of this branch of art in England was William Hogarth, the sturdy asserter of truth and matter of fact in painting. His merit as a satirist, a painter of manners, and a moralist, were admitted even by his contemporaries, though they hardly perhaps took the full measure of his genius. The graphic representations of Hogarth, which range over a period of nearly thirty years, have been truly termed "books." He was the engraver as well as the painter of these representations, "which have the teeming, fruitful, suggestive meaning of words." Hogarth was the legitimate successor of Steele and Addison, as presenting a mirror of some portion of the higher and middle classes, and of Defoe in exploring the depths of ignorance and vice. What Defoe says of the principle on which he worked is equally applicable to Hogarth. To show "virtue and the ways of wisdom everywhere applauded, honoured, encouraged, and rewarded, vice and extravagance attended with sorrow and every kind of infelicity; and at last, sin and shame going together, the offender meeting with reproach and contempt, and the crimes with detestation and punishment," was the aim of both these great moral teachers.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

We may readily imagine that in such a total change as that of 1689, there was a scramble for office, in which the real principles of public men were severely tested. The same resolution and conduct which had delivered England from the most imminent dangers, had to support the man who was acknowledged as her deliverer, amidst perils and difficulties of which not the least were the treachery, the self-seeking, the ingratitude of the greater number of those who had called him to rule over them. "He is generally hated by all the great men, and the whole of the nobility," says the French ambassador, after William had been ten years on the throne. This prince had no power of subduing men to his will by rhetorical arts. "He spoke little and very slowly, and most commonly with a disgusting dryness," says Burnet. In war he carried the hearts of all along with him by his fire and his daring. In negotiation he accomplished the most difficult objects by his perseverance, and, above all, by his truthfulness. Such was the man who was called to rule over England, in times when for a statesman not to be treacherous, unpatriotic, corrupt, was a rare distinction.

The king desired to govern by a balance of parties. He sought to carry that desire into effect by choosing his ministers from parties whose principles were diametrically opposed, each to the other. He would himself conduct the foreign relations of the country, for which duty, indeed, he was more fitted than any man. His confidential advisers in domestic politics should be officers who had influence with the two great parties in the state, and with the sub-divisions of the Whig and Tory factions. But the Revolution was the triumph of Whig principles; and thus it was natural, in the hour of triumph, after some concessions to open adversaries or doubtful friends, that the Whigs should have the larger share of the spoils. The Great Seal was put in commission. The great office of Lord High Treasurer was not filled up, but Commissioners of the Treasury were appointed. In the same way the duties of Lord High Admiral were entrusted to a board. "Nothing gave a more general satisfaction than the naming of the judges. The king ordered every privy counsellor to bring a list of twelve; and out of these, twelve very learned and worthy judges were chosen." * Somers, to whose eloquence and sagacity the success of the Revolution was so much indebted, was named Solicitor-General.

King William opened the parliament on the 18th of February. He addressed the two Houses in a very brief speech, the chief point of which was a recommendation "to consider of the most effectual ways of preventing the inconveniences which may arise by delays." The possible delays to which the king alluded grew out of the agitation of the question, whether the Convention which had altered the succession could continue to sit as a Parliament. The Lords immediately passed a Bill, in which it was declared that the Convention which assembled on the 22nd of January are the two Houses of Parliament, "as if they had been summoned according to the usual form." But in the Commons the question was debated with great violence, upon what were maintained as constitutional principles. A powerful faction desired thus to postpone the formal adhesion of the Church and the laity to the new sovereign, and to delay the grant of supplies, at a time of impending danger on every side. The state of the parliamentary constituencies presented a wide field for intrigue and corruption. The bill, however, was passed; and it was accompanied with a clause that no person should sit and vote in either House of Parliament, after the 1st of March, without taking the prescribed oath to be faithful and bear true allegiance to King William and Queen Mary. The archbishop of Canterbury and seven other spiritual peers absented themselves, as well as various lay peers. In the Commons the absentees were not so proportionately numerous. An oath, in place of the old oath of allegiance and supremacy, was to be taken by all lay persons holding offices, and by all in possession of any benefice or other ecclesiastical preferment. Those Churchmen who did not take this oath on or before the 1st of August were to be suspended; and if at the end of six months they continued to refuse, were to be deprived. The outrages that James had attempted upon the national religion were by many forgotten. The

* Burnet.

dread of Popery was extinguished in the dread of Dissent. About four hundred ecclesiastics refused the oath, and, losing their benefices, were, during three reigns, a constant source of irritation and alarm, under the name of Nonjurors.

The king had proposed to his council that the hearth-money, or chimney-tax, should be abolished. To remit this especial tax upon the poor, was a duty to which William was called by the earnest solicitations of the crowds who followed his march from Torbay to London. But he frankly said to parliament, "as in this his majesty doth consider the ease of the subject, so he doth not doubt but you will be careful of the support of the Crown." Those Whigs who carried their confidence in the intentions of William to an extreme, were of opinion that the revenue which had been settled upon King James for life should revert to the sovereign who had taken his place. The Commons substituted less oppressive taxes. But they declined to grant the temporary revenue for the lives of the king and queen. The hereditary revenue they did not touch. Moreover they resolved that whatever sums they voted should be appropriated to particular services, according to estimates. The benefits of the jealousy of the Commons are felt by us to this day. We may doubt if the parliament were equally wise in halting far short of William's known wishes in the great questions of religious liberty, and religious union. The king desired such an alteration in the ritual and discipline of the Church, as would satisfy the scruples of Nonconformists who were honestly averse to separation. He advanced so far as to have what was called a Comprehension Bill introduced into the House of Lords, by a zealous Churchman, the earl of Nottingham. It passed the Peers in a mutilated shape; was coldly received by the Commons; and dropt through upon a reference to Convocation. A Commission was appointed to consider what changes were desirable in the services of the Church. A report was drawn up by the moderate Churchmen, and submitted to the Convocation. The Comprehension Bill, and the Reform of the Liturgy, went to the ground together. Another ruling desire of the king was that all Protestants should be eligible to employments. He proposed this in the hope that the two violent parties would agree to a compromise—that the Whigs would not press the oath of allegiance upon the Clergy; that the Tories would not press the Sacramental Test upon the Dissenters. He was deceived in his expectations. The Toleration Act—"An Act for exempting their majesties' Protestant subjects dissenting from the Church of England from the penalties of certain laws"—was agreed to, after long debate.

In the Declaration of Rights it was maintained, "That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of parliament, is against law." A rebellion amongst some troops, who were ordered to embark for the continent to assist the States-General in the war with France, gave a legislative shape to this doctrine, by embodying it in the First Mutiny Bill. This Act was limited to a duration of six months. It was necessarily renewed, again and again, during the reign of William. A standing army became an integral part of the government of this country, whether during peace or during war. But parliament always held its effectual control over the executive, so as

to prevent any abuse of military power, by never passing a Mutiny Bill for a longer term than a year. Under the two constitutional principles, therefore, of an appropriation of the supply, and the passing of an annual Mutiny Bill, the power of the Crown cannot be maintained without the co-ordinate power of parliament. The sovereign cannot raise an army, or pay an army, without the consent of parliament.

William had notified to parliament, that he had caused several persons to be apprehended, on credible information that they were conspiring against the government. The Lords, in an excess of loyal devotion, recommended the king to take extraordinary care of the public safety, by securing all disaffected persons. The Commons, much more wisely, passed a bill for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act till the 17th of April. This Act was twice renewed during the session. William desired that in a great degree there should be oblivion for past political offences. "The hottest of the Whigs," according to Burnet, would not forward this honest design of the king.

The terms of the coronation-oath were debated in the first parliament of William and Mary. It was moved that the king should swear to maintain "the Protestant religion, as it is, or shall be, established by law," instead of "the Protestant reformed religion established by law." Those who contended for the introduction of the words "shall be," were in a minority.

The coronation of King William and Queen Mary took place on the 11th of April, according to the ancient ceremonials. The archbishop of Canterbury was absent. The bishop of London supplied his place. The House of Commons, two days after the coronation, went up with a congratulatory address to the king and queen. Eleven days later, the House presented an address, declaring that they would support the Crown in a war against the French king. The spirit of the king leapt up at this hearty support of the Commons in the great contest for which he had been long preparing. He is reported to have exclaimed to one of his intimates—"This is the first day of my reign!"

On the 12th of March, James II. landed at the port of Kinsale. On the 22nd the House of Commons voted a supply for six months "towards the reducing of Ireland." The prince of Orange, under the advice of Irish noblemen and gentlemen, had during the interregnum opened a negotiation with Tyrconnel. Richard Hamilton had come from Ireland to fight for King James against the prince of Orange, but was chosen to return to Ireland to arrange with Tyrconnel to preserve Ireland for King William. Hamilton went to Tyrconnel and plotted with him how the Protestants could be best crushed, and James seated in Ireland as its Papist king. The schemes of Tyrconnel succeeded. He persuaded lord Mountjoy into a mission to James, who had him thrown into the Bastille. Tyrconnel then "caused all the Protestants in Dublin to surrender their arms; he began to augment the standing forces; and with as much prudence as dexterity soon put the kingdom in a tolerable state of defence." Under the rule of Tyrconnel, Ireland had become a kingdom in which the civil and military strength was almost wholly in the hands of Papists. The Protestant militia had been disarmed early in the reign of James II.

Before William and Mary had received the crown, the whole Catholic population around the Protestants was preparing for rapine and revenge. The sovereigns of the Revolution were, however, proclaimed by the staunch citizens of Londonderry and the small colony of Enniskillen; and they abided the issue without shrinking. Mountjoy had left a Protestant garrison for the protection of Londonderry, under one of his officers, lieutenant-colonel Lundy, who had sent his adhesion to England, and had received from William and Mary a formal appointment to his command. Tyrconnel had placed the treacherous Hamilton at the head of a body of troops to bring the Protestants of Ulster to submission. These troops desolated the country; and the wretched inhabitants fled before them to Enniskillen and to Londonderry.

The king of the Roman Catholics entered Dublin on the 24th of March. Devoted soldiers lined the streets; the houses were hung with tapestry; his horse trod upon flowers and green leaves. He was met at the castle gate by the procession of the host, and he fell on his knees in adoration. James determined to march himself into Ulster. After some vacillation he reached Londonderry. This city in 1689 was contained within the walls; and it rose by a gentle ascent from the base to the summit of a hill. The whole city was thus exposed to the fire of an enemy. There was no moat nor counterscarp. A ferry crossed the river Foyle from the east gate, and the north gate opened upon a quay. At the entrance of the Foyle was the strong fort of Culmore, with a smaller fort on the opposite bank. About two miles below the city were two forts—Charles Fort and Grange Fort. The trumpeter sent by the king with a summons to the obstinate city found the inhabitants "in very great disorder, having turned out their governor Lundy, upon suspicion." The cause of this unexpected reception was the presence of "one Walker, a minister." He was opposed to Lundy, who thought the place untenable, and counselled the townsmen to make conditions; "but the fierce minister of the Gospel being of the true Cromwellian or Cameronian stamp, inspired them with bolder resolutions."* The reverend George Walker and major Baker were appointed governors during the siege. They mustered seven thousand and twenty soldiers, dividing them into regiments under eight colonels. In the town there were about thirty thousand souls; but they were reduced to a less burdensome number, by ten thousand accepting an offer of the besieging commander to restore them to their dwellings. There were, according to Lundy's estimation, only provisions for ten days. The number of cannon possessed by the besieged was only twenty. On the 20th of April the city was invested, and the bombardment was begun. A strong force was planted so as to cut off the road from Culmore to the city, that fort then being in the hands of the Protestants. It was afterwards lost. On the 21st the garrison made a sortie, and routed this force with considerable slaughter. No impression was made during nine days upon the determination to hold out; and on the 29th King James retraced his steps to Dublin, in considerable ill humour. The siege went on for six weeks with little change. Hamilton was now the commander of James's forces.

* "Life of James II."

The garrison of Londonderry and the inhabitants were gradually perishing from fatigue and insufficient food. But they bravely repelled an assault, in which four hundred of the assailants fell. Large bodies of troops held the country on every side, keeping in awe the trembling and starving population, that could give no succour. No friendly ship could sail up the river without receiving the fire from hostile forts at its mouth and on its banks. Across the narrow part of the river, from Charles Fort to Grange Fort, the enemy stretched a great boom of fir-timber, joined by iron chains, and fastened on either shore by cables of a foot thick. On the 15th of June an English fleet of thirty sail was descried in the Lough. Signals were given and answered; but the ships lay at anchor for weeks. At the end of June, Baker, one of the heroic governors, died. Hamilton had been superseded in his command by Rosen, who issued a savage proclamation, declaring that unless the place were surrendered by the 1st of July, he would collect all the Protestants from the neighbouring districts, and drive them under the walls of the city to starve with those within the walls. A famished troop came thus beneath the walls of Londonderry, where they lay starving for three days. The besieged immediately threatened to hang all the prisoners within the city. This threat had its effect, and the famished crowd wended back their way to their solitary villages. It is but justice to James to say that he expressed his displeasure at this proceeding.

Meanwhile the siege went on. Batteries were brought closer and closer to the city; and the firing was continued by day and night. At last a communication was effected with the fleet in the Lough. Major-general Kirk, who had come to the assistance of the besieged with men, arms, and provisions, sent word that he found it impossible to get up the river; that he expected six thousand more men from England; and that then he would attack the besiegers by land. Famine was now doing its terrible work. On the evening of the 30th of July, Walker preached in the cathedral, exhorting his hearers still to persevere, for that God would at last deliver them from their difficulties. An hour after the sermon the lookers-out descried a movement in the Lough. Three vessels were sailing to the mouth of the Foyle. They were fired upon by the Culmore Fort and the New Fort. They returned the fire. They entered the river—heeding not the shots of the musketeers, nor the guns of the Charles Fort and Grange Fort. The three ships passed the boom safely, and the town was saved. The fire of the besiegers was the next day continued, but by sunrise on the 1st of August, Rosen, with his half-disciplined soldiers, and his Rapparees, had marched away on the road to Strabane. Eight thousand of the besiegers, and three thousand one hundred of the besieged, had perished in this memorable struggle.

On the 29th of July, the day before Londonderry was saved, two English colonels, Wolseley and Berry, who had been sent by Kirk with a supply of arms and ammunition, sailed up Lough Erne to the isle of Enniskillen with their welcome cargo, and landed amidst the shouts of the people. They then went forth with three thousand men to meet a force of five thousand who were advancing against Enniskillen under the command of Macarthy, viscount Mountcashel. On the 30th was fought

the decisive battle of Newton Butler. The Celtic army was routed amidst terrible butchery. As the besiegers of Londonderry halted on the 1st of August at Strabane, they heard the news of this defeat. They became wholly disorganised, abandoning their stores and their sick and wounded. James was already out of heart, and his intelligence from England assured him of a speedy invasion from thence.

In Scotland the attempt of King James to dispense with the Test Act had been as ill received as in England. But there was in Scotland that strong feeling of attachment to their own race of kings which would not very enthusiastically welcome their sudden and complete downfall. Conflicting interests and passions were certain to be brought into more immediate and direct hostility than in the English Revolution. In Scotland, the government was wholly in the hands of those who had been the ministers of the intolerant cruelty of the king, and were the bitter enemies of those who clung to the Covenant. The earl of Perth, the chancellor, had declared himself a Roman Catholic on the accession of James. When the prince of Orange had landed, and James had fled, the terrified chancellor attempted to fly also. At Kirkcaldy he fell into the hands of a furious mob, who believed that in a late riot at Edinburgh the rabble had been fired upon by his orders. The chancellor was rescued with difficulty, and was conveyed to Stirling Castle, where he was detained as a prisoner for four years. The Episcopal clergy met with similar manifestations of popular feeling. In such a temper of a long oppressed people, William had issued his letters, as in England, for the assembly of a Convention. The Act of 1681, which compelled every elector to renounce the Covenant, was superseded by William's authority; and Lords were summoned who had been deprived of their seats in the recent times of tyrannical rule. Edinburgh Castle was held for King James by the duke of Gordon. The Whigs of Edinburgh and of the West were secretly arming. Nobles of each party were in London. The most ardent supporters of the Stuart king were not driven from the new court. William was pressed to proscribe the Claverhouse who had borne so hateful a part in the days of persecution; but he refused to make any exception to the general amnesty, by which he hoped to make Scotland in some degree a land of peace.

Viscount Dundee arrived at Edinburgh at the end of February, in company with the earl of Balcarres. These noblemen were the confidential agents of James in Scotland; and from the day of their arrival the enemies of the Revolution had a rallying-point. On the 14th of March the Convention met. The bishop of Edinburgh prayed for the safety and restoration of King James, without opposition. The heir of the attainted Argyle took his seat, with only one protest. The conquerors and the conquered stood face to face. Dundee complained to the duke of Hamilton, the president, that information had come to his knowledge that he was to be assassinated. It was also alleged against Hamilton and other western lords and gentlemen that they had brought great numbers of men into town, whom they kept hid in cellars. There was a letter to be read from King William, and another from King James. The communication from William was a mild and sensible document, exhorting to the laying aside

of animosities and factions, and suggesting a Union of the two nations. The letter of James was counter-signed by the earl of Melfort, a man execrated by all parties. It breathed no spirit of peace. When the seal of that letter was broken, the cause of James was felt to be lost. It was determined by Balcarres, Dundee, and a few other Tories, to leave the Convention, and gather together at Stirling. Difficulties arose; and then Dundee, in his impatience, resolved to set out alone. "Then," says Balcarres, "he went strait away with about fifty horse," having previously engaged Gordon to "hold out the castle till the king's friends might get him released." The duke of Hamilton caused the doors of the Convention to be locked. The drums were beat in the streets. The western Whigs came forth from their hiding-places. The notion of a rival Convention at Stirling was at an end. Dundee retired to his country-house in Forfar.

The Convention now went fearlessly to work in the settlement of the kingdom. After long debates the House came to a resolution, which was embodied into an Act, by which it was declared that king James VII. "had forefaulted the crown, and the throne was become vacant." An Act was also passed for settling the crown of Scotland upon William and Mary. On the day that the king and queen were crowned in England, they were proclaimed king and queen in Scotland. Commissioners—the earl of Argyle, sir James Montgomery, and sir John Dalrymple—were appointed from the Convention to proceed to London, to invest their majesties with the government. Argyle tendered the Coronation Oath, which concluded with this clause, "that they would be careful to root out all heretics and enemies to the true worship of God." Upon this William declared that "he did not mean by these words, that he was under any obligation to be a persecutor." The Commissioners replied, that "neither the meaning of the oath, nor the law of Scotland did import it." "I take the oath in that sense," said William.

Some letters from Melfort to Balcarres and Dundee having fallen into the hands of the dominant party in the Convention, Balcarres was arrested. When the order was given to apprehend Dundee, he quitted his house with a few retainers; and was soon at the head of a body of Highlanders, who were in arms for a private quarrel at Inverness. The hostilities of clans was the great moving principle in every Highland adoption of a public quarrel. The name of the Graham was sufficient to arm all those who hated the Campbell. But the cause of king James had a hold upon their affections, beyond their desire to encounter the hostile chiefs who were the supporters of king William. They knew nothing of the political and religious grounds of difference. But "they firmly believe that the ancient kings of Scotland were descended from them, and wore the very same dress which they now wear; and therefore they were easily persuaded that king James was of their own blood, and, by a kind of divine right, entitled to the crown."* Dundee knew the qualities of the race that he was going to lead against the regular troops of the new government. Their peculiar character and organisation were favourable for a dashing enterprise. Dun-

* MS. History by Alexander Cunningham, translated from the Latin by Thomas Hollinbury.

dee first surprised the town of Perth, seizing the public treasure; dispersed two troops of horse; and then entered the Highlands, to wait the arrival of aid from Ireland. During the month of June active operations were suspended. But in the meantime Edinburgh Castle was surrendered by the duke of Gordon. General Mackay had taken the command of the army in Scotland. The marquis of Athol had decided to take part with the ruling powers, but his own castle of Blair had been held against him. Mackay marched to reduce this most important post. Dundee arrived there on the 27th of July, with three hundred Irish troops from Ulster, and about three thousand Highlanders. Mackay was advancing up the pass of Killiecrankie. In this narrow defile his passage might have been effectually resisted. Dundee chose to wait for his enemy till he had reached the open valley at the extremity of the pass. Then, unplaided and unsocked the Highlanders rushed upon the red soldier. They threw away their firelocks after a volley or two: raised their war-yell, amidst the shriek of the bagpipes; and darted upon Mackay's line. A few minutes of struggle, and then a headlong flight down the pass. The slaughter was terrible, as the Saxons fled through the gorge, with the Celts hewing and slaying amidst a feeble resistance. The Highlanders did not follow up their success, for they were busy with the booty of the field; and Dundee had fallen. In London, "when the account of Dundee's death was known, the whole city appeared full of joy; and the king's enemies, who had secretly furnished themselves with arms, now laid aside all thoughts of using them."*

During this first Session of the English Parliament the attainders of William lord Russell, of Algernon Sidney, of Alice Lisle, and of alderman Cornish, were reversed. The discussions upon the sentence of Titus Oates were revived by a writ of error in the House of Lords. A majority of peers affirmed the judgment; but in the Lower House a bill annulling the sentence was brought in. Finally the difference between the two Houses was compromised. Oates was released from confinement, having received a pardon; and the Commons moved an address to the Crown that he should be allowed a small pension for his support. Samuel Johnson received a thousand pounds and a pension.

King James opened a parliament in Dublin on the 7th of May. Of two hundred and fifty members of the Irish House of Commons, only six were Protestants. James said in opening the Session, that he had always been for liberty of conscience, and against invading the property of any man. The Parliament passed an Act of Toleration, consisting of unmeaning professions. The next day they passed an Act of Confiscation, which transferred all the lands held by Protestants under old Acts of Settlement to their ancient proprietors before the rebellion of 1641. Another Act transferred the tithe, for the most part from the Protestant to the Roman Catholic clergy, without compensation. An Act of Attainder was also passed, by which two thousand six hundred persons were declared traitors, and adjudged to suffer the pains of death and forfeiture. Another Act vested in the king all their goods and chattels, debts and arrears of rent.

* Cunningham.

The arms of all Protestants were seized, whatever their political opinions. The Protestant clergy, mostly preachers of divine right, were insulted and unprotected. The fellows and scholars of the university of Dublin were thrust out of their halls and chambers, and their property seized; the sole condition of their personal liberty being that no three of them should meet together, "on pain of death." The king issued a coinage of brass money which was to pass as sixpences, shillings, and half-crowns. The tradesmen of Dublin, if they refused this money, were threatened to be hanged by the Provost-Marshal.

When king William met his Parliament on the 19th of October he asked that there should be no delay in determining what should be the supply for the charges of the war, because there was to be a meeting at the Hague, of all the princes and States who were engaged against France, and his own resolutions would be determined by the means at his command. The Commons voted that they would stand by the king in the reduction of Ireland and in a vigorous prosecution of the war with France. The work for which this second Session of the Convention Parliament is to be chiefly remembered in after time, was the passing of the Bill of Rights. This celebrated measure was the reduction to a Statute of the Declaration of Rights. It was further enacted that the sovereign should in Parliament, and at the Coronation, adopt by repetition and subscription, the declaration against Transubstantiation, and also, that if the sovereign should marry a Papist, the subject should be absolved from allegiance. The dispensing power of the Crown was absolutely taken away. The Parliament in this Session left few other records of considerate legislation. They went wildly to work with impeachments.

Amongst the annoyances to which William and Mary were subjected by party intrigues there were none probably more personally distasteful than the misunderstandings which arose out of the position of the princess Anne. From the peculiarities of her character this princess was necessarily a fit subject for intriguing politicians to work upon; and Sarah Churchill, afterwards duchess of Marlborough, one of the most cunning and domineering of her sex, had over Anne the most unbounded influence. The attachment of Mrs. Morley (Anne) to her dear Mrs. Freeman (Sarah) was set forth in a sentimental correspondence between the princess and the lady of the bedchamber. But the politics of the palace, however troublesome, were mere passing annoyances compared with other causes of uneasiness to the king. The Whigs, to whom he in a great degree owed his crown, had manifested a violence towards their political opponents that rendered it impossible that he could wear that crown in tranquillity. They attempted to carry by surprise a measure which would have had the effect of removing Tory electors from the corporations, and substituting Whig electors. They were defeated; and the Tories, now triumphant, tried to carry the Bill of Indemnity for political offences, which had been laid aside in the last Session. So many exceptions to the measure of amnesty were introduced by the opposite faction, that it became a measure of proscription. William was worn out by these contests. Burnet says that he was once very near the desperate resolution of going over to Holland, and leaving the government in the queen's hands, "since he did not see how he could extricate himself

out of the difficulties into which the animosities of parties had brought him." After much debate he was persuaded "to change his first design, into another better resolution, of going over in person, to put an end to the war in Ireland." William went to Parliament on the 27th of January, determined to announce his resolve, and thus prevent any address that should interfere with his purpose. The Parliament was then prorogued: and, two days after, dissolved. With a Council in which there was far more hatred than concord; with a Parliament in which the evils of Party greatly outweighed its advantages; with a Church equally divided in opinion; with the dry rot of corruption in all the administrative departments of government,—we can scarcely be surprised that William panted for another field of action, in which his own energies could be fairly put forth. And so the sickly man resolved to take no heed of those who manifested a real or pretended concern for his health. He would see with his own eyes if affairs in Ireland were irretrievable. The army under marshal Schomberg had done nothing, and was perishing in its inaction. Mr. Waller had given an account at the bar of the House of Commons of the departmental neglect and peculation which had led to a terrible reduction of their forces. William set about to repair all that was amiss in the organization of the Irish army. A Commission was sent to Ireland to search into the abuses of the military departments.

"There was a great struggle all England over in elections," says Burnet; "but the Corporation Bill did so highly provoke all those whom it was to have disgraced, that the Tories were by far the greater number in the new parliament." At the opening of Parliament on the 20th of March, 1690, some changes had been made in the ministry, and in the lesser offices, "so that," says Burnet, "Whig and Tory were now pretty equally mixed; and both studied to court the king by making advances upon the money-bills." The king had a tolerably equal contempt for both factions. His favourite minister was the Whig, Shrewsbury. William manifested some favour to the Tories, and Shrewsbury resigned the seals as secretary of state. It has been proved, beyond doubt, that this friend of William resigned the seals by the command of king James, to whom he had tendered his services. However desirous Whig or Tory might be to gain favour with the sovereign, they agreed in refusing to grant the duties of customs to the Crown for life, as they had been granted to William's two predecessors. They thus prevented the possibility of the Crown becoming dangerous by being too independent. In this session an Act was passed with little effectual opposition, whereby the Lords and Commons recognise and acknowledge that William and Mary "were, are, and of right ought to be, by the laws of this realm, our sovereign liege lord and lady, king and queen." This Act also declares that all the Acts made in the Parliament assembled on the 13th of February, 1688, are laws and statutes of this kingdom. The Whigs had their triumph in so easily carrying this bill. They were justly defeated upon an attempt to impose a new test upon the people. A Bill was introduced in the House of Commons, requiring every person holding office to abjure king James. This bill was rejected by a small majority. The measure, with some modifications, was then tried anew in the House of Peers. It was well

known that William had no desire for such a measure as this oath; and thus, after many angry words and insinuations, the abjuration of king James was abandoned. King William strengthened his throne far more effectually by authorising Carmarthen to present to the Peers an act of grace for political offences. The exceptions to this act were the surviving regicides; thirty of the evil instruments of James; and "George, lord Jeffreys, deceased." The Bill passed through both Houses without debate. The king closed the Session on the 20th of May.

William left London for Ireland on the 4th of June. He had selected nine privy-councillors to advise the queen in the conduct of affairs, an Act having been passed to give her power to administer the government in his absence. William had done everything in his power to ensure success in his great enterprise. He had now in Ireland thirty-six thousand troops, well fed, properly clothed, and not wanting in the munitions of war. Of the condition and prospects of king James, a lamentable account is given by his official biographer. The duke of Berwick had been beaten at Belturbet; Charlemont had surrendered. The French king would only consent to send six thousand men into Ireland. The English were masters of Ulster. There was no corn nor meal to feed the army; no cloth, no leather; "and the brass money put an absolute stop to importation."

On the 14th, king William landed. His army was composed of English, Brandenburgers, Dutch, Danes, and French Huguenots. The spirit of the king triumphed over his feeble body. He was all animation. James appeared equally alert at the call of danger. He left Dublin on the 16th of June. William's army was at Loughbrickland on the 26th of June, consisting of thirty-six thousand men. The troops had manifested a very different conduct from those of James, who had ravaged the country in the preceding year. On the 27th the English army was at Dundalk, forming "a camp at least three miles in length, in two lines."* King James still retired as William advanced; but at length, on the 30th, as the English army approached Drogheda, the enemy was seen encamped on the opposite south bank of the Boyne. The army of James was in a strong defensive position. The stream which divided the counties of Louth and Meath was between him and his rival; and his camp on the Meath side was defended by intrenchments and batteries. The fortress of Drogheda, on the south side, was held by the Irish. William, surrounded by his generals, rode along the bank of the river on the morning of the 30th to inspect the position of the enemy. Two field pieces were fired from the opposite bank, and William was slightly wounded in the right shoulder. In the enemy's camp the tale passed from mouth to mouth that the prince of Orange was killed, and on the 2nd of August feux-de-joie were fired in Paris, to proclaim the great triumph. William was soon riding through every part of his army. He had resolved to pass the river the next morning.

The right wing of William's army was the earliest in its movements after day-break on that 1st of July. It was led by the son of marshal Schomberg, accompanied by the earl of Portland. This right wing marched

* Journal of Rowland Davies, chaplain in William's army.

towards the bridge of Slane, about five miles from the main camp. The passage was resisted by some squadrons of horse, but they soon gave way. The French general, Lauzun, rapidly moved his best troops to prevent the rear of James's army being attacked, and drew them up on the side of a hill in two lines. Portland recommended the horse and foot to be drawn up also in two lines, intermixing horse and foot, squadron with battalion. Reinforcements of foot having arrived, the two commanders marched the right wing round the bog, and engaged the enemy, "rather pursuing than fighting them, as far as Duleek."

King William led the left wing, and passed the Boyne about a mile above Drogheda. This division consisted wholly of cavalry. Marshal Schomberg, commanding the centre, composed almost entirely of infantry, crossed the river about half a mile higher up at the ford of Old Bridge. The English foot crossed up to their arm-pits. The Danes and French refugees also waded through the stream at other points. The south bank was bristling with Irish horse and foot. Some attempts at resistance was made by the Irish infantry while the greater part of the troops were still in the water; but at last the columns had crossed, and the Irish foot would not face these resolute soldiers of many nations. But the Irish cavalry, led by Hamilton, fought with desperate courage against the infantry that had gained the shore, or were still in the bed of the river. Caillemot, the commander of the Huguenots, was killed. The veteran Schomberg rushed through the river, and led the retreating Protestants, exclaiming, "Allons, messieurs! Voilà vos persécuteurs." Schomberg fell in the confusion. On the same ground fell the heroic defender of Londonderry, George Walker. At this critical juncture William arrived on the field. He had brought his left wing across the stream, with some difficulty. He drew his sword, and was soon in the heat of the fight. The Irish horse retreated towards Donore, about a mile from the pass. Here they turned upon their pursuers, and William's cavalry began to give way. Again and again "Little Will" rallied his troops, and brought them up to the charge. The fate of the day did not long remain in suspense. Hamilton, the traitorous messenger to Tyrconnel, was taken prisoner. William asked him if the Irish would fight any more. "Yes, sir, upon my honour, I believe they will." "Your honour!" exclaimed the injured prince; and then directed that his prisoner's wounds should be looked to. When James saw that the day was going against him, he mounted his horse and fled, the French covering his retreat. At nine o'clock that night he arrived in Dublin. The next morning he assembled the magistrates, and said, that he had been often told, that when it came to the touch, the Irish would not bear the brunt of a battle. He had now found the fatal truth of which he had been forewarned. Thenceforward he determined never to head an Irish army, and now resolved to shift for himself, as they themselves must do. He exhorted them to prevent the plunder or destruction of the city; and to submit to the prince of Orange, who was a merciful man. This speech was a complete exposure of the base character of the man for whom the better part of the Irish Catholics had been fighting, out of an honest conviction that they were in arms for the cause of their country and religion. The moral results of

James's cowardly ingratitude were far greater than the material results of the battle of the Boyne. It is remarkable that a victory so momentous in its consequences should have been attended with so small a sacrifice of life. The loss in James's army did not exceed fifteen hundred men, chiefly cavalry. On William's side the loss of men was not more than five hundred.

The departure of William for Ireland was the signal for an attack upon the English coasts, which was to be accompanied with an insurrection of the Jacobites. A fleet sailed from Brest, under the count de Tourville. The English fleet was in the Downs, under the command of the earl of Torrington, who sailed to the back of the Isle of Wight, where he was joined by a squadron of Dutch vessels under a skilful commander, Evertsen. Upon the approach of the French the English admiral quitted his position off St. Helen's, and sailed for the Straits of Dover. When the Council sent Torrington positive orders to fight, he put Evertsen in the van, and brought very few of his own squadron into action. The Dutch fought with indomitable courage and obstinacy, but were at length compelled to draw off. The British admiral left the Channel to a triumphant enemy. This humiliation roused the spirit of the people. The queen was universally beloved; and, although studiously avoiding, when the king was at hand, any interference in public affairs, she took at once a kingly part in this great crisis. She sent for the Lord Mayor of London; and inquired what the citizens would do, should the enemy effect a landing? The Lord Mayor returned to the queen with an offer of a hundred thousand pounds; of nine thousand men of the city trainbands, ready instantly to march wherever ordered; and a proposal for the Lieutenancy to provide and maintain six additional regiments of foot; and of the Mayor, Aldermen, and common council to raise a regiment of horse, and a thousand dragoons, by voluntary contributions. The same spirit was manifested throughout the land.

CHAPTER XXXV.

On the 3rd of July, King James quitted Dublin with all speed, about five in the morning, got to Duncannon about sunrise, and the next day was secure in a French frigate, which landed him safely at Brest. On the day of James's flight from Dublin the camp of William on the Boyne was broken up. On the 6th, being Sunday, he returned thanks to God, in the cathedral of St. Patrick, for the success of his arms. When the news of the disgrace of Beachy Head reached Ireland the king, contemplating a return to England, resolved to secure Waterford, as the most important harbour of the eastern coast. On the 11th of August the army was on its march, and on the 21st, Waterford was in possession of William's troops, the garrison having capitulated. The king then determined to

return to Dublin, with the view of embarking for England. On the road, however, more accurate intelligence reached him, and he determined to remain and invest Limerick, where all the forces scattered on the 1st of July had now gathered together. The shameful discomfiture of the allied fleet at Beachy Head had not been followed up by the French so as to produce any results that should give serious alarm to William. Tourville had lost faith in the assurances of the Stuart courtiers, that all England would be up to aid in his enterprise, for all England was shouting "God bless king William and queen Mary." The French admiral contented himself with burning and ravaging Teignmouth, which Burnet calls "a miserable village." After this feat, Tourville sailed away to France; and left behind him an amount of indignation that was worth more for defence than even the troops of horse raised by the citizens of London.

On the 8th of August king William viewed the position in which the strength of the Irish Catholics was now concentrated. The French general, Lauzun, had declared that the place could not resist the attack of the advancing army, and he and Tyrconnel had marched away to Galway. The Irish, however, had an intrepid counsellor in Sarsfield, their general, who put his own resolute spirit into the twenty thousand defenders of the city. The old town—known as the English town—was entirely surrounded by the main stream and a branch of the Shannon, and was connected with another town—known as the Irish town—by a single bridge. The English town was accessible only through the lower Irish town. The Shannon, in a season of wet, overflowed its flat margin. The eye of the tactician would quickly see the capacity for defence of this position, even though its walls were not of the most scientific construction. The river approach from the sea was commanded at this time by a French squadron.

On the 9th, the main body of William's army advanced, and took up a position partly on the space between the windings of the Shannon, and partly on the south bank, near the Irish town. For several days the siege was not actively prosecuted, for the battering train had not arrived. On the night of the 10th, Sarsfield, with about five hundred horse, passed out of Limerick, and came suddenly down upon the train of artillery and a supply of military stores and provisions, which had arrived within eight miles of the English position. He killed most of the escort, the rest flying for their lives; loaded the guns to the muzzles, and half buried them; heaped up the barrels of powder around the guns, with a pile of waggons and stores; fired a train; and was safe in Limerick before the dawn. The loss of the cannon and stores was partially repaired by the arrival of two guns from Waterford. But the success of Sarsfield's exploit gave new courage to those who resolved to defend their city against an army not greatly superior in numbers to themselves. The besiegers were proportionately depressed, for they knew that the materials for a bombardment were insufficient. On the night of the 17th the forces of William entered the trenches of the besieged; and the same desperate work went forward till the 27th, when a general assault was determined upon. The attack was unsuccessful. After four hours of desperate fighting, the besiegers retired, with fearful loss on both sides. At a council of war on the 29th, it was determined to raise the siege. There was a reason for this deter-

mination even more powerful than the gallant resistance of the Irish. Evelyn writes in his Diary, "The extremity of wet causes the siege of Limerick to be raised." On the 30th, king William was on his way to Waterford; and the next day the besiegers had quitted their trenches, and the camp was broken up. On the 22nd of September, an expedition, under the command of Marlborough, disembarked near Cork. These forces were soon joined by a portion of the army from Limerick, under the duke of Würtemberg. Cork capitulated, after a struggle of forty-eight hours. Marlborough then marched to Kinsale; and his cavalry arrived there in time to save the town from destruction, it having been fired by the Irish. The garrison, after a short resistance, also capitulated. Marlborough accomplished these successes with no great loss of men in action; but many perished from the diseases incident to the season and the climate.

The king opened Parliament on the 2nd of October. The Houses testified their belief that the support of the Confederacy abroad was a national object, by voting, in less than a fortnight, more than two millions and a half for maintaining an army of nearly seventy thousand men; and a further sum of eighteen hundred thousand pounds for the navy and ordnance. This supply was to be raised by a monthly assessment on land, by doubling the excise duties, and by increasing the customs duties on certain articles imported. The English people well knew that it was better that the nation should be heavily taxed for the purpose of a continental war, than that the country should have peace and dishonour under the tutelage of Louis of France. On the 5th of January, 1691, the king closed the Session of Parliament, and on the 18th he set out for the Congress at the Hague, where his reception was most enthusiastic.

The emperor of Germany, and Charles II. of Spain, were both represented at the Congress. These great Catholic sovereigns had not been hostile to the prince who had ejected the Papist king of England; for at the time when the Revolution of 1688 was maturing, pope Innocent the Eleventh was not indisposed to encourage any opposition to his oppressor, the French king. His successor, Alexander the Eighth, had the same disposition to make common cause with those who opposed Louis. The chief of the princes who joined the alliance with a zeal for the cause which William represented as the sovereign of Protestant England and the first magistrate of Protestant Holland, was Frederick the Third, elector of Brandenburg—subsequently king of Prussia. Of other German princes at the Congress, there were the elector of Bavaria, and the landgraves of Hesse Cassel and Hesse Darmstadt; there were princes of Luxemburg, of Holstein, of Würtemberg, of Anspach. Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, had already joined his fortunes to those of the Confederacy. At the period of the Congress he was defending his own dominions against the arms of France. The first military operations of this young prince were unfortunate, and many an anxious thought of William must have been turned to Piedmont. The dangerous position of the duke of Savoy enabled the English king to stipulate successfully that the Waldenses should be allowed to exercise their religion in peace.

Whilst the king of England was infusing his spirit into his allies, some eager and confident, others tardy and lukewarm, Louis suddenly appeared

in person at the head of a great army to besiege Mons, the strongly fortified capital of Hainault, and one of the chief barriers of the Netherlands against France. William, with his accustomed energy, at once broke up the Congress; got together an army of fifty thousand men; but arrived only in time to learn that the burning city had capitulated amidst the terrors of its population, after a bombardment which had destroyed one-half of its dwelling places. Louis went back to Versailles, and William ran over to England for a short visit of seventeen days.

The period had arrived when it was necessary to fill up the sees, vacant by the refusal to take the oaths, of the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops of Bath and Wells, Ely, Gloucester, Norwich, and Peterborough. Two other non-juring bishops, Worcester, and Chichester, had died in the interval since the Revolution. A discovery had been made of a correspondence of Turner, the bishop of Ely, with the court of St. Germains, in which his brethren were implicated. Endeavours had been made to conciliate the non-juring prelates, but all that they would engage to do was to live quietly. So Tillotson became archbishop of Canterbury, and Sharp archbishop of York. Patrick, Stillingfleet, Moore, Cumberland, Fowler, and Kidder, filled the other vacancies. "In two years' time the king had named fifteen bishops; and they were generally looked upon as the learnedest, the wisest, and best men that were in the church." *

On the night of the 31st of December, lord Preston, with two other agents of the Jacobites, had been seized on board a smack in the river, with letters addressed to James, containing propositions for his coming over with a small force during the absence of William. Preston and his humbler associate, Ashton, were tried for high treason in January, and were convicted upon very clear evidence. William had to occupy some portion of his short visit to England in learning the extent of the conspiracy of which Preston was the chief agent, and in determining as to the fate of some of those accused as conspirators. Preston was brought before him at the Council; and he then implicated the duke of Ormond, the earls of Devonshire, Dorset, Macclesfield, lord Brandon, lord Dartmouth and others. The accusation against these eminent persons was probably without foundation. Whether or not, William stopped the hearsay testimony of Preston. "Which method succeeded so well," says the biographer of king James, that those lords "proved in effect most bitter enemies to his Majesty's [king James's] cause ever afterwards."

Since the successes of Marlborough in the autumn of 1690, there had been no marked change in the positions of the two contending parties in Ireland. Marlborough was now chosen by William to accompany him in his continental campaign. He was entrusted to collect all the English troops, and to wait near Brussels till the king should arrive to take the command. William had much diplomatic work on his hands—to encourage the wavering, to assist the weak, and to bribe the hungry. In the interval between the king's arrival at the Hague and his taking the command of the army, Marlborough was sorely tempted to make good some of the

* Burnet.

professions which he had secretly conveyed to James. But the opportunity was probably wanting for a decisive act of treachery in this campaign, in which nothing great on either side was accomplished or even attempted.

In the spring of 1691 Tyrconnel arrived in Ireland to assume his position as the viceroy of James; and he was followed by a French general, Saint Ruth, as commander-in-chief of the Irish army. He took the command at Limerick, and made great exertions to bring the disorganized troops into a state of efficiency. On the English side, an experienced Dutch officer, Ginkell, was appointed to the command-in-chief. His first operation was to lay siege to Athlone. On the 30th of June the town was taken by a bold attack; and Saint Ruth, who was encamped near, marched away on the road to Galway. He took up a strong position at Aghrim, resolved to risk a general engagement. On the 12th of July, at five in the evening, the two armies joined battle. The Irish fought with the most desperate resolution. The English and Dutch attacked and fell back, again and again. But at the very crisis of the engagement, the French general was killed by a cannon-ball, and his death was concealed. The other general, Sarsfield, was inactive with the reserve, waiting for orders. The Irish were overpowered, and were soon disorganized. There were few prisoners; and four thousand Irish lay dead on the actual battle-field. It is supposed that seven thousand altogether fell in the horrible carnage which accompanied the total rout of Aghrim. Ginkell followed up his victory by obtaining the capitulation of Galway; its garrison, with the French general, D'Usson, being permitted to retire to Limerick. Here the English occupied the same ground as in the previous year, but it was not in the same wet condition; and the army was now well supplied with artillery and the munitions of war. Moreover, an English fleet now rode in the Shannon. Ginkell, by a bold manœuvre, crossed the Shannon on a bridge of boats, and scattered the Irish horse that were encamped near the city. He then succeeded in carrying a detached fort, which commanded the bridge called Thomond's; and a fearful slaughter of the garrison accompanied this success. The bombardment was terribly effective. The fall of the city was inevitable. Hostilities were suspended for some days during the progress of negotiations. On the 1st of October, two treaties were signed—one military, the other civil. The civil treaty, which was signed by the Lords Justices, who had repaired to the camp, was to the effect "that the Roman Catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion, as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the reign of king Charles the Second." An entire amnesty was promised to all who should take the oath of allegiance. Limerick bears the name of "the City of the Violated Treaty." Years of unjust and vindictive penal laws, which are now happily swept away, have manifested that this reproach is not unfounded.

In 1690, the Parliament of Scotland established the synodical authority; made the signature to the Confession of Faith the test of orthodoxy; and Patronage was abolished, under certain small compensations to the patrons. A knot of turbulent and discontented men, known as The Club, entered into schemes for reversing all that had been accomplished by the Revolu-

tion. Their leaders were frightened, and informed against each other. Finally the noble actors in the plot offered up the unhappy Jacobite scribbler, Nevil Payne, as a sacrifice; secured their own safety; and suffered the Lowlands to settle down into peace. After the victory of Killiecrankie, there was a new gathering of Highland clans. The command was taken by general Cannon, who had come over from Ireland with the three hundred troops sent by James to the aid of Dundee. The Cameronian regiment at Dunkeld was attacked by four or five thousand Highlanders. The place was obstinately defended, and after four hours' fighting, the clans drew off; the chiefs signed a pledge to support king James; and their followers dispersed. The victorious army of Dundee melted away like a snow-drift. During 1690 there were various outbreaks of detached clans. But Mackay collected an overpowering force at Inverlochy, hastily built Fort William, and fixed a garrison there under the command of colonel Hill.

King William, as early as March, 1690, manifested a wise disposition to tranquillize the Highlands by gentle measures. In the autumn of 1691, lord Breadalbane, having made his submission to the government, was authorized to treat with the heads of clans, and to expend twelve or fifteen thousand pounds in this work of pacification. It may well be doubted whether this Highland earl went about his trust in perfect good faith. Colonel Hill by no means approved of Breadalbane or his plan. In May, 1691, Hill had received an order from the Council, as he writes to the earl of Melville, "to fall upon those Highlanders within my reach that do not presently come in and take the oath of allegiance, and deliver up their arms." On the 15th he writes, "I have last night received an order to delay the severity prepared by the former order till I hear further." He then sent the clans the form of an oath, to which many chiefs subscribed. Breadalbane came into the Highlands, and made his overtures; but his plans did not produce the effect that was contemplated. In the distribution of his gratuities he brought his own interests and passions into play. The small clan, MacDonald of Glencoe, were bad neighbours to Breadalbane; and he took this occasion to require that the gratuity which he had to offer for their allegiance should be a set-off for certain claims of the Campbells for injuries committed by the MacDonalds. MacIan, their chief, was wholly impracticable upon such terms. Others followed his example; and many clans remained in a state of inert rebellion. In August, the government determined to bring the submission of the Highland chiefs to a decisive issue, by a proclamation offering indemnity to all who should take the oaths, on or before the last day of December, 1691, and threatening the extremities of military execution,—in the old form of threatening the vengeance of fire and sword,—against all who should not submit to the government, and swear to live in peace. By the 31st of December, all the clans had given their submission, with one exception—the MacDonalds of Glencoe. Dalrymple, the Secretary of State for Scotland, instructed the commander of the troops, if the obnoxious clans should not have submitted by the prescribed day, to destroy entirely the country of Lochaber, Lochiel's lands, Keppoch's, Glengarry's, and Glencoe's. "Your power shall be large enough. I hope the soldiers will not trouble

the government with prisoners." On the 31st of December, MacIan, the chief of the clan of the MacDonalds, presented himself at Fort William, and offered to take the oaths before colonel Hill. The commander of the garrison had no legal power to receive them, not being a magistrate. Hill gave him a letter to the sheriff of Argyleshire. It was six days before the old man reached Inverary. The sheriff administered the oath, and sent to the sheriff-clerk of Argyle, then at Edinburgh, a certificate to be laid before the Council of the circumstances which had led him to do what was a departure from the letter of the Proclamation, but which was within its spirit. The sheriff-clerk first tendered the certificate to the clerks of the Council, who refused to receive it. The certificate was finally suppressed, and the general body of the Council were kept in ignorance of it. Amongst those who advised that the certificate should not be sent in, was the Lord President, father of sir John Dalrymple. Dalrymple, the Secretary, was the medium for the transaction of Scottish affairs with the king. On the 11th of January, William signed instructions to sir Thomas Livingstone, to pursue with fire and sword those Highland rebels who had not taken the benefit of the indemnity; but to allow them to surrender on mercy. On the 16th of January the instructions of the 11th were repeated, with verbal alterations, and with this addition: "As for MacIan of Glencoe and that tribe, if they can be well distinguished from the rest of the Highlanders, it will be proper for the vindication of public justice to extirpate that sect of thieves." We may assume that William signed this order without knowing that MacIan had irregularly taken the oaths; and that the words, "to extirpate that sect of thieves," meant a complete suppression of a community not conforming to the laws of civilized society, but that they did not direct their indiscriminate slaughter. In transmitting from London the instructions signed by the king on the 11th of January, Dalrymple wrote to Livingstone—"Just now, my lord Argyle tells me, that Glencoe hath not taken the oath, at which I rejoice. It is a great work of charity to be exact in rooting out that damnable sept, the worst of the Highlanders." When he sent the instructions of the 16th, he wrote, "For a just example of vengeance, I entreat the thieving tribe of Glencoe may be rooted out to purpose." On the 30th he wrote again to Livingstone, to the same effect, and he wrote to Hill on the same day, "Pray, when the thing concerning Glencoe is resolved, let it be secret and sudden." Colonel Hill sent his orders to lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, to march with eight hundred men straight to Glencoe; "and there put in execution the orders you have received from the commander-in-chief." Hamilton addressed his orders to major Duncanson, his second in command, who despatched captain Robert Campbell of Glenlyon, to proceed to Glencoe, in advance of the other troops, with a detachment of a hundred and twenty men of Argyle's regiment. He arrived there on the 1st of February. The MacIans had no affection for the Campbells; but Glenlyon's niece was married to the second son of their chief; and when he and his lieutenant, Lindsay, said they came as friends, and asked for quarters, being sent to relieve the garrison of Fort William, who were overcrowded, they were received with cordiality. Here they lived for twelve days as Highlander with Highlander. On the 12th Campbell

received a letter from Major Duncanson, dated from Balacholis, in the immediate neighbourhood, directing him to put his orders in execution at five o'clock the next morning. Duncanson promised to join him, with a stronger party, at that hour, or soon after. Glenlyon did not tarry for his superior officer. He was strong enough to do his murderous bidding without his aid. At the appointed hour the massacre commenced. The clan did not contain so many as two hundred adult males. It is reckoned that the number of the slaughtered was thirty-eight. Happily, the order that the avenues should be secured was not effectually carried out. The reports of the murderous guns had alarmed the sleeping families, and three-fourths of the adults, with their wives and children, escaped by the passes before the troops of Hamilton had barred their way. But the unhappy fugitives who had escaped the slaughter had to endure all the extremities of hunger and cold in that inclement season. The number who perished in the snow; sank exhausted in the bogs; crept into caverns, and died for lack of food, was never ascertained. In a short time, some few stole back to their half-ruined cabins, and in after years the valley had again a population.

Burnet says, that the transaction at Glencoe "raised a mighty outcry, and was published by the French in their gazettes, and by the Jacobites in their libels." In 1693, William authorized an investigation of the matter by the duke of Hamilton and others. The duke died; and the inquiry was left to die with him. The king was now advised to take a more decided course. He issued a Commission of Precognition to the marquis of Tweeddale, and other privy councillors in Scotland. The Report of this Commission was read in the Scottish Parliament on the 24th of June, 1695. It was then voted, first: that the king's instructions contained no warrant for the execution of the Glencoe men. Secondly: that that execution was a murder. And thirdly: that an inquiry should be instituted as to the "committers of it, and what way and manner they should be prosecute." On the 10th of July, the Parliament agreed to an address to the king, begging him to give such orders concerning the Master of Stair [Dalrymple], "for vindication of your government as you in your royal wisdom shall think fit." William was also requested to send home the others implicated, "and to give orders to your Advocate to prosecute them according to law, there remaining nothing else to be done for the full vindication of your government of so foul and scandalous an aspersion as it has lain under upon this occasion." The Master of Stair was only dismissed from office by the king. The Parliament of Scotland did not accuse him as being participant in what they voted to be a murder. Most persons will nevertheless agree with the historian that "in return for many victims immolated by treachery, only one victim was demanded by justice; and it must ever be considered as a blemish on the fame of William that the demand was refused."* The Scottish Parliament imputed no guilt to Livingstone or Hill; they somewhat doubted about Hamilton and Duncanson; but they were clear that captain Campbell and captain Drummond, lieutenant Lindsay, ensign Lundy, and serjeant

* Macaulay.

Barbour, were the actors in the slaughter, and ought to be prosecuted. The king knew perfectly well that these men had as sound a legal defence before a civil tribunal, as any of the privates who discharged their muskets under the orders of serjeant Barbour. In the course of the Glencoe inquiries the Highland chief Glengarry, and others, deposed that in offering them money, Breadalbane alleged that he continued in the interest of king James, and pressed them to make a show of pacification, that they might be ready to serve him at some future time. Breadalbane was committed to the castle of Edinburgh, on a charge of high treason. He, however, contrived that the inquiry should stand over from time to time, till the Session of Parliament came to an end. Burnet says, "he pretended he had secret orders from the king, to say anything that would give him credit with them; which the king owned so far, that he ordered a new pardon to be passed for him."

On the 10th of January, 1692, Marlborough was dismissed from all his offices. The Lieutenant-General of William, who also held the domestic office of his Gentleman of the Bedchamber, had concerted with the Jacobites to effect the recall of James by the subtlest of plots. He was to produce a rupture between the king and the parliament. Then, says a letter of James, "my lord Churchill would declare with the army for the parliament; and, the fleet doing the same, they would have recalled me." The queen, three weeks after the dismissal of the earl, wrote to her sister that "it is very unfit lady Marlborough should stay with you, since that gives her husband so just a pretence of being where he ought not." Anne refused to be separated from her beloved Mrs. Freeman; and Mrs. Freeman being commanded to leave the palace, Mrs. Morley left with her. Anne chose her abode at Sion House.

The Parliament was adjourned on the 20th of February, having met on the 2nd of the previous October. It was a session of great debate; but more remarkable for the discussion of important measures, than for their final enactment. The king set out for Holland on the 5th of March. At the beginning of the session he had told the Parliament that an army of sixty-five thousand men would be required, and the Houses voted that number. The distribution of the land force gave about eleven thousand men for England, thirteen thousand for Ireland, two thousand for Scotland, and thirty-eight thousand to serve beyond sea. The navy had been brought into a greater state of efficiency than at any previous period since the Revolution.

James had at last induced the king of France to hazard the chance of a landing in England. Louvois, the minister who had constantly opposed that dangerous project, was dead. James announced that the Most Christian King had now "lent us so many troops as may be abundantly sufficient to untie the hands of our subjects, and make it safe for them to return to their duty and repair to our standard." James's Declaration, which breathed out vengeance against nobles and prelates who were proscribed by name, and threatened whole classes with punishment as guilty rebels, was not suppressed by the queen and her Council, but reprinted, and widely circulated with appropriate comment. This insane document had the effect of disgusting into something like a sense of honour and duty

those English officers who had been tampered with by James—amongst whom was admiral Russell.

James joined his camp at La Hogue on the 24th of April. On the 15th of May, the English fleet was at St. Helen's. It had been joined by the Dutch fleet, the whole force amounting to ninety sail of the line. Russell was in command on board the Britannia. A despatch arrived from Nottingham, the Secretary of State, which Russell was commanded to read to the commanders of the fleet. Nottingham alluded, in the queen's name, to a report that some of the officers of the fleet were not hearty in their service. Her majesty, however, expressed her entire confidence in their fidelity and zeal, and her resolution not to displace any one. Then, with one accord, an address full of devotion to the queen was signed—Russell probably not signing, as being too exalted for suspicion to attach to him. There was no time for the enthusiasm of that hour to cool. On the afternoon of that day the French fleet, under Tourville, was seen from the coast of Dorsetshire. On the 17th, the English and Dutch fleets were at sea off La Hogue, the French transports were receiving troops. Tourville was to convoy this fleet of the invaders. He had with him only his own squadron. On the morning of the 19th, the two fleets came in sight of each other. Tourville immediately bore down upon an armament more than double his number. The wind was favourable to him, and only half of the ships of the allies could come into action. The defection upon which he relied was nowhere to be seen. The battle lasted five hours, when the wind changed, and the whole force of the allies was brought together. The victory was complete, the French flying in every direction to their own shores. Tourville's ship, the Royal Sun, the finest vessel of that day, got to Cherbourg, with two other three-deckers. Admiral Delaval attacked them with his fire-ships and his boats' crews, and the pride of the French navy and the two other vessels were burned to the water's edge. Tourville, during the chase, had shifted his flag to the Ambitious, and with twelve other large ships had got into the bay of La Hogue. On the 23rd of May, admiral Rooke led a flotilla of two hundred boats and numerous fire-ships into the bay. The boats' crews of Tourville fled in confusion. The crews of the French ships abandoning them, the English sailors boarded, and set them on fire. At eight the next morning again came Rooke into the bay with his terrible flotilla. The remaining vessels were in like manner burned, after their guns had been turned against the French batteries. James was looking on from the shore. In commemoration of the victory of La Hogue, the royal palace of Greenwich was converted into an asylum for disabled mariners.

When the news of La Hogue reached the great supporter of James, the French army was besieging Namur. The army of the allies, under the command of William, was encamped in the neighbourhood. The French general, Luxemburg, with an overwhelming force, prevented any near advance for the relief of the besieged. Louis himself conducted the siege, which, according to Saint-Simon, would never have been successful without his presence. The besiegers were in extremity for want of provisions. The Sambre had overflowed its banks; and this difficulty was added to those created by Cohorn, the engineer of the States-General, who was in

the citadel. Unfortunately Cohorn was wounded. The governor of Namur and the garrison lost heart, and the town was first surrendered, and afterwards the citadel. During the siege of Namur the army of William had often a distinct view of the operations of the French army, but the low grounds on each side of the river were so flooded by incessant rains, that it was impracticable to cross, so as to attack the enemy on the opposite side. After the fall of Namur, Louis returned to Paris. William remained to watch Luxemburg, and to fight if opportunity offered. Three prisoners —Grandval, Dumont, and Leefdale—were brought to the allied camp at Genappe, accused of a design to assassinate William. A court-martial of general officers commenced sitting on the 23rd of July, but the proceedings were put a stop to by the sudden determination of William to attack Luxemburg. The French army was encamped between Enghien and Steinkirk, a few miles to the north-west of Hal. The head-quarters of William's army were at Lambecque. Luxemburg had a spy in the allied camp. The correspondence was accidentally discovered, and William forced the traitor to write a letter of false intelligence to the French commander. Under cover of this, the whole force of the allies marched towards Steinkirk at dawn on the morning of the 3rd of August. Luxemburg was incredulous of the news which his scouts brought him, for he relied upon the informant in whom he thoroughly trusted. When he at last roused himself, the nature of the ground was in his favour. The march had been tedious, for there were defiles to pass, and the country was enclosed. The duke of Würtemberg led the vanguard, and drove the advanced brigade of the French from hedge to hedge. But Luxemburg, with the rapidity of genius, had soon the main body of his army in order of battle. The allied cavalry could not act, on account of the nature of the ground, and the main body of the infantry was still at some distance. Five English regiments were cut to pieces. Mackay, their brave leader, fell in the desperate conflict. The English life-guards were only saved by Auverquerque's timely relief. William made every effort to bring up his men, but Luxemburg was now reinforced by Boufflers, who heard the firing, and advanced from his neighbouring quarters. On each side there were about seven thousand killed and wounded. The allies marched from the field of battle in good order. Three months after, the disaster of Steinkirk was commented upon very severely in the House of Commons. The anger of the House centred upon count Solmes, who was chief in command of the English, and who looked on whilst they were slaughtered.

The court-martial on Grandval was re-opened in a week after the battle. The duty of the court was not very embarrassing, for the prisoner had made a circumstantial confession. He declared that the late French minister, Louvois, had in 1691 entered into an agreement with Dumont to murder William; that upon the death of Louvois the design dropped; but that Barbesieux, the son of Louvois, who succeeded him as Secretary of State to the French king, had revived the project, and had arranged with him, Dumont, and Leefdale to shoot William, when he exposed himself during the campaign. The most material averment of the prisoner was, that he had seen James at St. Germains, his queen being present,

and that James said, "Parker has given me an account of the business; if you and the other officers do me this service, you shall never want." Grandval was executed in the camp at Hal, according to his sentence. The king returned to England on the 18th of October. The outward signs of a cordial welcome awaited him. But there were many symptoms of political and social distempers, which made sober men uneasy. William opened the Parliament on the 4th of November. In this Session an Act was passed, which was the commencement of the National Debt of England. A million of money, to supply a portion of the expenses of the war, was to be voluntarily advanced on the credit of the special provision of the new duties of excise, which were to be set apart as they were paid into the Exchequer. The ten hundred thousand pounds were speedily subscribed; for the industry of the people had created capital which was seeking employment, although they had been far more heavily taxed during four years than at any previous period. In this Statute the government did not contemplate a permanent loan. In the next year, when the Bank of England was established upon the condition of lending a sum of money to the government, of which the principal could not be demanded by the lenders, though the borrowers had the privilege of paying it off, a permanent debt was begun to be contracted. The country was steadily growing more prosperous, as the National Debt went on increasing. There can be no doubt that the means first created by the Act of 1693 for the investment of superfluous capital, have largely contributed to the progressive development of the national resources.

The licenser of the Stuarts, sir Roger Lestrange, was ejected from his office at the Revolution. The last of his successors, Edmund Bohun, was dismissed for having licensed a pamphlet which rested the rights of William and Mary upon a principle that would confer upon them absolute power. With the removal of this licenser, the system of licensing came to an end. The Act for regulating printing expired.

There were two attempts made in this Session to produce what may be called a Reform in Parliament. It was unwisely proposed to exclude all persons who should in future hold office under the Crown. The Lords rejected this measure by a very small majority. A Bill providing that the existing Parliament should end on the 1st of January, 1694, and that no Parliament should in future sit more than three years, was introduced to the House of Lords, by Shrewsbury, who represented the Whigs. It passed both Houses. On the last day of the Session, the king put his veto on the measure. The Bill for triennial parliaments was passed in the next year, without opposition from the Crown.

Slightly connected with the political transactions of the beginning of 1693 was a tragical event that occasioned great public scandal. This was the murder of an actor, William Mountfort, by lord Mohun, a dissolute young nobleman, not eighteen years old. The Grand Jury found a true bill against Mohun, and his accomplice Hill, for the murder. Hill escaped. The judges had declared Mohun guilty, but the peers acquitted him by a majority of fifty-five. The people cried out that when blood was shed by the great there was no justice for the poor.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

In March William left London for the Hague. At the beginning of June king Louis was with the army of Boufflers, who had taken up a position at Gembloux. Another army, commanded by Luxemburg, was only half a league distant from that of Boufflers. William entrenched himself near Louvain so as to prevent an advance of the French upon Liège or upon Brussels. To the astonishment of the French armies the king announced his determination, on the 8th of June, to return to Versailles, and to send part of the great force into Germany under Boufflers. Luxemburg was thus left in the sole command of the French army, which was still superior to that of William. This ablest of the generals of Louis by a skilful manœuvre contrived to make William separate his forces, and then suddenly advanced upon him with a greatly superior army. William would not retreat. All that could be done was to strengthen his position. In one night of incessant labour entrenchments were thrown up; redoubts were constructed; the hedges and mud walls of the two villages which the Allies occupied were converted into barricades. On the morning of the 29th of July, the sun had scarcely risen when the batteries of the allied army opened upon the enemy. The French artillery could not be brought up till an hour afterwards. The Allies occupied the heights, and the two villages of Neerwinden and of Bas-Landen, one on the right and the other on the left. A long entrenchment, on the high ground, connected one village with the other. The great struggle was for the possession of these villages, especially of Neerwinden. The French infantry attacked with the impetuosity of their nation, and they were repulsed by the English characteristic obstinacy. During four hours this struggle was carried on. Twice had the French infantry been repulsed, and thrice the French cavalry. A third time it was resolved to attack Neerwinden, but with such an overwhelming force as should carry the victory, if victory were to be won. The household troops of Louis, headed by the prince of Conti, attacked with irresistible fury. The allies began to retreat as the French gained possession of Neerwinden. Suddenly William appeared at the head of his guards, and the famous household troops of France gave way before him. But all was in vain. The entrenchments of the main line could not be adequately defended, whilst the brunt of the conflict had to be borne in the two villages on the extreme right and left. The line was broken; a retreat was necessary; but it was not a disorderly retreat. William fought to the last. The exhausted victors remained upon the ground they had won. There had been twelve hours of fighting. Twenty thousand of both armies fell in that terrible battle-field, which the French call Neerwinden and the English call Landen. The victory of Luxemburg had no direct results. The retreat of William involved no greater disaster. In three weeks he had gathered all his forces around him at Brussels. The only successful result of the campaign in which Louis took the field with a hundred and forty thousand

men, to sweep the allies from the Netherlands, was the taking of Charleroy, to which siege William offered no opposition. The operation of the Allies were unsuccessful in every quarter. The French army which had been detached from Gembloux crossed the Rhine, and enabled another French force to take Heidelberg, and repeat the ravages which had previously disgraced their arms in the Palatinate. Catalonia was invaded, and the fortress of Rosas was taken by the French. The duke of Savoy sustained a memorable defeat at Marsiglia. Worst of all, through the mismanagement of naval affairs, the rich Smyrna fleet of English and Dutch merchantmen, which was to be convoyed by English and Dutch men-of-war, was intercepted by Tourville, and captured, destroyed, or scattered. The loss to the mercantile interest of England and Holland was enormous. It was a time of great excitement. Pamphlets inculcating a general insurrection against the government were scattered abroad from secret presses. A man accused of printing these tracts was indicted for high treason, was convicted, and was executed.

The Parliament was to meet on the 7th of November. A great change in the administrative system of England was about to take place. The heads of departments were in future to be united by some common consent upon political principles. William was about to change some of his ministers; at the same time to select new advisers from those who would submit their own wills to a general agreement. The king determined to rely more than he had done upon the party which had mainly accomplished the Revolution. He did not desire to compose his administration exclusively of Whigs, but that there should be such a preponderance of those who held Whig principles, that the Tory party, so closely bordering upon the Jacobite party, should be neutralised in what we may now call a Cabinet. The functions of the Privy Council had become merged in the Cabinet Council. The earl of Sunderland had become a confidential adviser of king William. He had been excluded from the Act of Grace as one of the chief instruments of James. But he had contrived to make himself a necessity for the new government. His long experience made him master of all the complications of political action, and it was at his instance that the king resolved to rely more exclusively upon the Whigs. In the previous Session Somers had been made keeper of the Great Seal. He was the leader of his party, as much by his moderation as by his eloquence and learning. Russell had been removed from the command of the fleet in consequence of fierce differences between him and Nottingham, the Secretary of State. He was now restored, Nottingham having relinquished his office, which was again offered to Shrewsbury, in spite of his former betrayal of his trust. For several months Shrewsbury refused the seals. When he at last yielded, a dukedom was the reward of his compliance. Thomas Wharton and Charles Montague were also in William's new ministry. Montague's parliamentary eloquence was almost unrivalled, but his financial abilities were even more necessary to a government conducting a most expensive war. The king and his new ministers did not shrink from demanding from the Parliament a larger supply than ever, but how to raise the large sums necessary to maintain the land and sea forces was a matter of anxious discussion. A land-tax, a poll-tax, stamp

duties, a tax on hackney-coaches, and a lottery, were the expedients. But money was still wanting. The necessity gave birth to the Bank of England. The subscribers for the advance of a loan of twelve hundred thousand pounds were to be constituted a corporate body "by the name of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England." The subscription list was filled in ten days. William Paterson, a Scotchman, had in 1691 submitted proposals to the government somewhat similar to the plan which was afterwards carried out. His scheme had then been met by every sort of objection. But now the trading community had been sufficiently prepared for a right appreciation of the project by the energy of Montague.

The king prorogued the Parliament on the 25th of April, and again set out for the Continent at the beginning of May. The campaign was in no degree remarkable for its gains or its losses. The naval plan of warfare had been vigorously conceived in the cabinet of William, but it was defeated by treachery. A great French fleet under Tourville had sailed from Brest to the Mediterranean. A portion of the allied fleet of English and Dutch under Russell was to look after Tourville, and another portion under Berkeley was to form a secret expedition to Brest, which it was supposed was left without adequate defence. Troops commanded by Talmash were taken on board Berkeley's squadron. Eight English vessels entered Camaret bay; and were received with the fire of many batteries. Talmash attempted to land his soldiers from boats; when strong bodies of cavalry and infantry appeared on the beach, and drove them back in confusion. The cannon of the fortifications that had been constructed by Vauban in a few weeks, swept away more than a thousand brave English. Talmash himself was mortally wounded. The discomfiture was caused by the purpose of the expedition having been betrayed to James by Godolphin, and also by a letter from Marlborough.

William returned from the Continent on the 9th of November, and opened Parliament on the 12th. The Commons adjourned for a week. When they met for business, they applied themselves in earnest to vote the Supplies, and to discuss the famous Triennial Bill, which was now passed by both Houses, without much opposition, and approved by the king.

"The small-pox raged this winter about London," writes Burnet. The small-pox was considered as terrible a visitation as the plague. When, therefore, queen Mary was attacked by this fatal disease, the king was in despair. Mary's fortitude and resignation were above all praise. "She thanked God she had always carried this in her mind, that nothing was to be left to the last hour." Queen Mary died on the 20th of December, in the thirty-third year of her age. All parties agreed in acknowledging the beauties of her character. Her tastes were simple and unostentatious; her morals of unblemished purity; her charity was universal. Her deep attachment to her husband was founded upon her admiration of his high qualities. William's grief for her loss "was greater," says Burnet, "than those who knew him best thought his temper was capable of; he went beyond all bounds in it." The paltriness of James's character was manifested upon his daughter's decease by a request that the French court should not wear mourning.

The Houses of Parliament went on as usual with their labours. The proposed renewal of the Licensing Act was rejected without a division in the Commons, although the press had been more than commonly bold, even seditious. The proceedings of this Session disclosed a frightful amount of corruption. Guy, a member of Parliament and Secretary of the Treasury, was sent to the Tower for receiving a bribe, in connection with some inquiries into the conduct of a colonel of a regiment, who had appropriated the money for which he ought to have paid the quarters of his troops. Trevor, the Speaker of the House of Commons, was proved to have received a bribe of a thousand guineas from the Corporation of London, for assisting in passing an Act in their favour. He was expelled the House. The East India Company had spent a hundred and seven thousand pounds in secret service money, as an examination of their books had proved to a parliamentary committee. Sir Thomas Cook, the chairman of the Company, was member for Colchester. In his place in Parliament he refused to answer inquiries. The Commons then passed a bill compelling him to answer, under enormous penalties. Upon the bill going to the Upper House, the duke of Leeds spoke strongly against it, and laying his hand on his breast, protested that he was perfectly disinterested in the matter. The inquiries went on, implicating others; and the duke himself was finally impeached for having received a bribe of five thousand five hundred guineas from the Company, to procure their charter of confirmation. He appeared at the bar of the House, and to a certain extent acknowledged his delinquency; but the Parliament was prorogued; and the impeachment fell to the ground. The king's personal friend, Portland, was found to have been proof against these temptations, having refused a bribe of fifty thousand pounds.

After the death of the queen, the king had expressed his belief that he was no longer fit for military command. But he had gradually recovered his serenity, and was no doubt glad to get away from the tainted atmosphere of parliamentary corruption to the bracing air of a campaign. He was first reconciled to the princess Anne, and then departed for the Continent. The energy and perseverance of William were at length to be crowned with success. The general before whom he retreated at Landen was no more, and a greater advantage than the death of Luxemburg was the appointment as his successor of an accomplished courtier, but a feeble general, Villeroy. The opening of the campaign, says St. Simon, was a beautiful game of chess; the prince of Orange, the elector of Bavaria, and the earl of Athlone moving in detached bodies; and Villeroy, Boufflers, Harcourt, and Montal regulating their own movements by those of their enemy which they saw, or by those which they expected. William, "who had well taken all his measures to cover his main design," suddenly turned his course towards Namur. The elector of Bavaria, and the Brandenburg army, arrived at the same point. That strongest fort of Europe was invested by this united force at the beginning of July. Vauban had materially strengthened the fortifications since it had been taken by the French. There were fifteen thousand men within the walls, under the command of Boufflers. Villeroy expected to destroy that part of the army under Vaudemont which remained in Flanders, and then to

relieve Namur. Vaudemont, by consummate prudence, effected a retreat to Ghent. Villeroy took two small fortresses, Dixmuyde and Deynse, sending their garrisons into France in violation of a convention for exchange of prisoners. He bombarded Brussels, effecting a tremendous destruction of private property, and then marched with eighty thousand men to attack the besieging army at Namur. Vaudemont had joined his force to that already on the banks of the Meuse and Sambre. Meanwhile the siege had proceeded with a vigour almost unparalleled. Portland writes: "The English have greatly signalised themselves in this siege, by their share in the vigorous actions which have occurred, in which they have been *too much* animated by the presence of the king himself. . . . The fatigue he has suffered is incredible, as well as the care and trouble he has undergone, and is able to support." The engineer Cohorn was occupied in devising the most scientific means of attack upon the works which he had constructed. The two armies, that of William and of Villeroy, stood for three days in presence of each other, whilst the siege was proceeding under an incessant bombardment. On the 19th of August the French army retired. Portland then summoned Boufflers to surrender, but the French general still held out, and the storm of the citadel commenced. The assault was undertaken by the Bavarians, the Dutch, the Brandenburgers, and the English. The Dutch and the Brandenburgers accomplished their duty with little difficulty. The Bavarians and the English suffered severe loss. Two thousand men were sacrificed in this terrible assault. Boufflers demanded a truce to bury the dead. He also intimated a desire to capitulate, but asked for a delay of ten days, when he would yield if not relieved. The request was refused; another storm was threatened; but on the twentieth he agreed to surrender with the honours of war. On the twenty-sixth of August, the French garrison, now reduced to five thousand men, marched out. But the brave marshal was detained a prisoner, till the garrisons of Dixmuyde and Deynse should be restored. Louis sent full powers to Boufflers to comply; and he was released after ten days' detention.

The return of William to England was hailed with popular enthusiasm. In a week he set forth upon a tour to incline those who had to choose representatives to send men well affected to the principles of liberty which had placed him upon the throne. A Proclamation had been issued for a new Parliament. The elections generally were favourable to the government.

The years from 1692 to 1699 are known as "the seven barren years." In Scotland there was a dearth approaching to famine. Legislation might have had something to do with the high prices. The necessity for feeding the armies abroad must have had a material influence on the market. But looking at the depreciated state of the coinage in 1696, it is difficult to say how far the high price of grain was the natural result of these causes. The defective state of the coinage was now to be effectually redressed. The evil had become insupportable. The old money, of the various coinages of Elizabeth, of James I., and of Charles I., had been gradually clipped, so that at last the current silver coin had been diminished in weight nearly one-half. Of this clipped money four millions were considered to be in circulation; whilst one million six hundred thousand pounds of unclipped

coin were hoarded, or only appeared occasionally in remote places. As fast as new silver coins were issued from the Mint they disappeared. A writer of the period says, "Guineas on a sudden rose to thirty shillings per piece; all currency of other money was stopped; hardly any had wherewith to pay; public securities sank to about a moiety of their original value, and buyers hard to be found even at these prices; no man knew what he was worth; the course of trade and correspondency almost universally stopped; the poorer sort of people plunged into inexpressible distress, and, as it were, left perishing, whilst even the richer had hardly wherewith to go to market for obtaining the common conveniences of life." *

At the opening of the new Parliament on the 22nd of November the king referred to "the ill state of the coin; the redress of which may perhaps prove a further charge to the nation." When the House of Commons came to debate this important question, the resolutions proposed by Montague, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, were finally agreed to. A new coinage of intrinsic value was to be issued; the loss of the clipped money was to be borne by the public, for which a special fund was to be provided by a house-tax and a window-tax. Up to the 4th of May the clipped money would be received in payment of taxes. The old money had then mostly disappeared. Newton was appointed Master of the Mint, and by vast exertions, connected with the establishment of provincial mints, gradually sent forth a supply of circulating medium equal to the demand. In the interval the difficulty was in some measure relieved by the issue of exchequer-bills.

In this Session the Bill "for regulating trials in cases of Treason and Misprision of Treason" became law. One of the most important of the clauses of this Statute was that prisoners should be admitted to make their defence by counsel. Very soon after the meeting of Parliament the Commons came to a resolution to mark their dislike of a token of laviah favour which William had shown to the earl of Portland, in conferring on him a part of the hereditary domain of the Crown. The king answered the Commons who went up with an Address on the subject, "Gentlemen, I have a kindness for my lord Portland, which he has deserved of me by loving and faithful services; but I should not have given him these lands, if I had imagined the House of Commons could have been concerned. I will therefore recall the grant, and find some other way of showing my favour to him."

On the 24th of February, the king went to the House of Peers, and told the assembled Lords and Commons, that he had received information of a design to assassinate him, in connection with a sudden invasion of the kingdom. He had given orders, he said, regarding the fleet; he had sent for troops home; some of the conspirators were already in custody, and measures were taken for the apprehension of the rest. The Houses immediately determined upon a joint Address to the king; carried a Bill for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act; and passed another Bill that the Parliament should not be dissolved by the death of William. It was then resolved in the Commons that the members should enter into an Associa-

* See Banister's "Life of Paterson," p. 105.

tion, testifying and declaring "that his present majesty king William is rightful and lawful king of these realms," and pledging themselves to support and defend his "person and government against the late king James and all his adherents." And in case of William's death to support and defend the succession of the Crown, according to the Act of Succession made in the first year of William and Mary. A similar Association was formed by the Peers. Some members of each House hesitated to sign; but they formed a small minority; and the nation generally entered with unwonted cordiality into a similar engagement. The project of the invasion of the kingdom and the concurrent assassination of the king, which thus roused the nation to rally round the throne, was a plot of no ordinary magnitude. James, in his auto-biographical Memoirs, tells us that, having been informed at the beginning of 1696 that the affairs of the prince of Orange did not wear so favourable an aspect as formerly, his own friends proposed that he should land in England with ten or twelve thousand men, when they were sure "the greatest part of the nation would rise and restore him." James communicated this "to His Most Christian Majesty," who promised the troops, but thought it would be best that these ardent Jacobites "should rise first." The duke of Berwick, the illegitimate son of James, was sent over to head them, and several "gentlemen of the guard," and others, went to England "upon their private concerns," with "directions to join themselves with any that should rise and declare themselves for the king." On the 27th of December sir George Barclay, a Scot who had served under Dundee, received a commission from James, authorising and expressly commanding "our loving subjects to rise in arms and make war upon the prince of Orange, the usurper of our throne, and all his adherents," and indemnifying them "for what they shall act in pursuance of this our Royal command." In Romney Marsh lived one Robert Hunt, who had for some years "been employed by the party in all their correspondence with France." He deposed that Barclay and major Holmes came over together some time in January, and about the same time sixteen or eighteen persons came over. At the beginning of February, "a tall young gentleman" [the duke of Berwick] came over alone. Then came two men in company, Harris and Hare. Harris deposed that king James had sent them to England, and told them to follow Barclay's orders. These orders were to keep close till there was an occasion for their service, and they were put on a sort of establishment at five shillings a day. Barclay became acquainted, soon after his arrival, with Mr. Charnock, who told him that he and others had a design to form a party to fall upon the prince of Orange, but that his majesty would never permit them to put it in execution. James, in his own Memoirs, tells of three proposals of a similar nature, which he rejected, "looking upon the project as impracticable." When Charnock and another, Parkyns, opened their design to Barclay, he "immediately asked them if it was possible to find so many good men as would be requisite, and would undertake a brave action without asking of questions." They were certain of it. Upon this, the confidential agent of king James produced his commission for "acts of hostility against the prince of Orange." Barclay, says James, "proposed to attack the prince of Orange with forty horse on the road as

he went to or came from hunting at Richmond; whereas his commission imported no such thing." The transport ships of Louis were to rendezvous at Calais on the 25th of February; and on that day Louis sent a message to James to let him know that "he thought it fit his majesty should go down forthwith to the sea-side, but not to let the men embark till he was sure the Jacobites were up in England." In the Memoirs of James we find that "the day his majesty left St. Germains, being the 28th of February, he met at St. Denis a servant of the duke of Berwick, with a letter from his master to the earl of Middleton, which gave an account of his being come back. . . . . By some expressions in his letter, it was plain he had not succeeded in it [his negotiation] as expected." James saw Berwick, and heard from him in "what condition he had left things in England." The compiler of his life says, "He still hoped something might happen, on which he could raise a request to let the troops embark first, and for that reason continued his journey to Calais." Berwick was perfectly well aware how Barclay and his friends had interpreted their commission.

On the 11th of February, one captain Fisher told the earl of Portland that there was a design against the king's life. On the 13th he made another statement to the same effect. On the evening of the 14th an unknown person begged to speak in private with Portland, and told him that if the king went out to hunt the next day he would be assassinated. Portland went to the king, and, with great difficulty, persuaded him to remain at home. This disconcerted the arrangements of the conspirators, but on the following Saturday they felt sure of the king. Parkyns had provided his five men well mounted; Porter and Charnock their five each; Barclay had given money to Holmes and Charnock to buy twenty horses and their furniture; the men he had ready under pay, with a list of their lodgings. Between the 15th of February and the 22nd, another of the conspirators named De la Rue, was closeted with Portland. On the evening of the 21st Pendergrass, the man who had exhorted Portland to warn the king to stay at home, was brought before William himself, and wrote down a list of the conspirators' names, under an assurance that his evidence should not be used against any of the criminals, except with his own consent. On Saturday morning, the 22nd, the conspirators assembled at Porter's lodgings. They were in high glee. Their spies at the palace sent word that the king would certainly hunt that day—that the coaches had gone from the Mews at Charing Cross to take him to Kew ferry; that the guards had gone to Richmond. They were taking a parting glass at the Blue Posts in Spring Gardens, before starting separately, so as not to attract attention, when Keyes, one of their number, came to say that the coaches and the guards were come back. They hurriedly dispersed. The next day twenty prisoners were arrested. Barclay escaped.

A special commission was issued for the trial of the prisoners. The first tried were Charnock, Keyes, and King, on the 11th of March. Charnock was an indefatigable agent of the Jacobites. He defended himself with ability, for the Act which allowed prisoners counsel was not to come into operation till the 25th of March. The crime of the accused was proved [illegible] doubt by the evidence of Pendergrass, and of their more guilty

accomplices. Their executions followed quickly upon the verdict of the jury. According to Dalrymple, Charnock said "he would disclose the names of all those who had employed him in England, if his punishment was changed from death into perpetual imprisonment. The king generously answered, 'I desire not to know them.'" Sir John Friend, a rich London trader, had not taken part in the assassination plot, although he knew of it; but he had made large preparations for assisting in a foreign invasion. Sir William Parkyns, as we have seen, was an active participator in the design to kill the king. Three other conspirators, Rookwood, Cranborne, and Lowick, were tried. They were all convicted, and all suffered the death of traitors.

King William left London in the very crisis of the monetary change, and was in Holland on the 7th of May. On the 22nd he wrote to Shrewsbury from the Hague that the troops "in Flanders are so much in want of money, that they can scarcely move; and if the treasury do not find prompt means to furnish supplies, I know not how I can possibly act." The Lords Justices, who had the charge of affairs in William's absence, were to a great extent helpless. An Act had been passed in the previous Session for establishing a national Land Bank—a bank which was to lend money on mortgages, and to lend also to the State. The scheme utterly broke down; and, at the same time, through the difficulties connected with the re-coinage, the Bank of England could not pay its notes in specie. There was one universal panic throughout the land. Public clamour was loud in its demand "that clipped money should be current again; that the standard should be advanced, and the price of guineas improved." The very hope of this locked up all the gold and good money. It has been said with great truth, "the vessel of our commonwealth has never been so close to shipwreck as at this period."* Of all the sufferers in this crisis it is impossible to conceive a man placed in a more distressing condition than the sovereign who was to fight the battles of his country at the head of a great European confederation. On the 30th of July, William writes, "at present I see no resource which can prevent the army from mutiny or total desertion." On the 31st Portland was sent to England to arrange about assembling Parliament. "Rather than perish all must be risked." On the 15th of August there was a great meeting of the General Court of the Bank of England to discuss an earnest appeal that had been made to them by the king's ministers, for an advance of two hundred thousand pounds. Shrewsbury wrote to the king, "If the application to the Bank should not succeed, God knows what can be done." The application to the Bank did succeed. Immediate relief to the necessities of William, however small, was obtained. But he was not in a condition to carry on the campaign with any vigour. Everywhere there were signs of defection from the alliance of which William was the heart and soul. He came home at the beginning of October, and met the Parliament on the 20th of that month. The very first measure of the Commons was to pass this resolution—"That they would not alter the standard of the gold and silver, in fineness,

* Hallam.

weight, or denomination; and that they will make good all parliamentary funds since his majesty's accession to the Crown, that have been made credits for loans from the subject." The effect of this true statesmanship, for which the honour is mainly due to Montague, was instantaneous. The true money flowed into circulation. Trade revived. The financial and commercial crisis was past.

In the deposition of Goodman, one of the witnesses for the Crown in the Assassination Plot, he implicated sir John Fenwick, as being, in conjunction with Friend, Parkyns, and others, in correspondence with James upon a projected invasion. Porter, another of the conspirators, gave his testimony to a similar effect. Fenwick attempted to fly into France, but in June he was apprehended at New Romney, in Kent. Being ordered for trial, he offered to give evidence of great importance; and was visited in prison by the duke of Devonshire, at the king's desire. In a written paper he implicated Shrewsbury and Godolphin, Marlborough and Russell, as having been in communication with James at various times. William transmitted this paper to Shrewsbury, saying, "You may judge of my astonishment at his effrontery in accusing you. . . . You will observe the sincerity of this honest man who only accuses those in my service, and not one of his own party." Goodman had been tampered with, and was not forthcoming to give his evidence on the trial. It was resolved to proceed against Fenwick by Bill of Attainder, in which the deficient legal evidence could be supplied by the previous deposition of Goodman before the Privy Council, and by the evidence of two grand jurymen as to what he had sworn when the Bill of Indictment was found by them. This proceeding was altogether irregular, although the crime of Fenwick was conclusively established. The most prolonged and violent discussions therefore ensued, both in the Lords and Commons, as to the passing of this Bill. Fenwick, previous to the Bill being moved in the Commons, had been brought to the bar, and persisted in refusing to make any further confession. Lord Hardwicke, in a note on Burnet, says, "The management of party was such, that sir J. Fenwick was prevented from speaking out, lest he should exasperate the great men on both sides, who knew he could tell tales. The consequence was, that he was afraid to affirm his own tale, and lost his life." He suffered death on the 28th of January. "It is now well known that Fenwick's discoveries went not a step beyond the truth."*

The king closed the Session of Parliament on the 16th of April, 1697, and on the 26th embarked for Holland. He had promoted Somers to be Lord Chancellor, instead of Keeper of the Great Seal, and had created him a Peer. Russell was created earl of Orford. Montague obtained the higher office of First Lord of the Treasury. The campaign in the Netherlands was distinguished only by one considerable event—William rescued Brussels from a second bombardment.

The difficulty of concluding a general pacification was less on the part of France than on the part of Spain and Germany. Plenipotentiaries were, however, appointed by the several powers to discuss the terms of a

* Hallam.

treaty with the ministers of France. The earl of Pembroke and others on the part of England; Harlay, as the representative of France; the accredited agents of Spain, of the Emperor, of Sweden, and of other minor powers, met twice a week, with solemn bows and ceremonial speeches, at Newburg House, a palace belonging to William in the village of Ryswick, between the Hague and Delft. At the end of June they had concluded nothing. The French and English armies were facing each other in the neighbourhood of Brussels. In each of the armies there was a man who could interpret in a straightforward manner the wishes of their respective sovereigns. Portland sent a message to Boufflers desiring half an hour's private conversation with him between the two armies. Boufflers obtained the consent of his sovereign, and they met on the 8th of July at the village of Brucom, a short distance from Halle; standing apart from their attendants in an orchard. They had four subsequent discussions in open places, where walls could tell no secrets. Portland was authorised to say at the first interview, that William, on the part of England and of the States-General, was satisfied with the terms of territorial arrangement that Louis had proposed, provided satisfaction should be given upon points which concerned himself personally. At the sixth and last interview they met in a small house, and the points of the negotiation were put into writing. Louis refused to compel the removal of the Stuart exiles from France, and William refused the demand of Louis that a general amnesty should be granted to all the adherents of James. The English king carried a reciprocal condition that Louis should not favour rebellions or intrigues in England, and that he should give the like assurance with regard to France. The treaty of Ryswick was concluded between France, England, the States-General, and Spain, on the 22nd of September. An extended term was given to the emperor of Germany to accede to the treaty. During these negotiations, James had issued what he termed a solemn protestation against the proposed peace "with the usurper of our kingdoms."

Never was public joy more manifest than when William made his entry into London on the 26th of November. On the 2nd of December there was a General Thanksgiving for the Peace, and the new Cathedral of Saint Paul's was opened for divine worship. The king did not attend, for he was told that if he went to Saint Paul's the streets would be so filled with spectators that all the parish churches would be forsaken. The Parliament was opened by William on the 3rd of December. The House of Commons behaved with becoming gratitude to the king, in fixing the royal revenue at a liberal amount for his life. They were somewhat precipitate, greatly to his annoyance, in their determination to reduce the army to ten thousand horse and foot; and, in January, they limited the vote for the maintenance of troops for the current year to three hundred and fifty thousand pounds. The popular jealousy of a standing army burst out the instant that the army abroad had done its work. The most important proceeding of this Session of Parliament was the Bill for settling the long-disputed question of continuing the monopoly of the old East India Company or for establishing a new Company. The adventurers who desired to be formed into a new Company had promised to set on foot subscriptions for raising two

millions sterling, to be lent for the public service upon interest at eight per cent. The old East India Company had offered to advance seven hundred thousand pounds, at four per cent. The necessities of the time made the offer of the highest sum most acceptable. The Whigs carried the New Company against the Tories, who supported the Old Company. In four more years the rival Companies were united.

Two months after the opening of Parliament, the Commons went up with an Address to the king, praying that he would issue his proclamation commanding all magistrates to put in execution the laws against profaneness and immorality; and they added a request that he would take measures "for suppressing all pernicious books and pamphlets, which contain in them impious doctrines against the Holy Trinity, and other fundamental articles of our faith." An Act was then passed for the suppression of Socinian doctrines. To combat profaneness and immorality, the principle of Association was to come to the aid of the government. Societies for the Reformation of Manners had for some time been in activity. Their business was to lay informations before the magistrates of swearers, drunkards, sabbath-breakers, and other offenders, and to appropriate that portion of the fines which were earned by common informers, to purposes of charity. Two Associations of greater practical utility were the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," and the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," both established about this period, and both mainly owing to the efforts of one man, Thomas Bray, a native of Shropshire. Not the least of the opposing influences to any reformation of morals was the licentiousness of the Stage. The Lord Chamberlain, the Master of the Revels, and the more earnest part of the public remonstrated in vain. The morality of the age of the Restoration still tainted the Stage of the Revolution. The Court of William and Mary, in its seclusion at Kensington, had little influence upon the world of fashion; and thus there was no perceptible effect upon manners in the decorous example of the highest in the land.

William's ambassador, the earl of Portland, made his public entry into Paris with a sumptuous retinue on the 9th of March. He had previously had a private audience of Louis at Versailles. The French were charmed with the English ambassador; it became the fashion to see him, to fête him, to attend his parties. In the meantime count Tallard had arrived in London, to be introduced to William in the humble cabinet at Kensington. The correspondence of this ambassador with his master shows how narrowly every political movement in this country was watched; what anxiety there was to propitiate the ministers of the king, and the leaders of the opposition; how every indication of popular feeling was observed and noted down. The instructions of count Tallard to king James are conceived in the same spirit of concealed dislike to the government of William, and inculcate the same watchfulness over every manifestation of party hostility or popular discontent. Portland was instructed to say for William, that he so ardently desired the preservation of peace that he "was not averse from listening to any proposal calculated to ensure its continuance, even in the event of the demise of the king of "—an occurrence which he feared, with the prescience of a sound

statesman, might "again plunge all Europe in war." Rouse the allies on all sides to the necessity of remaining armed, was the earnest exhortation of William to the Grand Pensionary of Holland. "I wish I could be armed, too," he sighed, "but I see little appearance of it."

There was a sovereign at this time in England, who had no voice in the Congress of the Hague—no interests to assert at the peace of Ryswick. This was Peter I., Czar of Muscovy, for whom William hired Mr. Evelyn's house at Sayes Court, that he might see the building of ships in the dockyards at Deptford and Woolwich. After his day's work as a carpenter at Rotherhithe, upon a ship that was building for him, Peter recreated himself with beer and brandy, and smoked his pipe at an ale-house on Tower Hill. He was a very incomprehensible monarch to the English people—by no means like a ruler who was to found a mighty empire, whose growth has been the terror of Western Europe.

In the commercial policy of England at the end of the seventeenth century all industrial operations were conducted upon the system of Prevention and Encouragement. But there was, probably, no manifestation of commercial jealousy more absurd than the interference of England with the free course of the industry of Ireland and Scotland. Scotland, in the time of William III., could not advantageously trade with the East Indies, in consequence of the monopoly of the East India Company. It could not trade with the American Plantations, in consequence of the Navigation Act. The ancient intercourse with France was cut off by the war with Louis XIV. The exchange of commodities with England was interrupted by prohibitions and heavy duties. The trade with the English colonies was absolutely forbidden. It is not surprising, therefore, that a kingdom which was beginning to feel the benefits of peaceful industry—a kingdom containing a most energetic and industrious population—should desire to seek new fields of enterprise. This national desire was manifested in the Act of the Parliament of Scotland in 1693, "for encouraging foreign trade," which provides that merchants may enter into societies for carrying on trade to any kingdoms or parts of the world, not being at war with our sovereign Lord and Lady. At the end of 1695, William Paterson, had been in London, and under the authority of a Scottish Act of Parliament, passed in the previous June, had in a few days obtained subscriptions to the amount of three hundred thousand pounds, for constituting a Company "for trading from Scotland to Africa, and the Indies." The ships of this favoured Company were to be free from all dues; the Company were to be privileged to fit out vessels of war; they were authorised to make settlements and build forts in any uninhabited places in Asia, Africa, or America; they might make alliances with sovereign powers; all other Scotsmen were prohibited from trading within their range, without licence from them. The English Parliament met in November, and in December the Lords and Commons went up with an Address to the king, to represent that this Scotch Act "was likely to bring many great prejudices and mischiefs to all his majesty's subjects who were concerned in the wealth or trade of this nation." They then resolved that the directors of the Scottish Company were guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor, upon the ground that under colour of a Scotch Act of Parliament these directors

had levied money, and had done other corporate acts in England, which could not be legally done without the sanction of the English Parliament. The English jealousy of commercial rivalry once roused, there could be no compromise which would make the speculation safe for the London capitalists. They forfeited their first instalments upon their shares. The angry mood of the English legislature had roused the public spirit in Scotland, and in six months from the opening of the subscription books, the sum of four hundred thousand pounds was subscribed. There were a few large subscriptions from the nobility and the higher mercantile classes; but the majority of the subscribers were professional men and shopkeepers. The ledgers of the Company show that some large subscribers were guaranteed by the directors. Twenty-five per cent. upon the subscriptions was, however, paid up within the year, or very nearly so. With this amount in hand, somewhat less than a hundred thousand pounds, the Company began to engage in magnificent undertakings. They issued bank notes; and with this device, and with the general confidence in their credit, they collected stores and built warehouses. But their means were still found inadequate to their ambition. They attempted to dispose of stock at Hamburg, but were interfered with by the English resident. Remonstrances were made to king William, but he afforded no redress to the complaints of his Scottish lieges. It was more than difficult for him to steer a just and prudent course as the sovereign of two kingdoms having such conflicting interests in their unnatural separation.

On the 26th of July, 1698, three vessels purchased from the Dutch, and armed as ships of war, sailed from Leith, with twelve hundred men on board. The destination of the adventurers was unknown to them. Paterson was on board one of the vessels, the Saint Andrew, but in no responsible position. Throughout the voyage the projector of the colony was at issue with the officers of the ship and the Council appointed by the Directors. The passengers were soon reduced to short allowance. On the 4th of November, they landed at a point in the Gulf of Darien. This spot was a peninsula united to the mainland, and capable at its narrower junction of being fortified. The Colony was to be settled on that mainland, which was to be called New Caledonia. Seven gentlemen had been appointed for the government of the settlement. It had been ostentatiously proclaimed that the Scottish Colony was to be the great emporium of free commerce. The adventurers had little acquaintance with the difficulties of colonisation, and knew not the obstacles that would prevent a body of private men, unsupported by the strong arm of a government, from planting themselves on the Isthmus of Panama, and becoming the medium of commercial intercourse between the Atlantic and the Pacific. They sent civil messages to the governors of the neighbouring Spanish settlements. Their overtures were rejected with disdain. Soon they got into conflict with the Spaniards, in taking part in a dispute between them and some friendly Indians. At Carthagena a vessel of the Company, armed with fourteen guns, running into the bay, the captain and crew were seized and condemned to death as pirates. The English resident interfered and saved the men. The authorities of Colony now declared war against Spain, and attacked the ships of that

power. The Court of Spain, by its ambassador, made a formal representation to the government in London, that its territory had been invaded by the subjects of king William. The proceedings in the Gulf of Darien had alarmed the English government previous to this remonstrance; and notice had been sent to the governors of English colonies in the West Indies, and in America, that the objects of the expedition had been unknown to the king, and that the proceedings of the adventurers had not his sanction. The colonists soon began severely to feel the want of food. No supply from home had reached them, for Scotland itself was suffering from a fearful deficiency of harvest. The unhappy settlers could find no exchangers amongst the Indians. They had sent in vain to Jamaica to obtain supplies, for a proclamation had been published prohibiting all English subjects from holding any sort of correspondence with them, under the severest penalties. In the huts which they had built pestilence found its seat, side by side with famine. In June, those who remained alive resolved to abandon the land to which they had gone with such eager hopes. They sailed away, sick and feeble, in their three vessels, two of which arrived in New York, and one at Jamaica, with the remnant of the colonists in a state of indescribable wretchedness. Paterson was amongst their number. In the meantime another expedition from Scotland had been organised. Two vessels with provisions were sent out in May; and in September, thirteen hundred men, ignorant of the unhappy fate of those who had gone before them, set sail from Leith. When the truth became known in Scotland, of their lamentable failure in the scheme which had raised the hopes of the nation to an extravagant height, the Directors sent out another squadron under military command; and ordered their officers to pay no respect to any authority but that of the Secretary of State for Scotland. The expedition which had left in September, as well as those which had preceded them, had been insufficiently provided with a stock of food. For the most part they kept on board the vessels, quarrelling with each other, and ready for any act of mutiny. Accounts at last reached them, that the Spaniards were preparing to attack the Scottish settlement with an overwhelming force. Then Campbell of Finab, who had come out with the warlike instructions of the Company, led two hundred men, by a wearisome march of three days, across the Isthmus; and finding a Spanish force on the river Santa Maria, took the post by storm. The Spaniards fled from this fierce onslaught; and Campbell and his band marched triumphantly back with their spoils of war. During their absence five Spanish men of war had arrived. The settlement was blockaded by an overpowering naval squadron. It was surrounded by large bodies of troops by land. A surrender was inevitable. On the 18th of March the settlement was abandoned, upon terms of capitulation which had been agreed upon with the governor of Carthagena.

The wrongs of the Indian and African Company were echoed from the English border to the remotest north. The Scottish Parliament was not propitiated by a temperate and conciliatory message from the king, that it had been to him a deep regret that he could not agree to the assertion of the right of the Company's Colony in Darien; that he was fully satisfied that his yielding in this matter would have infallibly disturbed the general

peace of Christendom, and have brought on a heavy war, in which he could expect no assistance. The Parliament agreed to a series of resolutions, in which the national grievances of Darien were recapitulated, as if Scotland rejected all considerations of the general peace of Christendom, and stood isolated amongst the nations, proud and defiant. The House of Lords addressed the king in terms of strong condemnation of the proceedings of the colonists at Darien, and of approbation of the means adopted by the colonial governor to discourage and injure them. William, in his reply, declared that he was very sensibly touched with the loss his Scotch subjects had sustained, and he took "this opportunity of putting the House of Peers in mind of what he recommended to his Parliament soon after his accession to the throne, that they would consider of a Union between the two kingdoms."

CHAPTER XXXVII.

In 1698, the question of the succession to the throne of Spain was very complicated. Charles II. was equally enfeebled in body and mind, and he had no issue. Louis XIV. had married Charles's eldest sister; but upon their marriage, the Infanta of Spain, by a solemn contract, had renounced for herself and her successors, all claim to the Spanish crown. The emperor Leopold had married a younger sister, and she had made a similar renunciation, which, however, was considered of none effect, from not having been confirmed by the Cortes. Her daughter had married the elector of Bavaria, and their son, the electoral prince, was the inheritor of his mother's claim. The emperor himself was a claimant to the succession in his own person, for he was the grandson of Philip III. of Spain, and first cousin to Charles II. Thus, the question of the Spanish succession influenced the political combinations of Europe. William's most anxious hours had been given to discussions with Tallard, the French ambassador, of the terms of a treaty which would reconcile these conflicting claims. Tallard wrote to Louis that the English nation "consider the partition of the succession of the king of Spain as something in which they must take a part." The scheme of a partition of the vast dominions of the crown of Spain unquestionably originated with the court of France. It was formally proposed to Portland soon after his arrival in Paris, as "a thing of the greatest importance, and which demanded the greatest secrecy." In the summer of 1698, William made his usual journey to Holland. Tallard was invited to follow the king, and the negotiations were resumed at Loo. William negotiated these treaties upon purely defensive principles. They had no reference to the especial advantage of England or the States-General, beyond their protection against the first [illegible] of a vast addition to the power of France, or the secondary [illegible]r addition to the power of Austria. On the 24th of

August Portland communicated to Mr. Secretary Vernon, the proposed conditions of a treaty, which he was to show to the Lord Chancellor, for the purpose of Somers deciding to whom else they should be imparted, "to the end," wrote the king, "that I might know your opinion upon so important an affair, and which requires the greatest secrecy." The important secret was communicated to Shrewsbury, Orford, and Montague. On the 8th of September Somers wrote to the king an elaborate letter, conveying their joint opinions. The whole tone of this despatch was to the effect that the king, who had always been his own minister for foreign affairs, was a better judge of such matters than the advisers of his domestic policy. William had written, "If it be fit this negotiation should be carried on, there is no time to be lost, and you will send me the full powers, under the great seal, with the names in blank, to treat with count Tallard." The Lord Chancellor made not the slightest objection to sending the king this blank commission. Before it arrived, William had signed the draft of the treaty, with a note at the foot, "in which he declares it to be converted into a treaty, *if the king of Spain should die before the exchange of the ratifications.*" * This treaty, known as the First Partition Treaty, was definitively signed at the Hague on the 11th of October, by the earl of Portland and sir Joseph Williamson, as the two Commissioners whose names were inserted in the blank space of the commission sent by Somers. It was stipulated that the kingdom of Spain, with the Indies and the Netherlands, should be assigned to the electoral prince of Bavaria; that Naples and Sicily should belong to the dauphin of France; and that the duchy of Milan should be allotted to the archduke Charles, the second son of the emperor. Only four months after the treaty had been signed, the electoral prince of Bavaria, then in his eighth year, died. He had been named by the king of Spain as his successor, by a will made in 1698, with a condition that the vast Spanish dominions should not be dissevered. The Partition Treaty had become known, although William had been persuaded not to communicate it to Spain or to the emperor. In 1700, a Second Partition Treaty was concluded, which gave Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands to the archduke Charles. The Bourbons were now to have the Milanese, or an equivalent territory, in addition to the arrangements of the former treaty.

The new Parliament assembled on the 6th of December, 1698. In his speech to the House, William said, "The flourishing of trade, the supporting of credit, and the quiet of people's minds at home, will depend upon the opinion they have of their security; and to preserve to England the weight and influence it has at present in the councils and affairs abroad, it will be requisite that Europe should see you are not wanting to yourselves." The Commons met William's exhortations with unusual discourtesy. They voted no address in answer to the speech from the throne; and they passed a resolution that all the land forces of England, in English pay, exceeding seven thousand men, should be forthwith paid and disbanded; that the seven thousand should consist of natural born subjects; and that all the forces exceeding twelve thousand men in Ire-

* Tallard to Louis.

land, these also natural born subjects, should be paid and disbanded. This bill was carried through with unusual rapidity. The agony of mind which the king endured overthrew, for once in that troubled life entirely, his wonderful command of temper, and self-sacrificing discretion. He came to the resolution of abandoning the government of England. In the British Museum there is preserved a speech to that effect, written in William's own hand in French, which he intended to deliver to the Parliament. However, the equal mind soon came back to this extraordinary man. He finally gave his assent to the Disbanding Bill in these words: "I am come to pass the Bill for disbanding the army as soon as I understood it was ready for me. Though, in our present circumstances, there appears great hazard in breaking such a number of troops; and though I might think myself unkindly used, that those guards who came over with me to your assistance, and have constantly attended me in all the actions wherein I have been engaged, should be removed from me; yet it is my fixed opinion that nothing can be so fatal to us as that any distrust or jealousy should arise between me and my people." On the 18th of March, William sent a message to the Commons, that he intended to send his Dutch guards away immediately, "unless, out of consideration to him, the House be disposed to find a way for continuing them longer in his service, which his majesty would take very kindly." The House would not even appoint a Committee to consider this message, but drew up an address, in which the king was bluntly told "that nothing conduces more to the happiness and welfare of this kingdom than an entire confidence between his majesty and his people, which could no way be so firmly established as by entrusting his sacred person with his own subjects." The king's answer to this address was a model of forbearance: "I came hither to restore the ancient constitution of this government. I have had all possible regard to it since my coming, and I am resolved through the course of my reign to preserve it entire in all the parts of it. . . . It shall be my study to the utmost of my power to perform the part of a just and a good king; and as I will ever be strictly and nicely careful of observing my promise to my subjects, so I will not doubt of their tender regards to me."

The Parliament was prorogued on the 4th of May, after having appointed a Commission to inquire into the extent of the Irish forfeitures of estates, "in order to their being applied in case of the subjects of England." The king had granted some of these estates to Portland, Albemarle, and other favourites, and a very natural and proper jealousy was excited. This measure was tacked to a money-bill, so that it could not be discussed in the House of Lords, or rejected by the Crown. In the next Session of Parliament, which commenced on the 16th of November, 1699, the Commissioners of Inquiry presented their report. A Bill of Resumption was brought in, by which the whole of the Irish forfeitures were to be applied to the public uses. The Whigs moved an amendment, to resume all grants of lands and revenues of the Crown made since the 6th of February, [illegible] of the accession of James II. This was a much more [illegible] than the opponents of William contemplated. But [illegible] not to resist its adoption. Fierce disputes ensued

between the two Houses. The king gave his assent to the bill, and immediately prorogued the Parliament. The triumphant Tories succeeded now in effecting the removal from office of Somers, the only one of the Whig ministers that William had retained. No lawyer of eminence would accept the Great Seal; and after a month's delay it was given to serjeant Wright, as Lord Keeper. The violent hatreds of the rival factions rendered it very difficult for the king to conduct the government upon any settled principles. He had no resource but to aim at the neutralization of the violence of the Tory party by opening to them most of the chief employments of the State. These rivalries also made the most able and honest of the king's advisers shrink from the responsibility of office.

The tolerant disposition of William had in England made the old penal laws against papists in many respects a dead letter. In this Session, the House, so furious in its hostility to the Crown, passed the most disgraceful law of this reign—an "Act for the further preventing the growth of Popery," of which the chief object was to drive out the Catholic landowners. It is satisfactory to know that this intention was defeated, in most cases, by the more liberal spirit of the time.

England and Holland were under treaties of alliance with Sweden, and were bound to render her assistance should she be attacked. At this period, the young king, Charles XII., called upon England and Holland for support against the king of Denmark, the elector of Saxony and king of Poland, and the czar of Russia, who had formed a league for the dismemberment of Sweden. William asked for no vote from Parliament. The passing of the Act for disbanding the army, and the reduction of the navy by a vote of the Commons, left England in a very weakened condition. Yet the king did not abate one jot of his resolution to maintain the attitude before Europe that belonged to the states which he governed. He sent an armament of English and Dutch ships into the Baltic, under the command of Sir George Rooke, when his remonstrances to Denmark and the other powers were unheeded. Rooke formed a junction with the Swedish fleet, and they drove the Danish navy into Copenhagen. Charles exerted himself with wonderful spirit, and prepared with his allies for a siege of the Danish capital. Frederick IV. of Denmark now professed his willingness to accept the mediation of England and Holland; and a treaty of peace was signed under their guarantee.

On the 30th of July, 1700, the duke of Gloucester, the only one remaining of the seventeen children of the princess Anne, died at Windsor, after a short illness, having just entered upon his twelfth year. This event made the Jacobites "grow insolent upon it, and say, now the chief difficulty was removed out of the way of the prince of Wales' succession;" and, on the other hand, "turned the eyes of all the Protestants in the nation towards the electress of Brunswick."* The electress Sophia of Hanover, now in her seventieth year, was the last surviving child of Elizabeth Stuart, the daughter of James I., and of Frederic, the Elector-Palatine, who accepted the crown of Bohemia. In 1658 she married Ernest Augustus, who became duke of Hanover in 1679, and elector in

* Life of Burnet, "Own Times," vol. iv. p. 439.

1692. Her eldest son, George Lewis, became elector of Hanover in 1698, when in his 38th year. The electress had been visited by king William in 1699, and she now came to Loo, to return the visit, at the time when the interests of her family were thus affected by the death of the duke of Gloucester. She was a lady of unusual talent and knowledge, as much distinguished for her good sense and refined manners as for her various acquirements. There were many other claimants to the English succession who were disqualified by being Roman Catholics.

In October, the king of Spain was considered to be in the most imminent danger. The agents of Louis were about his death-bed, striving to influence the feeble prince to dispose of the succession by will in favour of the Bourbons. The agents of the emperor were also intriguing for the same object, in favour of the Imperial family. The emperor had not yet signed the Treaty of Partition, which existed between France, England, and Holland. The knowledge of this treaty had provoked such wrath at Madrid, that the Spanish ambassador at London published a declaration so insolent, that William commanded him to leave,—a measure which was retaliated by the dismissal from Spain of the English and Dutch ambassadors. The revelation of the secret of the treaty was attributed to Louis, as the readiest way to attain something better than those Italian possessions of Spain which the treaty gave him. Enfeebled in body and mind, the poor king still clung to the idea that he ought to preserve the inheritance of Spain to the Austrian family from which he had sprung. The authority of the pope was called in to determine for him what he ought to do. Innocent XII. decided that the whole Spanish monarchy belonged by right of inheritance to the dauphin; but to prevent the union of the crowns of Spain and France, it was desirable to give the succession to the duke of Anjou, the dauphin's second son. The famous Testament which plunged Europe into a war of ten years was signed. When the last breath had departed, after Charles had lingered four weeks, the duke of Abrantes came forth from the Council, and announced that Philip, duke of Anjou, was the sole inheritor of the vast Spanish monarchy. The king of France decided to accept the Will. One of his reasons was, that the emperor had not yet acceded to the Treaty. William knew what the pretended separation of the Crowns of France and Spain really meant. He wrote to Heinsius: "I am perfectly persuaded, that if this Will be executed, England and the Republic are in the utmost danger of being totally lost or ruined." In a letter, three days later, he says: "My chief anxiety is to prevent the Spanish Netherlands from falling into the hands of France. You will easily conceive how this business goes to my heart."

The Parliament which had been prorogued in April was dissolved in December, 1700. The Tory party were now in the ascendant, and they had all the advantages of government influence in the elections. The Houses met on the 6th of February. Godolphin was now at the head of the Treasury; [illegible] Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Under the [illegible] chosen Speaker by the new Parliament, [illegible] province. The speech of the king [illegible] the past year—the death of the [illegible] King [illegible]. The House divided

upon a motion arising out of this speech, by a majority only of twenty-one: "That they would stand by and support his majesty and his government, and take such effectual measures as may best conduce to the interest and safety of England, the preservation of the Protestant religion, and the peace of Europe." In reply to a Memorial from the Envoy Extraordinary of the States-General, the Commons unanimously resolved to request the king to enter into such negotiations with the States-General, and with other powers, as might conduce to the mutual safety of these kingdoms and the United Provinces, and promising their support in performance of the Treaty of 1677. William was unexpectedly gratified by this decision. There was a slight change in the temper of the Commons, which was to be traced to the fact that public opinion was slowly but surely coming into operation. In the heat of the contest between William and the House of Commons about disbanding the army, we are assured that the king "was in truth more really beloved by the body of the people than he thought himself to be, or than his enemies seemed to believe he was."

During the whole of March and April, the two great parties were engaged in the most furious broils. It was on the 3rd of March that the portion of the king's speech which relates to the Protestant Succession was brought forward in the Commons. The Princess Sophia and her heirs, being Protestants, were nominated to the succession in an "Act for the further limitation of the Crown and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject." This Act gave guarantees for constitutional freedom beyond the Bill of Rights. It, moreover, forbade the possessor of the crown going out of the kingdom without consent of Parliament, and rendered all foreigners incapable of office, and all office-holders incapable of serving as members of the House of Commons. There was comparatively little discussion about these conditions. They were proposed by Harley; supported by the Tories; and not resisted by the Whigs. Burnet says, "those who wished well to the Act were glad to have it passed any way, and so would not examine the limitations that were in it."

Negotiations were proceeding at the Hague between England, Holland, and France, for the removal of French troops from the Spanish Netherlands, and for other objects of prevention against the preponderance of France. Burnet affirms that the French "set all their engines at work in England to involve us in such contentions at home, as should both disable us from taking any care of foreign affairs, and make the rest of Europe conclude that nothing considerable was to be expected from England." It was scarcely necessary that party-rage should be stimulated either by the intrigues or the gold of France. The Commons now resolved to impeach Portland, Somers, Orford, and Halifax, for their concern in the Treaties by which the king had endeavoured to save Europe from the war which was now impending, and for other alleged offences. They then asked the king to condemn the four peers without trial, by removing them from his councils and presence for ever. The Lords begged his majesty to pass no sentence of discredit upon his late servants, till their alleged high crimes and misdemeanours should be inquired into. The king let the factions fight out their battle, without his intervention. Conferences were held between the two Houses which became unseemly squabbles, and, finally,

the impeachments fell to the ground. These party dissensions called up a third party, that had hitherto manifested very little participation in the contests of the two great factions. At the quarter sessions for the county of Kent, held at Maidstone on the 29th of April, the grand jury drew up a petition to the House of Commons, which was unanimously signed by them, and also by the chairman of the sessions, twenty-one of the justices, and a large body of freeholders. Mr. Colepepper, the chairman, with four other gentlemen, proceeded to London with the petition, which was at last presented to the House by Mr. Meredith, one of the members for Kent, on the 8th of May. It is a plain-spoken document, but one which we should now call temperate and respectful. The representatives of the people were reminded of the great trust reposed in them by their country: of the importance "that no pretence whatever shall be able to create a misunderstanding among ourselves, or the least distrust of his most sacred majesty; whose great acts for this nation are writ in the hearts of his subjects, and can never, without the blackest ingratitude, be forgot." In conclusion, the House was implored to "have regard to the voice of the people, that our religion and safety may be effectually provided for, that your Loyal Addresses may be turned into Bills of Supply, and that his most sacred majesty (whose propitious and unblemished reign over us we pray God long to continue) may be enabled powerfully to assist his allies before it is too late." The House resolved that this petition was scandalous, insolent, and seditious, and ordered that those gentlemen who brought it should be taken into custody. They were committed to the Gate-house. A ferment then ran through the country. The imprisonment of the Kentish men led to many discussions of the right of the Commons to imprison any persons but their own members, or such as had violated the privileges of the House. On the 14th of May, the day after Mr. Colepepper and his friends were committed, a paper, signed "Legion," was convey to Harley, the Speaker. It purported to be a Memorial, in which the grievances of the nation were set forth, and the rights of the people asserted, in the boldest terms. The Commons were reproached with "deserting the Dutch when the French are at their doors, till it be almost too late to help them." There is little doubt that Defoe was the writer of this Legion Memorial. When the Kentish gentlemen were released at the end of the Session of Parliament, a public dinner was given to them at Mercers' Hall by the chief citizens of London; where, says a Tory writer, "Nothing was wanting to show their respect to them, and the cause of sedition they had been carrying on." Gradually the House of Commons came more clearly to understand the public feeling. The House of Lords had a quicker comprehension on this subject. They addressed the king in terms which encouraged him to give full support to the States-General, and to enter into the extensive alliance which he desired. The Commons stopped short of directly sanctioning an alliance which could have no other end than war, but they voted sufficient supplies to enable the king to send assistance to the States. On the 24th of June the Parliament was prorogued. On the 1st of July the king embarked for Holland. Burke says that now "the whole nation, Lords, Commons, and People, proceeded as one body informed by one soul." There probably is no higher example

of decision of character than the energy of William in the last six months of his life. During his sojourn in Holland, he concluded Treaties with the States-General, with the king of Sweden, with the king of Denmark, with the emperor. He laid the foundation of future alliances with the king of Portugal, with the king of Prussia, with the duke of Savoy. He had an able assistant in Marlborough, whose treachery he had long ceased to fear, and in whose great ability he had a just confidence. The Treaty of Alliance between England, the States-General, and the emperor, with power for all kings and states to join the league, was signed at the Hague on the 7th of September. It made no declaration as to the inheritance of the crown of Spain. It only stipulated that the contracting powers should be united to prevent the union of the crowns of France and Spain; that France should be compelled to evacuate the Netherlands; and that she should not acquire any of the Spanish Colonies in the West Indies. In Italy war had previously begun on the part of the emperor. Prince Eugene commanded the imperial army, and drove the joint forces of the French king and the duke of Savoy from their position along the Adige. Marshal Villeroy subsequently attacked prince Eugene, but was repulsed.

On the 16th of September, king James II. expired at St. Germains, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. The king of France visited the exiled sovereign on his death-bed, and promised, after his decease, to recognize his son as king of England. This was in direct opposition to the recognition, as king of England, of the prince of Orange at the peace of Ryswick. William desired that his ambassador should immediately quit the French court. He saw that the greatest opportunity of his life had now arrived; that the factions which had so long harassed him would shrink away before the might of public opinion; that he could now lead a great people to go with him, heart and hand, in the work of their own national salvation. He called a new Parliament, which met on the 30th of December. Harley was chosen Speaker of the Commons, by a majority of fourteen over Littleton, the Whig Speaker of a former Parliament. On the last day of the year 1701, king William delivered his last parliamentary speech,—"the best speech," says Burnet, "that he or any other prince ever made to his people." He alluded to the loyal and seasonable Addresses which he had received, in resentment of the late proceedings of the king of France. He described the setting up of the pretended prince of Wales, as king of England, as the highest indignity that could be offered to himself and to the nation. Having taken a general view of the position of England with reference to the Spanish succession, he announced that he had concluded several alliances, in order to avert the general calamity with which the rest of Christendom was threatened by the exorbitant power of France. He called upon them to provide a great strength at sea, and a land force that should be proportionate to the forces of the allies. He exhorted them to take care of the public credit; and concluded with a bold and stirring exhortation to unity. This speech, earnest, manly, and thoroughly addressed to the great English heart, could be met with no factious strife or sullen coldness. The Commons very speedily voted a supply of six hundred thousand pounds. They presented an Address to

the king requesting that an article should be inserted in the several treaties of alliance to insist on reparation for the great indignity offered by the French king's recognition of the pretended prince of Wales. They voted forty thousand men for the land forces, and forty thousand for sea service.

The altered spirit of the English Parliament seemed to infuse a new life into the king. He took delight in his additions to Hampton Court. He went there once a week to hunt, although so weak as to be obliged to be lifted on his horse. It was there that, on Saturday the 21st of February, "he fell from his horse that stumbled at a mole-hill." He fractured his collar-bone; but the injury was not considered serious. He was conveyed to Kensington. On the 23rd he sent a message to the Commons signifying what he had designed to have spoken from the throne. He referred to the appointment of commissioners in the first year of his reign for treating of a union between England and Scotland. "His majesty would esteem it a peculiar felicity if, during his reign, some happy expedient for making both kingdoms one might take place; and is therefore extremely desirous that a treaty for that purpose might be set on foot; and does, in the most earnest manner, recommend this affair to the consideration of the House. On the 6th of March the king was in extreme danger. On the 7th he signed a Commission for passing the Bill of Abjuration and the Money Bill. The next day he was evidently dying. He received the Sacrament. "His reason and all his senses were entire to the last minute. . . He died with a clear and full presence of mind, and with a wonderful tranquillity." * He died before any new caprice of fortune,—any fickleness of public opinion,—came to cloud the bright prospect which was opening before him, of the destinies of the country which he had served so well, and which had so ill rewarded him, and of his own land which never failed to recognize his admirable qualities.

On the evening of king William's death, queen Anne declared to the Privy Council her "own opinion of the importance of carrying on all the preparations we are making to oppose the great power of France." It has been attributed to the foresight of William that he appointed Marlborough to the command of the troops sent to the assistance of the States-General, because he knew that in the event of his own demise, the favourite of his successor would be the chief moving power in English affairs. The queen went to the House of Lords on the 11th of March. She spoke of the late king as having been "the great support, not only of these kingdoms, but of all Europe." She said of herself, "I know my own heart to be entirely English." With regard to foreign affairs she repeated the sentiments she had addressed to the Privy Council. Within five days the earl of Marlborough received the Order of the Garter, and was made Captain-general of the forces. Somers, Halifax, and Orford were struck out of the lists of the Privy Council. Nottingham was appointed Secretary of State, and Seymour Comptroller. Rochester was continued as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; Normanby, another violent partisan, had the Privy-seal. Gradually, Godolphin and Marlborough obtained such an ascendancy as drove their less moderate colleagues from office. The Whigs supported their

* Burnet.

war-policy. The war was a magnificent success; and public opinion placed the party in power that had supported that policy. Godolphin and Marlborough became united with the Whigs.

Before the end of March Marlborough was sent as an envoy extraordinary to the States-General. He did not stay more than a week in Holland; but he arranged for a joint declaration of war against France by England, the States, and the Emperor, on the same day, May 4th; and he concerted the plan of the first warlike operations. The Parliament was prorogued on the 25th of May. It was dissolved on the 2nd of July. The Civil List that had been granted to king William was continued to queen Anne. Her majesty was empowered to appoint Commissioners to treat for Union between England and Scotland. Marlborough left London on the 18th of May, and soon after his arrival at the Hague was appointed by the States as Generalissimo of all their forces. He went vigorously to the work before him. He drew the allied forces together, so as to be at the head of a powerful army. He carried Venloo by storm on the 18th of September. He besieged and took Ruremonde and Stovenswart. He captured Liège by storm on the 23rd of October, and in a few days afterwards the castle of the Chartreuse was surrendered to him. In these operations he was aided by the scientific knowledge of Cohorn, the great rival of Vauban. An expedition against Cadiz which had been planned by king William was now carried out with the usual results of divided counsels and separate commands. A large combined fleet of Dutch and English ships, with fourteen thousand troops of both nations on board, after many delays had reached the bay of Cadiz on the 18th of August. There was a commander of the fleet, sir George Rooke; and there was a superior commander of the land and sea forces, the duke of Ormond. There was an English general and a Dutch general at the head of their respective contingents. Three days were spent in debate upon the plans to be pursued. In the meantime the marquis of Villadaria, the captain-general of Andalusia, who was a man of energy and military skill, had roused the population; and when some troops had landed and marched to Port St. Mary's, an unwalled place, they found the old town deserted. There was, however, abundance of specie and other valuables there, to satisfy a rapacious soldiery, under very imperfect discipline. No serious attempt was made to accomplish any object worthy of such an armament. The troops re-embarked in the middle of September. Ormond and Rooke had obtained information that the Spanish fleet, which yearly arrived from the Indies, laden with bullion and rich merchandise, finding Cadiz blockaded, had run into Vigo. The galleons could not land their cargoes until the tardy officials at Madrid had given permission. The English squadron made for Vigo, and two thousand men were landed. The galleons fled down the bay, and attempted to put some of their valuable cargo on shore. The English pursued them; and then the Spaniards threw their wealth into the sea, and fired their ships. Six galleons were seized by the English, and seven French ships of war. The loss of life on the side of the Spaniards and French was terrific. The destruction of property was immense, exceeding eight million dollars. Much of the treasure taken was embezzled.

The first Parliament of queen Anne met on the 20th of October. Harley was chosen Speaker. It was well known that there would be a large Tory majority. It was now thought desirable by this majority to compliment the queen upon the progress of the war under the command of Marlborough, and to insult the memory of him whose firmness and perseverance had alone enabled England and Holland to hold in check the power of France. The queen was told, in the same Address, that as she had always been an illustrious ornament to the Church, "we promise ourselves, that, in your reign, we shall see it perfectly restored to its due rights and privileges." During the reign of William, the feud between the Church and Dissent was confined to the preachers and the pamphleteers. But when Anne came to the throne, the High Church party were for extreme measures against the Separatists; and one of the first proceedings of the Tory ministry in the new Parliament was to bring in a Bill to prevent Occasional Conformity, by which the Dissenters had kept their share of civil power, without compromising, as most of them believed, their rights of conscience. Not only were holders of office to be now subject to the Test Act, but also all electors for boroughs. To enter a Dissenting place of worship after having once taken the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church, was to be punished with heavy fines, and with transportation upon a repetition of the offence. The Bill was quickly passed by large majorities of the Commons. In the House of Lords, where the majority of spiritual peers were distinguished for their moderation, the factions of the Lower House were met with a firm and temperate resistance, although the Whigs were not strong enough to throw out the Bill. Amendments were introduced by the Peers, which the Commons indignantly rejected. The Lords insisted on adhering to their amendments. The Commons persisted in rejecting them. The chief business of the Session was this great battle of principle. The battle of the Press was as violent as that of the Parliament. Defoe was indicted at the Old Bailey Sessions in February, 1703, for a piece of exquisite banter, entitled "The Shortest Way with the Dissenters." He was brought to trial in July, was found guilty; and was sentenced to a fine, to stand three times in the pillory, and to be imprisoned during the queen's pleasure.

On the 10th of December, 1702, her majesty announced to the Commons, that for the eminent services of the earl of Marlborough, she had thought fit to grant him the title of Duke. She had also granted him five thousand a year from the revenues of the Post Office. The Commons demurred to this grant. The cold support Marlborough received from his Tory friends was not to be readily forgiven. His views, moreover, as to the conduct of the war were far more comprehensive than the views of the administration. Louis XIV. had renewed the horrible persecutions of the French Protestants, whose dangers called forth a spirit of fanaticism, such as had characterised the Cameronians of Scotland. In the Cévennes, a mountainous district of Languedoc, there was a ruthless bigot, the arch-priest Du Chaila, who was endeavouring to tread out the fanaticism of his victims by unheard-of cruelties. His atrocities at length received their reward. He had imprisoned in his château a number of Protestants, whom he intended to put to death. The peasantry surrounded the château; forced the gates

with a rude battering-ram; set the building on fire; and murdered the arch-priest as he attempted to escape. The insurrection now became general. Marlborough desired to render assistance to the insurgents. Nottingham, and the other Tory ministers, would not sanction any rebellion against a legitimate king. In 1703, the Camisards, as the insurgents were denominated, were opposed, under the leadership of a young man named Cavalier, to a marshal of France, with twelve thousand veteran troops under his command. Cavalier displayed a courage, a sagacity, and a military genius, which compelled marshal de Montrevel to give up in despair his system of terror and wholesale destruction by fire and sword. He was recalled, and marshal Villars was substituted, who adopted milder measures. Cavalier concluded a negotiation with Villars in 1704. The allies could render him no assistance, such as he had expected. Villars promised amnesty, with free egress to those who chose to emigrate, and a toleration of religion. This last promise was soon broken. The war was continued by another chief, Roland, who was killed in 1704. Cavalier afterwards served in Spain; subsequently entered the English service; and died at a very advanced age as governor of Jersey, with the rank of a major-general.

The elector of Bavaria had now proclaimed his adhesion to France; had surprised the strong fortress of Ulm; and by effecting a communication with the French on the Upper Rhine, had opened a way for the armies of Louis to the centre of Germany. Marlborough secured Bonn, which capitulated after a short siege. Three months later, Huy was surrendered to the Allies. But these successes were of comparatively small import. Marlborough and Cohorn had matured a plan for attacking Antwerp, and carrying the war into Flanders. The failure is attributed by Marlborough to "M. de Cohorn's stubbornness, and the dissensions amongst the generals." The French forces under Boufflers in the Netherlands threatened Holland. The duke proposed, in a council of war, on the 20th of August, to attack the French lines between Mehaigne and Leuwe. This plan was agreed to by the generals in command of the forces of Denmark, Luneburg, and Hesse, as well as by the English generals. It was submitted to the States-General, and by them rejected. They wanted another fortress, Limburg, to be taken. Marlborough was naturally irritated by this interference with his plans; but he submitted, and attacked Limburg, which surrendered after a short siege.

On the 9th of November, the queen opened the second Session of her first Parliament. The foreign policy which she announced had now for its object to recover the monarchy of Spain from the House of Bourbon, and to restore it to the House of Austria. The queen said that she had made a treaty for this object with the king of Portugal; and that subsidies would be required for the duke of Savoy, who had declared his intention to join the Alliance. The arch-duke Charles of Austria was now hailed by the Allies as king Charles of Spain. The principles of the agreement with Portugal were laid down in what is known as the Methuen Treaty,—called after the name of the ambassador who negotiated it. Under this treaty the wines of Portugal were to be admitted upon the payment of a duty 33⅓ per cent. less than the duty paid upon French wines; and the woollen

cloths of England, which had been prohibited in Portugal for twenty years, were to be admitted upon terms of proportionate advantage. In all subsequent commercial negotiations with France, the Methuen Treaty stood in the way, and France invariably pursued a system of retaliation.

A fortnight had scarcely elapsed since the opening of the Session, when a new Bill against Occasional Conformity was brought in, and the Commons renewed the work of the previous Session with a redoubled fury. They passed the Bill very quickly by a majority of two hundred and twenty-three to a hundred and forty. The Lords rejected it by a majority of twelve. Marlborough, perhaps very little to his taste, was dragged in by the Tories, to whom he yet pretended allegiance, to vote for the Bill. There were other parliamentary turmoils in this Session which involved the most serious disputes between the Lords and Commons. One of these —a controversy connected with the case of a Returning Officer having maliciously refused the vote of an Aylesbury Elector—was only put an end to by the prorogation of Parliament, and was renewed with increased violence in the next Session. The Lords took strong measures that affected, or appeared to affect, the privilege of the Commons. The quarrel finally expired when the Parliament expired under the Triennial Act. The commotions of party at this time were so extreme, that men who had higher aims than the possession of power for its own sake looked on with dread and sorrow. And yet calm and earnest reformers of gross abuses did contrive to carry some measures that were untainted by the breath of faction, and whose benefits still remain to us. One measure of law reform was passed in 1702, by which the witnesses in favour of a prisoner under trial were placed upon an equality with the witnesses for the Crown. Before the passing of this Statute, witnesses against the prisoner were examined on oath, and those in his favour were not examined on oath. Another measure of real benefit, was that popularly known as "Queen Anne's Bounty," by which the first-fruits and tenths of the larger benefices were vested in trustees, to form a fund for the augmentation of the smaller livings. These first-fruits and tenths had become part of the revenues of the Crown under the Statute of Henry VIII., which assigned to the king what the clergy had been accustomed to assign to the pope.

On the night of the 27th of November, 1703, the nation was terrified by a great storm of wind, which toppled down steeples, unroofed houses, drove great ships from their anchorage, and swept away the watch-towers of the coast. The shores of the Channel were strewn with wrecks. Fourteen or fifteen men of war were cast away, and fifteen hundred seamen perished with them. A general fast on the 19th of January was observed with unusual devotion. But Marlborough's wonderful campaign of 1704 caused the passed terror of 1703 to be soon forgotten.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

On the 29th of March, 1704, Marlborough wrote to M. Hop, the Dutch minister, that the public funds not being sufficient to carry on the war with vigour, the queen had provided additional means out of the privy purse; and he announced that the transports would speedily arrive in the Meuse, with nearly a thousand recruits for the infantry of the English army. On the 23rd of March an Act of Parliament had been passed "for raising recruits for the land forces and marines," by which justices of the peace, and mayors, or other head-officers of boroughs, were empowered "to raise and levy such able-bodied men as have not any lawful calling or employment, or visible means for their maintenance and livelihood, to serve as soldiers." The Bavarians and the French, having defeated the Imperial troops, were now masters of Augsburg and Passau. Through the successes of their joint forces, the way to Vienna was open to a great army to be collected on the Danube. Large detachments from the French army were to be led by Marshal Villeroy. Marshal Tallard was to leave the Rhine, and advance into Suabia through the Black Forest. The army of Italy was to march through the Tyrol into Austria. The Hungarians, then in a state of insurrection, were to be assisted by French troops. Marlborough had devised a vast series of operations upon a similar scale with those of Louis. His design had to be matured with small counsel from those who were to join him in carrying it out, and absolutely concealed from those who were to tender him the most efficient assistance. On the 5th of May, the States having consented that Marlborough should lead the joint forces to the Moselle, the troops began to march out of their garrisons. On the 11th, the great general wrote from Ruremonde to M. St. John, on Wednesday next, the troops will pass the Meuse at Ruremond, on their way to the Moselle; "and I may venture to tell you, though I would not have it public as yet, I design to march a great deal higher into Germany." By this impenetrable secresy the great general prevented the Dutch opposing his resolves upon the ground that it would leave their own frontier defenceless. The French themselves could not understand the movements of Marlborough. The French marshal, Villeroy, who had been ordered to observe him wheresoever he marched, suddenly lost sight of him altogether, and only learned where he really was, when he received the news of his first victory over the Bavarians. Marlborough's troops crossed the Rhine at Coblentz, where his artillery and stores, as well as his sick soldiers, were put on board transports. On the 3rd of June, he passed the Neckar at Ladenburg, by a bridge of boats. He here halted for two days. Troops were drawing near to join him as he advanced—Dutch, Luxemburg, Hesse, and Danish allies. At Mundelsheim, on the 10th, Marlborough and prince Eugene met for the first time, and after three days they were joined by prince Louis of Baden. Prince Eugene was in Marlborough's full confidence, and they hoped to act together for their common object. But prince Louis asserted his claim of precedence to be with the main army

as its commander. It was at last agreed that he and Marlborough should command on alternate days; and that Eugene should return to the Rhine to command a body of thirty thousand men. On the 29th the army, in camp at Giengen, was within two leagues of the elector of Bavaria; but the Danish horse were not come up. Marshal Tallard and marshal Villeroy were at Strasburg, preparing to send the elector a great reinforcement, through the Black Forest. The English infantry and artillery had at length joined the cavalry with which Marlborough himself had pushed on, and he was desirous of striking a decisive blow at the elector before his friends came to his aid. On the 1st of July, thirteen thousand Bavarians and French were posted in an intrenched camp upon the Schellenberg, an eminence of about two English miles in circumference at the base, having a gradual ascent, and a large flat at the top, where the enemy was encamped in several lines. The Schellenberg joined the town of Donawert, from which an intrenchment was carried round the top of the hill, at whose base, on the south, flowed the Danube. The intrenchment was the strongest and the most regular on the north, where the hill is accessible from a spacious plain. At three o'clock on the morning of the 2nd of July, Marlborough marched out of his camp with a detachment of six thousand foot, thirty squadrons of horse, and three regiments of Imperial grenadiers. The main body of the army followed. After a fatiguing march of fifteen miles over very rough roads the duke resolved to storm the Schellenberg before the night closed. At six o'clock the attack began. The foot advanced in four lines up the rising ground; the horse in two lines. The cannon from the intrenchments of the hills, and from the works at Donawert, swept away officers and men with case-shot. The enemy charged out of their trenches, but the English guards stood their ground, and the Gallo-Bavarians retired. The whole force of the Schellenberg was now concentrated upon the English and Danish assailants. The infantry shrunk before the incessant fire; but the horse closed up and rallied them, and again they attacked with redoubled vigour. Meanwhile, prince Louis of Baden led the Imperialists to the feebly defended intrenchments, and they, throwing their fascines into the ditch, passed over with slight loss. The contest on the left still raged. The intrenchments were obstinately disputed, but at the end of an hour and a half the lines were forced; the allies possessed the camp; the routed enemy fled towards Donawert, whither they were pursued with great slaughter, and as the flying crowds crossed the bridge of the Danube, it broke down, and the waters swallowed those who had escaped the sword. Only three thousand of the men of the entrenched camp of the Schellenberg joined the elector of Bavaria, out of the twelve or thirteen thousand that occupied that almost impregnable position. But the allies also sustained a loss of more than five thousand killed and wounded. There were fourteen English infantry regiments in the action, and seven of cavalry. Twenty-nine of their officers were killed, and eighty-six wounded.

Negotiations had been going on between the emperor and the elector of Bavaria to induce the elector to join the Allies. Articles had been agreed upon; but when the elector was expected to sign, he sent his secretary to say that as marshal Tallard was marching with an army of thirty thousand

men to his relief, it was not in his power, nor consistent with his honour, to quit the French interest. Marlborough writes: "We are now going to burn and destroy the elector's country, to oblige him to hearken to terms." This disgraceful work was set about in a very business-like manner, and all the terrors of fire and sword were let loose upon the quiet population.

On the 3rd of August, Marlborough was encamped at Friedberg. On the 8th Tallard had joined the elector, and their united forces were encamped at Biberach. Marlborough had weakened his main army by dispatching prince Louis to carry on the siege of Ingolstadt. On the 9th, prince Eugene, who was encamped at Donawert, hastily rode into Marlborough's camp, to announce that the united Gallo-Bavarian army had advanced from Bibrach towards Lauingen, with the supposed intention of passing the Danube. It was agreed that Eugene should be immediately reinforced, and that the whole army should advance nearer the Danube, in order to join him. The prince had now a force of twenty thousand men, composed of Prussians, Danes, Austrians, and troops of the empire. Marlborough commanded a force of thirty-six thousand men, composed of English, Dutch, Hessians, Hanoverians, and Danes. Tallard, and his fellow-general Marsin, commanded forty-eight thousand Frenchmen, and the Bavarians numbered twelve thousand. These forces passed the Danube on the 10th, and encamped at Dillingen. On that day Marlborough was encamped at Schonefeldt. On the 11th he crossed the Lech at Rain, and joined Eugene that night, having passed the Danube at Donawert. They intended to advance and encamp at Hochstet, but they found that the enemy had already possessed themselves of the ground. Marlborough, therefore, resolved on an attack. The allied army was encamped to the north-west of the river Kessel. The French and Bavarian army was encamped beyond the river Nebel, in the broadest part of the valley of the Danube, their right resting upon the great stream; marshal Tallard having his head-quarters at the village of Blenheim. Their left was at the village of Lutzingen, covered by a wood. The space occupied by their lines was in length about four miles, upon rising ground which commanded the whole plain to the Nebel, in front. The distance between the Kessel and the Nebel is four or five miles. At three o'clock in the morning of the 13th of August, the army of Eugene, filing by the right, in four columns, and the army of Marlborough, also in four columns, were passing the Kessel, over bridges which had been constructed on the previous day. A ninth column, under the command of the gallant lord Cutts, marched along the Danube, upon the extreme left, with orders to attack the village of Blenheim. The morning was hazy, and Tallard was somewhat unaccountably deceived into the belief that Marlborough and Eugene were intending to march away to Nordlingen. When he found out his mistake, his first operation was to call in his foragers, and to set fire to the villages on that side of the Nebel on which the Allies were advancing. At eight o'clock the French began to cannonade, and the batteries of Marlborough and Eugene soon replied. It had been agreed between the two commanders that the battle should not commence till both were ready. Eugene found considerable difficulty in taking up his ground, and it was past noc-

when he had placed his troops, upon the extreme right, in front of the elector of Bavaria. Then Marlborough mounted his horse, and gave the command that the lines should move forward to cross the Nebel, and that Cutts should commence the attack upon Blenheim. The French marshal had taken extraordinary pains in the defence of this village. He had concentrated his chief strength here, and had made every house and garden a little fortress. His left was equally strong under the elector, but he had neglected the centre of the plain, where it appeared to him that the Nebel was impassable. At one o'clock the allied troops under Cutts descended to the Nebel, and crossed by two water-mills which had been set on fire. Three times were the assailants repulsed; but at last they held their ground, and were enabled to occupy the attention of the great body of troops within Blenheim, by keeping up a feigned attack, whilst the main body of Marlborough's army was crossing the Nebel. This was a difficult and dangerous operation, which occupied several hours. As the columns of the Allies passed the stream, volleys of musquetry were poured upon them; and the charges of French cavalry were incessant. The conflict gradually extended from the left to the centre, as English, Dutch, Danes and Hanoverians, came into position. In the meantime prince Eugene had been fighting the elector on the right, with indifferent success. Three times had he attacked, and three times he had been compelled to retire to the wood, and re-form his broken ranks. The main bodies under Tallard and Marlborough had not yet come to a general encounter. Marlborough had formed his cavalry in two lines in the centre of the plain, with his infantry in their rear towards the left. At five o'clock the trumpets sounded a charge, and the horse and foot mounted the acclivity. The French received the charge firmly, and the Allies fell back, but still kept the brow of the hill. Their cannon were brought up, and the fire on each side was close and incessant. Another charge, and the French horse were scattered. Nine battalions of French infantry that had been intermingled with their cavalry, were cut to pieces. A third charge of Marlborough's horse, and the battle was won. Tallard's cavalry endeavoured to rally behind the tents of their camp, but the Allies closed upon them, and the rout was general. Marlborough himself, with his victorious cavalry, pursued the fugitives. Marshal Tallard found retreat impossible, and surrendered himself to an aide-de-camp of the prince of Hesse. The troops of the elector and of Marsin seeing the rout of Tallard, and being closely pressed by Eugene, had set fire to their positions, and were moving away in unbroken order. Through a mistake, no interruption was offered to their retreat. The Allies now closed round the barricaded village of Blenheim. Artillery was brought up, and batteries constructed. All the great English generals were assembled to unite in this final struggle. The twenty-six battalions and twelve squadrons which were shut up in Blenheim finally surrendered as prisoners of war. Marlborough was embarrassed by the number of his prisoners. In a few days he had more than twelve thousand on his hands. It is computed that the two armies of Marlborough and Eugene had eleven thousand men killed and wounded; and the armies of France and the elector fourteen thousand. It was supposed that the total loss of the French and Bavarians in the battle, and during their retreat, amounted to forty thousand men,

including prisoners and deserters. The blow to the power of France was tremendous. On the 20th of August, Marlborough's army was before Ulm. On the 12th of September he received the news that the garrison had capitulated. The Allies were then advancing to the siege of Landau, which the prince of Baden was to conduct, and Marlborough was to cover with his army, for Villeroy was hovering around, but would not come to battle. The defence of this strongly fortified place was very obstinate, and Marlborough did not receive the news of its capitulation till the 3rd of December, when he was at Hanover, having left the tedious siege, and posted to Berlin to conclude a treaty with the king of Prussia for a large addition to the allied forces. Meanwhile the electress of Bavaria, who was left regent, had agreed that all her troops should be disbanded. On the 22nd, Marlborough embarked for England, with marshal Tallard and others, his distinguished prisoners. Trierbach, another strong place, had also fallen. Honours came thick upon the conqueror. He was admitted a prince of the Roman empire by the emperor of Germany, and a principality was created for him. In his own country, he received congratulatory addresses from the two Houses, and from the queen the more solid reward of the estate of Woodstock. The people gave him an enthusiastic welcome. The standards that had been taken in the campaign were carried in a grand military procession from the Tower to Westminster Hall, and there hung up, with the whole population of London shouting for Anne and Marlborough. But the factions of the Commons cared nothing for the national triumph—they sought only the triumph of a party. Burnet says, "The constant successes with which God had blessed the queen's reign, put it out of their power to compass that which was aimed at by them; the forcing a peace, and of consequence the delivering all up to France." The factious Bill against Occasional Conformity had been for a third time brought forward, and the violent Tory party had made the most strenuous efforts to tack it to a money bill which was to enable the war to be continued. The scheme was defeated. The Commons then passed the Bill by itself. Marlborough arrived in time to vote against it in this amended form. It was thrown out by the Lords. On the 14th of March, the queen prorogued the Parliament.

Whilst Marlborough was leading the army of the Allies to the Rhine, the arch-duke Charles had landed at Lisbon, and was prepared to head the troops on the western frontier of the kingdom to which he laid claim. But the Allies were here completely held in check by the duke of Berwick; and were unable to prevent several of the Portuguese towns being taken by the Spaniards. A little army of five or six thousand men, under the command of the prince of Darmstadt, embarked at Lisbon in May, in a fleet of which sir George Rooke was the admiral. The expedition landed at Barcelona; but receiving very little support from the people, it re-embarked, and Rooke sailed down the Mediterranean, and passed through the Straits, where he effected a junction with the fleet under sir Cloudesley Shovel. The admirals then planned an attack upon Gibraltar, in which the prince of Darmstadt agreed to join. There were not more than a hundred men within the works on the famous rock; but they were commanded by a brave veteran, who rejected with disdain the summons to

surrender. Two thousand marines, under the command of the prince of Darmstadt, landed on the Isthmus, and cut off the supplies from the mainland. On the 2nd of August, Rooke commenced a bombardment from his ships. The next day was a great festival; and a part of the garrison went to pray to their saint, leaving the eastern side of the rock imperfectly defended. The English sailors scaled the precipice, and at the same time the South Molehead was stormed,—with a heavy loss to the assailants by the springing of a mine. All resistance was at an end. The brave governor made honourable terms for himself and his garrison; and upon the rock which has defied every besieger through a century and a half, the English flag floated in an easy victory. The prince of Darmstadt remained at Gibraltar, with a force of two thousand men. The English fleet then went in search of a French fleet that had been equipped at Toulon, and was under the command of the high-admiral of France, the count de Toulouse. Rooke had been joined by some Dutch vessels; the French admiral also had been joined by some Spanish vessels. These two armaments met off Malaga. They fought all day; but not a ship of the hundred vessels engaged was sunk, or burnt, or taken, on either side, though both fleets were much disabled. Three thousand English and Dutch were killed and wounded, and the estimated loss of the French was four thousand,—a terrible slaughter of brave men without any decisive results. The count de Toulouse sailed away to Toulon, and Rooke made for Gibraltar. Before the autumn of 1704 was passed, eight thousand men, under the marquis of Villadaria, commenced a siege of Gibraltar. The earl of Galway, who in 1704 was appointed to the command of the troops in Portugal, sent four regiments to the aid of the garrison of Gibraltar, with supplies of ammunition and provisions. The prince of Darmstadt made a brave and judicious resistance. The English fleet constantly threw in fresh supplies to the besieged, which the French admiral, De Pontis, was powerless to prevent. The besiegers were ill supplied with necessaries. A French commander was sent to supersede Villadaria, but matters were not improved by the change. In March, sir John Leake attacked De Pontis, and swept away what remained of the French naval power. The siege was then raised.

As if to exhibit, upon a different theatre of the same great warfare, the most remarkable contrast to the patience, the caution, and the foresight of Marlborough—qualities even more remarkable in the great commander than his daring and courage—Charles Mordaunt, earl of Peterborough, took the command of an expedition to Spain. Macaulay calls Peterborough "the most extraordinary character of that age, the king of Sweden himself not excepted . . . . a polite, learned, and amorous Charles the Twelfth." He sailed from Portsmouth in June, 1705, having the command of five thousand men; unlimited authority over the land forces, and a divided command with sir Cloudesley Shovel at sea. At Lisbon, Peterborough was reinforced, and he here took on board the archduke Charles, and a numerous suite. At Gibraltar he received two veteran battalions, in exchange for the same number of recruits which he had brought from England. The prince of Darmstadt also here joined Peterborough. The prince and the arch-duke desired to besiege Barcelona.

Peterborough opposed the scheme of attempting, with seven thousand men, the reduction of a place which required thirty thousand men for a regular siege. With the squadron under sir Cloudesley Shovel, the fleet sailed from Gibraltar. A landing was effected near Valencia; and here the people were found favourable to the cause of the Austrian prince, who was proclaimed, upon the surrender of the castle of Denia, as Charles III., king of Spain and the Indies. Peterborough, encouraged by this reception, conceived the enterprise of dashing upon the capital, whilst all the Spanish forces were on the frontiers of Portugal, or in Catalonia, and king Philip was at Madrid with few troops. Such an exploit had every chance of success, but Peterborough was overruled by a council of war. The troops were landed before Barcelona on the 27th of August. In three weeks there was nothing but dissensions amongst the great men of this expedition. The prince of Darmstadt and the earl of Peterborough had come to an open rupture. The Dutch officers said their troops should not join in an enterprise so manifestly impossible of success for a small force. Peterborough conceived a plan of attack totally opposed to all the routine modes of warfare. The citadel of Montjouich, built on the summit of a ridge of hills skirting the sea, commanded the town. Peterborough gave notice that he should raise the siege; sent his heavy artillery on board the ships; and made every preparation for embarking the troops. With twelve hundred foot soldiers, and two hundred horse, he marched out of the camp on the evening of the 13th of September, accompanied by the prince of Darmstadt, whom he had invited to join him. They marched all night by the side of the mountains; and before daybreak were under the hill of Montjouich, and close to the outer works. Peterborough told his officers that when they were discovered at daylight, the enemy would descend into the outer ditch to repel them, and that then was the time to receive their fire, leap in upon them, drive them into the outer works, and gain the fortress by following them close. The scheme succeeded, and the English were soon masters of the bastion. A similar attack on the opposite side of the fortress was also successful. But the prince of Darmstadt, having incautiously advanced, lost two hundred of his party as prisoners, and was himself killed at the moment when Peterborough came to his rescue. The citadel held out for several days, but was finally reduced by a bombardment from the hills, the cannon having been relanded from the ships. The reduction of Montjouich by this extraordinary act of daring, was very soon followed by the surrender of Barcelona. The soldiers had mutinied; the people of the city were in a state of riot; and the governor, who was unpopular, was in danger of his life. Peterborough saved the governor, and calmed the popular fury. The possession of Barcelona, in which King Charles III. was proclaimed with great solemnity, was followed by the adhesion to his cause of the chief towns of Catalonia. Peterborough was for following up his wonderful success by other daring operations. The German ministers and the Dutch officers opposed all his projects. At length a pressing request came to Charles to send assistance to San Mateo, which was besieged by the count of Las Torres, with a force of seven thousand. Peterborough, with twelve hundred troops, by a series of daring efforts, raised the siege, and entered the town in triumph. He

then sent his infantry back to Barcelona, for the safety of the king's person, and followed the retreating army of Las Torres with only two hundred cavalry. By his rapid marches; his confident tone; his disguise of his real strength, he kept up the terror of the thousands who were flying before his two hundred, and towns opened their gates to him without a blow. The magistrates of Valencia, which city had thrown off its allegiance to king Philip, sent messengers to implore the aid of Peterborough; for a body of ten thousand was approaching to invest their city. He managed to recall the infantry which he had sent back to Barcelona, and obtained some other reinforcements. The duke of Arcos, the Spanish general, was encamped upon a wide plain, over which Peterborough must pass, on his way to Valencia. Between him and the plain was a formidable pass, under the walls of Murviedro. By a stratagem of no worthy character, Peterborough succeeded in throwing the commander at Murviedro off his guard, and in so deceiving the duke of Arcos, that the way to Valencia was left open, and the pass of Murviedro was undefended. Peterborough had not long rested in Valencia, when he sallied forth to attack a body of four thousand horse; came upon their encampment with a force not a third of their number, and returned with six hundred prisoners, having utterly routed the troops of king Philip.

It was soon found that king Charles was incompetent to follow up the successes which Peterborough had accomplished for him. Philip V. marched from Madrid with a force which, being joined by that of marshal Tessé, enabled him to enter Catalonia with twenty thousand men. Charles in April was shut up in Barcelona, whilst a large army was investing the city by land, and it was blockaded by a French fleet. Montjouich fell, after being bombarded for twenty-three days. Peterborough, meanwhile, had rapidly marched from Valencia, with two thousand foot and six hundred horse, and from the mountains above Barcelona he kept the besieging forces in perpetual alarm. A fleet was coming from England under admiral Leake, on board of which was general Stanhope with reinforcements. Off the Spanish coast, they were joined by another fleet, under admiral Byng. Peterborough immediately marched to a small seaport; and, as soon as the fleet arrived, embarked his men; hoisted his flag; sent orders to Leake and Stanhope; and hoped to reach Barcelona in time to fight the count de Toulouse. But the Frenchmen had sheered off. The English troops were, however, thrown into Barcelona; the French general, Tessé, raised the siege; and the great army moved off, leaving their heavy cannon behind. King Philip retired to Madrid. But the Allies from the Portuguese frontier were marching upon the capital; and the Court having fled, they entered Madrid on the 25th of June. Charles was urged by Peterborough and Stanhope to take the road to Madrid through Valencia, whither Peterborough had gone by sea with his men. The slow and formal Austrian prince lingered at first, without showing any inclination to move at all. When he did move he went into Aragon, which had imitated Catalonia and Valencia in acknowledging him, and loitered at Saragossa. Berwick soon compelled the Allies to evacuate the capital. Charles had done nothing to identify himself with the nation, the majority of whom felt that foreign invaders had come

against them. The Castilians took up the cause of Philip as if it were a national cause. The western provinces were imbued with the same spirit. Peterborough saw that the game was up, and proposed to go to the relief of Turin. He was taken at his word, and Charles and his advisers were left to their own ruinous course. The duke of Savoy, having been enabled through the subsidies of England and Holland to expend large sums in preparations for the defence of his capital, treated with contempt the summons to surrender of La Feuillade, the French general, who invested the city with an immense army. The siege was carried on with a fearful loss of life. The successes of the French in the early part of the campaign had been very great, and it appeared doubtful whether Savoy could be saved. Prince Eugene was beyond the Adige with an army of Imperialists. By a series of skilful movements, he united his forces with the cavalry of the duke of Savoy in September; attacked the French in their entrenchments; obtained a complete victory; and finally drove them out of Italy.

Marlborough embarked at Harwich on the 31st of March. After much opposition from the States, he led the English and Dutch troops to the Moselle, there to co-operate with the forces under prince Louis of Baden. On the 3rd of June, without waiting for Baden, Marlborough crossed the Moselle and the Saar. The French armies under Villars and Marsin had united. Marlborough was anxious to give them battle; but they retreated; and he followed, though ill-provided with artillery. He encamped at Elft, and there waited for reinforcements. The weather was so bitterly cold that all the grass and oats were destroyed. Marlborough's army was weakened by desertions. He had no horses or carriages for the conveyance of heavy artillery, the German princes having utterly failed in their engagements. Villeroy and the elector of Bavaria were rapidly advancing, so as to threaten Holland. Marlborough apprehended that the Dutch would be frightened into a negotiation for peace. Villeroy had taken Huy, and was investing Liège. At midnight on the 17th of June, Marlborough broke up the camp at Elft, and marched back to the position which he had occupied a fortnight before. By a series of rapid movements he united his army with that of the Dutch general, d'Auverquerque; and Villeroy retreated within the formidable French lines which had been three years in construction, and which extended from the Meuse, near Namur, to the Scheldt at Antwerp. Marlborough regained possession of Huy, by the capitulation of the garrison on the 11th of July. But this success was accompanied by a bitter mortification. Upon the approach of a French detachment, the Palatine general, d'Aubach, abandoned Treves and Saarbrück, and burned the magazines which contained stores that were essential to the further prosecution of the operations on the Moselle. Marlborough now determined to attack the French lines by passing the Gheet near Leuwe—a part where the greatest difficulties appeared to present themselves. The weaker part of the lines was to the south of the Mehaigne; and thither d'Auverquerque was directed to march, "to give the enemy a jealousy that they were to be attacked on that side, and to oblige them to draw their greatest strength that way." The French army of seventy thousand men was distributed along convenient parts of the

lines. During the day of the 17th, Villeroy was employed in watching the movements of Auverquerque. At eight o'clock at night a detachment of Marlborough's army began its march towards the Little Gheet river; and at the same time Auverquerque recrossed the Mehaigne, and connected his vanguard with the rear of Marlborough. When the morning dawned, the English and Dutch were approaching the French works, concealed by a thick fog. They carried the castle of Wange, and the troops scrambled through the marshy ground, crossed the Gheet, rushed into the trench, and were within the enemy's lines. They were encountered by the marquis d'Allegre with twenty battalions of infantry and fifty squadrons of horse. Marlborough himself headed a charge of cavalry, and for a short time, having only a trumpeter and a servant with him, was surrounded as the French repulsed his charge. But the English troops rallied to his rescue; and a second charge left them masters of the lines. Villeroy came up too late, and had no resource but a retreat. D'Allegre was taken prisoner, with four other general officers, and a thousand men. Villeroy had retreated beyond the Dyle, and had established a strong position near Louvain. Marlborough wanted to force the passage of the Dyle, but he was prevented taking any immediate offensive measures through the constant interference of the deputies of the States. There was a skirmish on the plain of Waterloo. But the opportunity was lost of anticipating the later glories of that plain.

All Marlborough's disappointments in the campaign were matters of rejoicing to the High Tories in England, who were now distinguished as "the Tackers." The elections of 1705 roused up a bitterness of party-feeling that had rarely been equalled in England. The queen had manifested less disinclination to transfer a portion of her favour to the Whigs. The High Churchmen gave out the rallying-cry of "The Church in danger." "The Dissenters," says Burnet, "who had been formerly much divided, were now united entirely in the interests of the government, and joined with the Whigs everywhere." It was seen that the Whigs would have a parliamentary majority; so Godolphin declared in their favour "more openly than he had done formerly." The queen's speech promised, "I will always affectionately support and countenance the Church of England as by law established. I will invariably maintain the Toleration." The Tories were angry, and they took a course which they judged would annoy Anne. Lord Haversham, one of the Tory leaders, moved in the Lords, that the princess Sophia of Hanover should be invited to reside in England, as presumptive heir of the Crown. The motion was negatived, although very strongly supported by Buckingham, Rochester, and other Tory peers. The question of the Succession being thus stirred again by the Tories, the Whigs brought forward a Bill for appointing a Regency,—to consist of the archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Keeper, the Lord Chief Justice, and four great officers of state,—which should carry on the government, in the case of the demise of the queen, until the arrival of her successor. The Bill was carried. Halifax moved in the Lords that an inquiry should be made into the alleged danger of the Church. After a long debate it was voted by a majority of sixty-one peers against thirty, that the Church was not in danger. The queen

then issued a proclamation, at the instance of Parliament, declaring that the authors or spreaders of the cry that the Church is in danger should be proceeded against with the utmost severity the law should allow of.

On the 27th of April, Marlborough was again at the Hague. The French on the Upper Rhine having obtained some successes, the Dutch became alarmed for their own safety, and Marlborough consented to remain in command of the English and Dutch armies, provided that his power was unfettered. To this the States consented; and the troops began to march from the Hague on the 7th of May. They were to be joined by various garrisons, and to encamp near Maestricht. On the 20th the French had drawn all their forces together, had passed the Dyle, and were posted at Tirlemont. On the 23rd, Whit Sunday, Marlborough began his march, at three o'clock in the morning, to gain the open space between the Mehaigne and the Great Gheet. That position was found to be occupied by the enemy. The Allies, in eight columns, passed the once formidable lines which had been demolished in the preceding year; and having cleared the village of Mierdorp, formed in order of battle in the plain of Jandrincouil. Villeroy's army of French and Bavarians, amounting to sixty-two thousand, was posted in two lines on eminences above the marshes, stretching from the Little Gheet to the Mehaigne, having in the centre the village of Ramilies, which was defended by twenty battalions of French. It was a formidable position. Villeroy waited for the attack in his camp, on the rising ground of Mont St. André, in front of the Great Gheet. The Allies formed their order of battle in the plain, between the village of Boniffe, on the Mehaigne, and the village of Foulaz, on the Little Gheet—having two lines, the infantry in the centre, the cavalry on the wings, with twenty squadrons of Danes to support the left of the infantry. The duke's whole army amounted to sixty thousand men. Marlborough determined to make a demonstration of attack upon the left of the French, at Autre-église and Offuy. Villeroy immediately drew his troops from the centre to support his left. Marlborough then ordered the second line of the troops that were advancing to Autre-église, to defile to the left, by a hollow way that concealed them. The first line of his right wing ascended the rising ground at Autre-église, and opened their fire. On his left the French were attacked at Ramilies, and the Dutch infantry made a successful assault at Tavieres, a village on the Mehaigne. But the French cavalry then came into conflict with the Dutch cavalry under Auverquerque, and repelled them in great disorder. Marlborough immediately put himself at the head of seventeen squadrons, and charged the French cavalry. He was recognised, was surrounded, and nearly made prisoner. He cut his way through; his charger fell; his equerry had his head shot off by a cannon-ball as he held the stirrup for his general to mount another horse. But now a reserve of cavalry that Marlborough had sent for, came up; and an irresistible charge determined the battle on the left. The Allies gained the heights above Ramilies, but the conflict in and around that village was still doubtful. The ever watchful general ordered up a reserve of infantry, and the allied horse descending from the heights, their united force completed the triumph of the left and centre. But Marlborough was compelled to form his troops again upon the ground they had won. Villeroy

now endeavoured to take up a new line, but before he could get his battalions formed, Marlborough ordered a general advance, and the French began to fly. Onward went the pursued and the pursuers towards Louvain. Marlborough did not halt till he had reached Mildert, thirteen miles from the battle-field. The French and Bavarians determined to abandon their fortified towns, and save the remnant of their force by a hurried retreat. They had lost seven thousand men, killed and wounded, and six thousand prisoners. The Allies lost nearly four thousand men. The artillery, baggage, and eighty standards, were the spoil of the victors. Marlborough entered Louvain without meeting any obstacle. Malines, Alost, and other places had submitted. The Estates of Brabant assembled at Brussels had acknowledged the authority of king Charles III., and they sent out their commands to other fortified towns to make a like submission. Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, and Oudenarde were surrendered without a shot being fired. St. Simon says, "with the exception of Namur, Mons, and a very few other places, all the Spanish Low Countries were lost—Ostend, having been besieged by a powerful land force and by nine ships of the line, capitulated on the 7th of July. Menin, one of the greatest fortresses of Vauban, was carried by assault, with immense loss, on the 22nd of August. Dendermonde surrendered on the 3rd of September. Ath was the last fortress to fall, on the 4th of October.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE Commissioners appointed in 1702 to negotiate the Union of England and Scotland had debated for six months, without any result. The Scottish Parliament, or Convention of Estates, had sat from the time of the Revolution. A new Parliament was assembled in May, 1703. This Parliament was not in a state of conciliation towards England. Glencoe and Darien were still watchwords of strife. The failure of the negotiations for Union necessarily produced exasperation. There was manifested a decided inclination to the interests of France. In the "Act for the Security of the Kingdom" an open declaration was made of the disposition to separate wholly from England. The English Act of Settlement was not to be accepted, but the Estates of Scotland were to name a successor to queen Anne from the Protestant descendants of the Stuart line. For four months this matter was vehemently debated in the Scottish Parliament. The Act of Security was carried, but the Lord High Commissioner refused his assent. Following this legislative commotion came what was called in England the Scottish Plot—a most complicated affair of intrigue and official treachery, with some real treason at the bottom of it. The House of Lords in England took cognizance of the matter, which the Scottish Estates, when they re-assembled in 1704, denounced as an interference with the prerogative of the queen of Scotland. The Security Act was

again passed, and the royal assent was not now withheld. The Parliament of England then addressed the queen, requesting her to put Carlisle, Newcastle, Tynemouth, and Hull in a state of defence, and to send forces to the border. A Statute was passed, which in the first place provided for a treaty of Union; and then enacted, that until the Scottish Parliament should settle the succession to the Crown in the same line as that of the English Act of Settlement, no native of Scotland, except those domiciled in England, or in the army or navy, should acquire the privileges of a natural-born Englishman; and prohibiting all importations of coals, cattle, sheep, or linen from Scotland. It was evident that there must be Union or war. A collision between the Darien Company and the two East India Companies filled the cup of bitterness to the brim. In this defiant attitude towards England stood Scotland in 1704 and in 1705. Her mobs were howling for English blood before her courts of justice; her patriots were hooting and hissing when the name of the princess Sophia was uttered in the Parliament House. The northern population of England were filled with apprehensions of a Scottish war. These apprehensions were happily averted by a show of moderation in the Scottish Parliament; and by a consummate exercise of prudence on the part of Godolphin, who was now the head of a ministry chiefly composed of moderate Whigs. In August, 1705, the draft of an Act for a Treaty of Union was brought into the Scottish Parliament. Violent were the debates; but it was at last passed, by a majority of two; but accompanied by a Resolution "against any progress in the treaty of Union, till the Act which declared them aliens by such a day should be repealed." In the new English Parliament of 1705, to the surprise of all parties, the ministers of the queen advocated this repeal, not only as regarded the question of denying the Scots the privileges of native-born subjects, but as to the restrictions of that Statute upon commercial intercourse. The friendly hand was cordially held out, and the English statesmen went calmly forward with their great work, which they accomplished by honest perseverance, without trickery and without coercion. Their success may be attributed in no small degree to the wisdom and justice of lord Somers, whose ruling principle was that of acting with perfect fairness to Scotland. In the spring of 1706, thirty-one Commissioners were nominated on the part of each kingdom, for negotiating the terms of Union. After some violent opposition, the nomination of the Scottish Commissioners was left to the queen. To the surprise of many, that nomination included several violent opposers of the Union. On the 16th of April, the Commissioners assembled in the Cockpit, at Whitehall. They sat till the 22nd of July, when the Articles of Union were finally agreed upon. At the opening of the negotiations, the English Commissioners proposed an entire Union of the two kingdoms—one kingdom, one crown, one parliament. The Scottish Commissioners demurred, but the Englishmen were resolute, and the Scots yielded; but at the same time demanded reciprocity of citizenship and of privileges of trade. This point was granted at once. It was thus settled that "the two nations should be formed into one Government, be under one sovereign head, in one represented body, standing upon one foundation, enjoying equal privileges, and in common bearing one general pro-

portion of burdens, the same in end and mean, having but one common interest, one name, and being but ever hereafter but one people." The question of "proportion of burdens" was arranged by the English Commissioners proposing an equivalent to Scotland in a money payment, for any disadvantages she might be subjected to in a joint principle of finance. A system of equal duties upon imports and exports was established. The Land Tax was arranged in a manner eminently favourable to Scotland. The difficulties arising from the Darien affair were smoothed by the English Commissioners agreeing to purchase the shares of the particular members of the African and Indian Company. The stock had been a dead weight upon many families; and this relief "took off the edge of the opposition which some people would otherwise have made to the Union in general." On the complex question of representation, the English Commissioners proposed that Scotland should have thirty-eight members in the united House of Commons. The Scottish Commissioners proposed fifty. The number was settled at forty-five—about one-twelfth of the whole House. Sixteen peers were taken out of the hundred and fifty-four who were then peers of Scotland. The laws of Scotland, with the exception of those relating to trade, customs, and excise, were to remain in force, although subject to alterations by the Parliament of Great Britain, as the united kingdom was to be called. The standards of the coin, of weights, and of measures, were to become uniform with those of the English. The crosses of St. George and St. Andrew were to be conjoined when used in flags, banners, standards, and ensigns. In these negotiations all matters relating to the Church of Scotland were excluded. The preservation intact of the constitution and rights of that Church was provided for in the Acts of Parliament under which the Union was established. On the 12th of October, 1706, the Estates of Scotland began to consider the Articles of Union. Immense pains had been taken by the opponents of the measure to rouse the people to a tumultuous opposition. They were in some degree successful. There was a riot in Edinburgh on the 23rd of October; and addresses came from many places to the Parliament against the incorporating principle of the Union. The popular arguments against the Union were chiefly appeals to a narrow nationality. The first great oratorical display was made by a young man, lord Belhaven, whose speech "was circulated in all known shapes among the people." Belhaven, and others of the honest patriots at this great crisis of their country's destiny, rested their opposition to an incorporating Union upon their belief that it would destroy the nationality of Scotland, without any corresponding public benefits. Mr. Seton, of Pidmedden, pointed out, with strong common sense, the benefits to Scotland of an incorporating Union, "I may assert, that by this Union we will have access to all the advantages in commerce, which the English enjoy: we will be capable, by a good government, to improve our natural products, for the benefit of the whole island; and we will have our liberty, property, and religion, secured under the protection of one sovereign, and one Parliament, of Great Britain." There was a majority of thirty-three in favour of the fundamental proposition, that the two kingdoms should be united into one kingdom by the name of Great Britain. The second Article for the

Succession of the Monarchy, and the third for representation by one Parliament, were also carried within the next fortnight. The question which was excepted from the Treaty, that of the Church of Scotland, was then agitated. A separate Act was passed, under which every sovereign of Great Britain, upon his or her accession, was to take an oath to protect the government, worship, discipline, rights, and privileges of the Church of Scotland. This Act was to be repeated as a part of any Act of the Scottish or English Parliament adopting the Union. The Estates then proceeded to the consideration of the minute details of the remaining twenty Articles of the Treaty. This discussion lasted till the middle of January, 1707.

There was a formidable opposition to the Union beyond the walls of the Scottish Parliament, manifesting itself amongst very various parties and conditions of society. There was a second outbreak in Edinburgh, but without bloodshed. There was a more serious riot at Glasgow on the 7th of November, which lasted several days. But neither did this rude mob take any life away. The duke of Queensberry, the queen's High Comissioner, was instrumental in disarming the violence, both within the Parliament and without, by his patience and moderation. On the 20th the Cameronians burnt the Articles publicly at the market-cross of Dumfries, and published a declaration that all who supported the Union were enemies and traitors to their country. The Government had received advices that the Cameronians and Jacobites were to meet in arms on the river Nith, near Sanquhar, to put an end to the Parliament, and that the French king would send over troops, "to improve the opportunity." Vast things were expected from the junction of the True League and Covenant men with the Jacobites, Papists, and Episcopalians. They were to march to Hamilton, seven thousand in number. The duke of Athol was to lead his Highlanders through the famous pass where Dundee scattered six thousand veterans. The duke of Hamilton was to head this motley army. The duke, however, sent orders to the Highlanders and Cameronians to disperse and return home.

Despite the Jacobites and Cameronians, the timid Presbyterians and the semi-Papist Episcopalians, the Act of the Scottish Estates for the Union was finally passed on the 16th of January, 1707, by a hundred and ten votes against sixty-nine. The last meeting of the Scotch Estates was on the 26th of March, 1707. The Parliament of England had met in December. At the end of January the queen sent to the House of Peers, and announced that the Treaty for an Union had been ratified by Act of Parliament in Scotland, with some alterations and additions. The Articles were then presented. The debates in the English Parliament were animated, but were not violent. In the Lords a Bill was brought in for the Security of the Church of England, as by law established. The ministry succeeded in preventing a debate on each clause of the Treaty of Union by inserting the Articles in the preamble of the bill, with the two Acts for the Security of the Churches of each country. The measure was passed without difficulty, and on the 6th of March it received the royal assent.

An indirect overture for peace had been made by Louis; but the English Parliament was in no pacific attitude. The queen made a public declara-

tion "that no negotiations for peace should be entered into, but in conjunction with all the members of the Grand Alliance." The supplies were granted with unusual rapidity; and the pension of 5000*l.* per annum to the duke of Marlborough was settled upon his posterity. When the Parliament was prorogued it was renewed by proclamation, declaring that the first Parliament of Great Britain should be held on the 23rd of October.

After Peterborough had left Spain, the so-called king Charles, instead of remaining with the army in Valencia, to lead them against Berwick, returned to Barcelona. In April, lord Galway and the Portuguese general, Das Minas, took the field, with about seventeen thousand men. The French and Spanish army was superior in numbers, especially in cavalry. They met on the plain of Almanza; and there a battle was fought, in which the Allies were utterly routed. Four thousand of the English, Dutch and Portuguese were slain on that fatal Easter Monday, the 25th of April, and eight thousand were taken prisoners. The towns of Valencia and Aragon were surrendered to the victor. Peterborough's exploits were nearly useless. In Catalonia alone had king Charles any adherents.

In the reverses of 1706, Louis XIV. had turned his views to Charles XII. of Sweden as an ally; had bribed his ministers; had even solicited him to become the mediator between the Bourbons and the Allies. Charles, however, had plans of his own, which he pursued with a self-will which had very little respect to the power or influence of any State, or confederacy of States. He had defeated the Russians in 1700. He had first conquered, and then deposed, king Augustus of Poland, and had set up a man of noble family, Stanislaus, as king; Augustus was also elector of Saxony. Charles led his army into Saxony; held its elector in a sort of honourable captivity; and from his camp at Alt Ranstadt, near Leipsic, demanded the submission of Europe to his decrees. On the 27th of April, 1707, Marlborough was at Alt Ranstadt, had an audience of the king, and delivered a letter from queen Anne. Charles was very gracious. He said he would do nothing to prejudice the common cause in general, or the Protestant religion in particular. Marlborough discovered "that the king of Sweden's real design, and sole ambition, were to dethrone the Czar, as he had already done the king of Poland." Marlborough promised pensions to the Swedish minister, count Piper, and other functionaries, paying one year in advance; and then he returned to the Hague, to go to his accustomed fighting-ground. There was no battle in the Netherlands during that campaign. Vendôme commanded the French army, and he was content with defensive operations. The States controlled Marlborough's plans. In the meantime an attempt was made, by land and sea, to penetrate into the south-eastern part of Louis's own territory. In the beginning of July, Victor Amadeus and Eugene crossed the Alps by the pass of the Col di Tende; on the 11th they made the passage of the Var; dislodged the French from their intrenchments on the right bank of that river; and on the 25th encamped near Toulon. An English and Dutch fleet, under sir Cloudesley Shovel, co-operated in this bold attempt, and accomplished all that naval daring could effect. But the force of the Allies was wholly incompetent to invest a place whose fortifications were so respectable as those of Toulon. In less than one month,

the object of the expedition was abandoned. The duke of Savoy resolved to bombard Toulon, in which act of destruction the fleet was the chief agent. The only good result of this "diversion," as it was called, was to draw off some of the forces of France from other quarters. Returning home from the siege of Toulon, sir Cloudesley Shovel's flag-ship was wrecked on the rocks of Scilly, with two other vessels, on the night of the 22nd of October. The crews all perished. The body of the admiral, supposed to be cast ashore by the waves, was found after some days, and was brought to Westminster Abbey for interment with all honour. There was afterwards some reason to suppose that Sir Cloudesley had survived the wreck, and had been murdered on the shore to secure the valuable property about his person. Another disaster at sea, with other accidents, caused the first Parliament of Great Britain to meet in no very placable temper. A convoy of five ships of the line had been sent to guard a fleet of merchantmen to Lisbon. Fourteen sail of French ships from Brest and Dunkirk met the English ships off the Lizard; and of this convoy one vessel was blown up and three taken. Most of the merchantmen escaped, and reached their destination. The prince of Denmark was Lord High Admiral; and against his management, or rather that of his Council, to whom he deferred in all things, were the complaints of Parliament openly or covertly directed.

After the discussions in the Scottish Parliament upon the question of Union, a Jacobite agent from St. Germain's—Colonel Hooke,—had been busy in stirring up the disaffected to an insurrection, by offers of French assistance for the invasion of England. This ambassador had communications with several peers of well-known Jacobite principles. He was also endeavouring to work among the Cameronians. The Union, as might be expected, had not worked very smoothly in Scotland. There were perpetual differences about the collection of the Excise. The Customs were also obnoxious; and a contraband trade was very soon established. The Equivalent money, too, was delayed in its arrival, from the somewhat low state of the English exchequer. There had been a year of grumbling on both sides of the Tweed, and there was mutual exasperation, and very angry commercial jealousy. In January, 1708, sir George Byng was cruising in the Channel, with sixteen men-of-war. The British Government had full knowledge of the contemplated invasion. At the beginning of March, fifteen French battalions and three hundred volunteers were embarked; and prince James, known as the Pretender, having gone on board, a fleet of twenty-eight vessels, commanded by the French admiral Fourbin, came out of Dunkirk. They evaded Byng, and, from the state of the wind and tide, had eight hours start of him in their voyage towards Scotland. The French Admiral overshot the Frith of Forth; but returned southward from the coast near Montrose, and lay off May Island. When the English squadron appeared, Fourbin sailed in hot haste into the North Sea, without making any attempt to land his troops. Byng did not pursue, and the troops and their leader were re-landed at Dunkirk.

Previous to this attempt, there had been a serious disorganization in the English ministry. Harley and St. John had been intriguing against the powerful Whig ministers. A clerk of Harley, named Gregg, was detected

in a correspondence with the French Secretary of State, to whom he had communicated important secrets of office. He was tried, and convicted of treason on his own confession; but he persisted to the end in averring that Harley had no part in his treachery. Various revelations were made of the subtle minister's intrigues at Court; and Godolphin and Marlborough insisted on his dismissal. St. John and other official persons also resigned. The wretched Gregg was executed. The Whigs, for a time, were in the ascendant. The resignation of St. John opened the important office of Secretary-at-war to Robert Walpole.

The Dutch had conducted themselves with so much harshness in the fortified places which had been surrendered after the battle of Ramilies, that the inhabitants had become thoroughly adverse to the cause of the Allies, and looked with joy at the advance of a French army of a hundred thousand men, under the command of the duke de Vendôme. The gates of Ghent and Bruges were opened to the French commander. Marlborough was inactive through June, waiting for prince Eugene and his army, marching from Vienna. When the prince joined him, they immediately determined to attack the French army, then preparing to invest Oudenarde, and to take a line of march that would interpose between Vendôme and the French frontier. On the 8th of July, Marlborough had an attack of fever; but he roused himself, and, on the 10th, passed the Dender at Lessines. The French recalled their forces from before Oudenarde, and commenced the passage of the Scheldt at four o'clock on the morning of the 11th. The same day Marlborough continued his march towards Oudenarde. The French were quite unprepared for the sudden presence of his army, ready to give immediate battle, after a fatiguing march through a close country, with a great river to cross at the end of that march. Bridges had been constructed by an advanced detachment. The main body of the army reached these bridges at noon. In a letter to count Piper, Marlborough writes, "The enemy moved forward, and took their ground, which obliged our detachment, about three or four o'clock in the afternoon, to attack their advance; which was executed with success. A brigade, having defeated and killed or taken seven battalions, had thus given time to a part of our army to join them, while the enemy formed in lines. Although many of our troops were not yet come up, between five and six o'clock the battle commenced, principally between the infantry; and it lasted till night, when the enemy retreated towards Ghent in great confusion." The Allies took about seven thousand prisoners, besides more than seven hundred officers, many of distinction, with a great number of colours and standards. In this battle scarcely any use was made of artillery. Marlborough had a notion, it is related, of penetrating into France by the northern frontier, having masked Lille. Even prince Eugene, with his fiery courage, regarded the attempt as too dangerous. The siege of Lille was therefore to be undertaken. That siege lasted till the winter. Meanwhile the fortified lines of the French near Ypres were destroyed, and Ghent again fell into the power of the Allies. The island of Sardinia was taken by the English admiral, sir John Leake; and the same enterprising commander, in conjunction with general Stanhope, carried Port Mahon by storm; and thus the island of Minorca came into the possession

of the English, who retained it for half a century. Other triumphs, in the Mediterranean and in South America, again established the naval superiority of England.

At the end of October died the husband of queen Anne, prince George of Denmark. His death opened the way to the completion of a more decided Whig ministry. The queen, however, though she had dismissed Harley from her councils, kept up her correspondence with him through her new favourite, Mrs. Masham. After the death of prince George, Anne spent many hours every day in the closet where he had been wont to sit. The duchess of Marlborough says, "The true reason of her majesty's having this closet to sit in was, that the back-stairs belonging to it came from Mrs. Masham's lodgings, who, by that means, could secretly bring to her whom she pleased. And that a correspondence was thus carried on with Mr. Harley became every day more and more manifest, by the difficulties and objections which her majesty had learnt to raise against almost everything proposed by her ministers." Anne is believed to have cherished a natural, although dangerous wish, that her brother should be her successor, in spite of solemn Acts of Parliament. Whoever should adroitly foster this humour, would have her real favour; and Harley was precisely the man to carry his Jacobitism to the point where it might be safe and profitable. The temper of the queen, during the summer and autumn of 1708, nearly drove Marlborough to a resolution "to retire from business," as he writes to the duchess. The business was a very profitable one. Exclusive of Blenheim, the duke's fixed yearly income, from offices and emoluments, was very nearly fifty-five thousand pounds; and the income of the duchess, from her offices at court, was nine thousand five hundred pounds. The vast income of the duke principally depended upon the continuance of the war. The income of the duchess depended upon her possession of the favour of the queen.

The siege of Lille was an enterprise of great difficulty, not only from the extreme strength of the place, which had been fortified with all the skill of Vauban, but from the difficulty of the allied armies in obtaining supplies of provisions and military stores. Prince Eugene directed and Marlborough covered the siege. The defence was intrusted to marshal Boufflers. One of the most gallant actions of the campaign was that of general Webb. He was conducting a large convoy from Ostend, with a detachment of six thousand men, when he was attacked at Wynendale by a French force of more than twenty thousand. For two hours Webb fought with admirable skill and resolution; compelled the French to retreat, with immense loss; and brought his convoy in safety to the camp before Lille. Marlborough, with almost incredible meanness, attributed Webb's victory to general Cadogan, who had a very small share of the responsibility of the action. Webb left the army in just indignation; published an account of the matter; and received the thanks of the Commons in his place in the House. Lille finally capitulated on the 29th of December. During the protracted siege of nearly five months, the Allies lost at least twelve thousand men. The sufferings of the troops were very great. The veteran Auverquerque closed the last of fifty campaigns in the camp before Lille, worn out by age and sickness. In the besieged citadel,

the brave Boufflers and his garrison were, at the last extremity, subsisting upon horse-flesh.

The Whig interest preponderated in the first Session of the second Parliament of Great Britain, which was opened by Commission on the 16th of November, and was continued till the 24th of April, 1709. In this Session a Statute was passed, by which all process against an ambassador, or any of his domestic servants, is declared null and void. Another Statute forbade the practice of laying wagers about matters of war and government. Betting was a form in which the opinions of Englishmen often displayed themselves. A treaty, or another campaign, was a question of chance rather than of calculation at the beginning of 1709; for if France was suffering and exhausted, Marlborough was flourishing. The war was beginning to be unpopular; the French were making advances for peace. The winter of 1709 was unusually severe in France. The price of bread rose enormously. But the natural price of corn was further raised by the interference of the government. The depopulation of Paris in this terrible year offers sufficient evidence of the condition of the kingdom. In this state, when the realm was nearly exhausted, envoys were sent into Holland to negotiate for peace. "Marlborough," says his biographer, "was apprehensive that the king of France was not yet sufficiently humbled to agree to the terms which the Allies were entitled to demand; and consequently represented the expediency of obtaining such an augmentation of force as might enable him to dictate the conditions of peace." * The Allies demanded that if Louis gave up Spain and the Indies to the House of Austria, which he stipulated to do, he should join the Allies in dethroning his own grandson, if Philip should be obstinate in holding a throne in the possession of which he was supported by the Spanish people. The pride of the magnificent despot was roused by this demand. He appealed to the patriotism of his subjects, in a circular letter addressed to all local authorities. Voluntary contributions for the support of the war were freely bestowed. Louis sent his silver plate to the mint to be coined. The rich, whether nobles or traders, followed his example. There was thus specie to pay the forces; and recruits flocked to the army. On the 21st of June, a hundred thousand men, under the command of Marlborough and Eugene, were encamped in the plain before Lille. Marshal Villars had thrown up intrenchments between Douay and the Lys, which probably interrupted a design of penetrating into France. The Allies then commenced the siege of Tournay. The city surrendered in three weeks. The citadel held out during July and August. During this siege, four thousand of the Allies were killed and wounded. This immense slaughter was occasioned by the system of mining and countermining. The Allied army, after the fall of Tournay, was proceeding to the siege of Mons, when marshal Villars followed them, and took up a strong position at Malplaquet. His wings were protected by two thick woods. His centre was placed on rising ground between the woods, with intrenchments thrown up in front of the camp. The Allies had about eighty thousand men; the French ten thousand less. Marlborough was

* Coxe.

encamped in the plain, fronting the opening between the woods. At eight o'clock on the morning of the 11th of September, he commenced the attack. The right of the French was covered by a morass; but this obstacle was rapidly overcome by Marlborough's left wing; and that portion of the enemy was driven back. Villars was himself commanding the left wing of the French, and was to a great extent successful, till he was wounded. The French were dislodged from their wooded height after a most sanguinary struggle of four hours, when the conflict was renewed in the plain. At three o'clock they retreated, and the Allies encamped on the field of battle, amidst thirty thousand of their fellow-men dead or wounded.

During the period of this desperate fighting in the Netherlands, there was a Northern war as terrible and more decisive than the war of the Succession. Five months after Marlborough's visit to the camp at Alt Ranstadt, Charles set out with his army for the invasion of Russia. He traversed Poland, and he wintered at Grodno. In June he defeated the Russians upon the Beresina; and in December, he was again victorious at Smolensko. Peter was alarmed, and made proposals of peace. The Swede rejected them, and marched into the Ukraine, to effect a junction with the Cossack chief, Mazeppa. In the spring the Swedish army invested the strong town of Pultowa, on the Vorakla. The fortifications protected the military stores of Peter. The place commanded the passes to Moscow. In June the Czar advanced to the relief of Pultowa, with an army of about sixty thousand men. Charles had only twenty-four thousand, not half of whom were Swedes. He thought that nothing had changed since he had won the battle of Narva with a similar disparity of numbers. But during those nine years Peter had been forming armies, and teaching them how to fight. Charles despised the security of his entrenched lines, and on the 8th of July he marched out to attack the Russian redoubts. The two kings were in the battle; and the troops on both sides fought with desperation. In two hours ten thousand Swedes lay dead or wounded on the field; hundreds perished in the Vorakla and Borysthenes; the Swedish army was annihilated; and Charles, having swum over the Borysthenes with a few hundred followers, at length reached the Turkish frontier, and for five years was a troublesome fugitive in the dominions of the Sultan.

About a month after the Session of Parliament had been opened, in November, 1709, a member complained that two sermons preached by Dr. Sacheverel, one at Derby and one at St. Paul's, contained dangerous matter. Printed copies having been laid upon the table of the Commons, the House agreed in this opinion, and the preacher was ordered to attend at the bar the next day; when it was resolved that he should be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanours. This famous impeachment, which for a time absorbed all other public questions, may be regarded as an inexplicable demonstration of party madness, or a grand assertion of party principle. It is said that Harley was one of those who spirited Sacheverel to undertake an enterprise so suited to his vain and turbulent nature. If Swift is to be believed, the impeachment "arose from a foolish passionate pique of the earl of Godolphin." Neither Godolphin nor Harley cared very much for the great principles that were called forth in the proceedings against

Sacheverel. The preliminary debates, and other formal proceedings, occupied ten weeks before the day of trial came. The metropolis and the country were now in a ferment. On the 27th of February, Westminster Hall was filled with a gorgeous assembly. The queen was there in a private box. The Peers were seated in the centre of the Hall. The Commons were ranged on one side. A galaxy of ladies filled the other side. The crowd without the doors was unusually loud and noisy. The managers of the impeachment divided themselves into groups, each group to take the conduct of one of the four articles into which the charge was divided. The separate dogmas of the sermon on the 5th of November were taken as texts to refute the principles thus proclaimed as the bases of the Constitution. The first article set forth that Dr. Sacheverel in his sermon maintained, "That the necessary means to bring about the Revolution were unjustifiable; that his late majesty, in his Declaration, disclaimed the least imputation of Resistance; and that to impute resistance to the said Revolution, is to cast black and odious colours upon his late majesty and the said Revolution." "The managers of the impeachment," says Mr. Hallam, "had not only to prove that there was Resistance in the Revolution, which could not, of course, be sincerely disputed, but to assert the lawfulness, in great emergencies, or what is called in politics necessity, of taking arms against the law." They asserted that all the opposition to the measures of king William, and during the reign of the queen, had come "from those who had questioned the lawfulness of the Resistance made use of in the Revolution; that the principle of unlimited Non-Resistance had been revived by the professed and undisguised friends of the Pretender." The principle of Resistance, as justified by the Revolution, was necessarily held to be an exceptional case to the general doctrine of the subject's obedience. But, as Robert Walpole sagaciously observed, "The doctrine of unlimited, unconditional, Passive Obedience, was first invented to support arbitrary and despotic power, and was never promoted or countenanced by any government that had not designs some time or other of making use of it: what then can be the design of preaching this doctrine now, unasked, unsought for, in her majesty's reign, where the law is the only rule and measure of the power of the Crown, and of the obedience of the people?" The second article of the impeachment imputed to Sacheverel that he maintained that the toleration granted by law was unwarrantable, and that he was a false brother, with relation to God, religion, or the Church, who defends toleration or liberty of conscience. On the subject of the first article major-general Stanhope had pointed out very forcibly the natural and dangerous results of the extreme High Church doctrines which had so long been the cause of national disgust. The tendency of these principles was sufficiently exhibited in the events which followed the third day of the proceedings in Westminster Hall. "Sacheverel," says Burnet, "was lodged in the Temple, and came every day, with great solemnity, in a coach to the hall. Great crowds ran about his coach, with many shouts, expressing their concern for him in a very rude and tumultuous manner." On the third day, "money was thrown among them; and they were animated to such a pitch of fury, that they went to pull down some meeting-houses, which was executed upon five of them, as far as burning all the

pews in them. This was directed by some of better fashion, who followed the mob in hackney-coaches, and were seen sending messages to them. The word upon which all shouted was the Church and Sacheverel." These outrages led to the trial for high-treason of Daniel Dammaree, a waterman; Francis Willis, a footman; and George Purchase, a sheriff's officer; who were charged that they, with a great multitude of men, armed and arrayed in a warlike manner, with colours flying, swords, clubs, and other weapons, did, on the 1st of March, make war against our lady the queen. The evidence upon the trials of these men showed that they were principals in a riotous destruction, or attempted destruction, of meeting-houses. All the judges agreed that the intention of the prisoners to pull down meeting-houses, and their partial destruction of several, was an overt act of levying war. The Riot Act, by which such offences may be met as felony, without resorting to the law of constructive treason, was not in existence in 1710. Two of the silly rioters were convicted, and were sentenced to the horrible penalties of high-treason. But they were reprieved, and afterwards pardoned.

The third article of impeachment against Sacheverel was, that he had asserted, contrary to a Resolution of Parliament, that the Church was in a condition of great peril and adversity under her majesty's administration. In the fourth article he was charged with keeping up factions, instilling groundless jealousies, and exciting the queen's subjects to arms and violence. The defence of Sacheverel was conducted with great ability by sir Simon Harcourt and four other counsel, who were forced to make concessions which were thus alluded to by sir Joseph Jekyll: "My lords, the concessions are these, that necessity creates an exception to the general rule of submission to the prince: that such exception is understood or implied in the laws that require such submission: and that the case of the Revolution was a case of necessity. These are concessions so ample, and do so fully answer the drift of the Commons in this Article, and are to the utmost extent of their meaning in it, that I cannot forbear congratulating them upon this success of their impeachment; that in full Parliament this erroneous doctrine of Non-Resistance is given up and disclaimed." After very animated debates in the House of Lords, sixty-nine peers voted Dr. Sacheverel Guilty of the high crimes and misdemeanours charged on him by the impeachment of the House of Commons, and fifty-two found him Not Guilty. His sentence was, that he was enjoined not to preach during the term of three years, and that his two sermons should be burnt by the common hangman. This lenient sentence was received by Sacheverel's passionate adherents as a matter of national rejoicing. Bonfires and bell-ringing were universal. In some towns the health of Sacheverel was drunk with bended knees. This puppet of faction was rewarded by a presentation of a living in Wales, and, early in the summer, he went upon what is called his progress—ostensibly to take possession of his benefice. According to one set of authorities, he was everywhere welcomed with spontaneous enthusiasm. According to another mode of viewing the same circumstances, these demonstrations were entirely the work of his emissaries. Vast exertions were made throughout the country to get up addresses to the queen, "in which the absolute power of our princes was

asserted, and all resistance was condemned, under the designation of anti-monarchical and republican principles." The Parliament was prorogued on the 5th of April, with the expression of this sentiment by the queen: "I could heartily wish that men would study to be quiet, and do their own business, rather than busy themselves in reviving questions and disputes of a very high nature, and which must be with an ill intention, since they can only tend to foment, but not to heal, our divisions and animosities."

CHAPTER XL.

THE negotiations for peace which were broken off in 1709 were renewed in 1710. Conferences were opened at Gertruydenberg. All the Allied powers concurred in pressing upon Louis the humiliating condition that he should assist in dethroning his grandson, and the negotiations were again broken off. The armies of France took the field with new strength. Marshal Villars, at the end of May, came with a great force to the relief of Douay, which was invested by the Allies under Marlborough and Eugene. Douay surrendered. But this campaign of Marlborough had no effect upon the state of affairs at home. There was no brilliant success to justify the war policy of the Whigs. The queen had now entirely given up the duchess. Marlborough's son-in-law, Lord Sunderland, was dismissed from his office of Secretary of State, the seals being given to Lord Dartmouth. The ascendancy of Mrs. Masham, and the manœuvres of Harley, were soon entirely triumphant. Godolphin was first dismissed, and his office was put in commission. Harley was then made Chancellor of the Exchequer. The queen announced to the Council that it was her pleasure there should be a dissolution of Parliament. The Whigs were all thrust from power. The Parliament was dissolved on the 26th of September, and the new Parliament assembled on the 25th of November. There was a great Tory preponderance, which Burnet attributes to the efforts of the clergy to influence the elections. There was a great change in the language of the queen's speech. The usual topic of congratulation for the conduct of the war in Flanders was no more adverted to, although the campaign had been successful in holding France in check. The queen adopted the language of Sacheverel in substituting "Indulgence" for "Toleration," in the usual promise to the Dissenters. When Marlborough returned to London in December, Anne took care to inform him that it was no accidental omission that no vote had been proposed in either House for his services in the campaign. Harley, and especially St. John, had made up their minds to humiliate him whom they called "the great man." He had to endure indignities from those he had been accustomed to command. The duchess was dismissed from all her offices, in spite of her husband's abject entreaties.

General Stanhope, who had returned to his command in Catalonia, with large reinforcements and an ample supply of money, had induced Charles

once more to put himself at the head of an army, and to meet his rival Philip in the field. The battle of Almenara, on the 27th of July, was a victory for the Allied forces; and it was followed up by other successes. On the 20th of August another battle was fought under the walls of Saragossa. The Allies were here signally victorious, and their vanguard entered Madrid on the 21st of September. Here they lingered till the beginning of November, waiting for reinforcements from Portugal, which never came. The duke of Vendôme had arrived to take the command of the army of king Philip, and, with a powerful force, had marched to the Tagus to prevent the possible junction of the Portuguese with the other portions of the Allied army. Charles now determined to return himself to Catalonia, with an escort of two thousand horse. At the beginning of December the Allies began to retreat to Aragon. The same day Philip and Vendôme entered Madrid in triumph. The country was so destitute of supplies, chiefly through the hostility of the people, that the Allied army was forced to divide into three separate bodies, English, Germans, Spaniards and Portuguese, each taking different lines of march. Stanhope was posted at Brihuega, a small town on the river Taguna, when Vendôme, who with the king had joined the Spanish army, came up with the British portion of the Allies. Such was the disposition of the population that the English general had not the slightest intimation of the approach of the thousands of cavalry and infantry that he had now to fight single-handed. He did his best. He threw up barricades and entrenchments in the town, and made the old Moorish wall which surrounded it a formidable defence. Through the next day the British fought with desperation against forces of four times their number. At seven in the evening their ammunition was nearly exhausted; and Stanhope then asked and obtained honourable terms of capitulation. The next day, the 10th of December, a great battle was fought at Villa Viciosa by Vendôme with the other portions of the Allied army under Staremberg. The fortunes of the combatants were long doubtful; the losses of each were very great. But Staremberg was at last forced to retreat towards Aragon. He was harassed and followed by partisan cavalry; sustained severe losses; was unable to defend Saragossa, where Philip established his court; and finally reached Barcelona, with forces dwindled to half their number. The cause of king Charles in Spain was henceforth hopeless. General Stanhope, his officers, and his men, remained prisoners in Spain till a little time before the peace of Utrecht.

Never was a victory more opportune to a government than was this defeat to the ministry of Harley and St. John. The Lords, now having a majority of the partisans of the ministry, entered into an examination of the whole history of the war, going not only back to the battle of Almanza, but to the time of the early exploits of Peterborough. They carried a vote that "the late ministers were justly to be blamed, for contributing to all our disasters in Spain;" and the thanks of the House were given to the earl of Peterborough, for his great and eminent services,—given in terms which conveyed a covert reproach to another great general. On the previous 23rd of November, Swift's "Examiner," the literary organ of St. John and Harley, had made a savage attack upon Marlborough, and

asserted, and all resistance was condemned, under the designation of anti-monarchical and republican principles." The Parliament was prorogued on the 5th of April, with the expression of this sentiment by the queen: "I could heartily wish that men would study to be quiet, and do their own business, rather than busy themselves in reviving questions and disputes of a very high nature, and which must be with an ill intention, since they can only tend to foment, but not to heal, our divisions and animosities."

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THE negotiations for peace which were broken off in 1709 were renewed in 1710. Conferences were opened at Gertruydenberg. All the Allied powers concurred in pressing upon Louis the humiliating condition that he should assist in dethroning his grandson, and the negotiations were again broken off. The armies of France took the field with new strength. Marshal Villars, at the end of May, came with a great force to the relief of Douay, which was invested by the Allies under Marlborough and Eugene. Douay surrendered. But this campaign of Marlborough had no effect upon the state of affairs at home. There was no brilliant success to justify the war policy of the Whigs. The queen had now entirely given up the duchess. Marlborough's son-in-law, Lord Sunderland, was dismissed from his office of Secretary of State, the seals being given to Lord Dartmouth. The ascendancy of Mrs. Masham, and the manœuvres of Harley, were soon entirely triumphant. Godolphin was first dismissed, and his office was put in commission. Harley was then made Chancellor of the Exchequer. The queen announced to the Council that it was her pleasure there should be a dissolution of Parliament. The Whigs were all thrust from power. The Parliament was dissolved on the 26th of September, and the new Parliament assembled on the 25th of November. There was a great Tory preponderance, which Burnet attributes to the efforts of the clergy to influence the elections. There was a great change in the language of the queen's speech. The usual topic of congratulation for the conduct of the war in Flanders was no more adverted to, although the campaign had been successful in holding France in check. The queen adopted the language of Sacheverel in substituting "Indulgence" for "Toleration," in the usual promise to the Dissenters. When Marlborough returned to London in December, Anne took care to inform him that it was no accidental omission that no vote had been proposed in either House for his services in the campaign. Harley, and especially St. John, had made up their minds to humiliate him whom they called "the great man." He had to endure indignities from those he had been accustomed to command. The duchess was dismissed from all her offices, in spite of her husband's abject entreaties.

General Stanhope, who had returned to his command in Catalonia, with large reinforcements and an ample supply of money, had induced Charles

once more to put himself at the head of an army, and to meet his rival Philip in the field. The battle of Almenara, on the 27th of July, was a victory for the Allied forces; and it was followed up by other successes. On the 20th of August another battle was fought under the walls of Saragossa. The Allies were here signally victorious, and their vanguard entered Madrid on the 21st of September. Here they lingered till the beginning of November, waiting for reinforcements from Portugal, which never came. The duke of Vendôme had arrived to take the command of the army of king Philip, and, with a powerful force, had marched to the Tagus to prevent the possible junction of the Portuguese with the other portions of the Allied army. Charles now determined to return himself to Catalonia, with an escort of two thousand horse. At the beginning of December the Allies began to retreat to Aragon. The same day Philip and Vendôme entered Madrid in triumph. The country was so destitute of supplies, chiefly through the hostility of the people, that the Allied army was forced to divide into three separate bodies, English, Germans, Spaniards and Portuguese, each taking different lines of march. Stanhope was posted at Brihuega, a small town on the river Taguna, when Vendôme, who with the king had joined the Spanish army, came up with the British portion of the Allies. Such was the disposition of the population that the English general had not the slightest intimation of the approach of the thousands of cavalry and infantry that he had now to fight single-handed. He did his best. He threw up barricades and entrenchments in the town, and made the old Moorish wall which surrounded it a formidable defence. Through the next day the British fought with desperation against forces of four times their number. At seven in the evening their ammunition was nearly exhausted; and Stanhope then asked and obtained honourable terms of capitulation. The next day, the 10th of December, a great battle was fought at Villa Viciosa by Vendôme with the other portions of the Allied army under Staremberg. The fortunes of the combatants were long doubtful; the losses of each were very great. But Staremberg was at last forced to retreat towards Aragon. He was harassed and followed by partisan cavalry; sustained severe losses; was unable to defend Saragossa, where Philip established his court; and finally reached Barcelona, with forces dwindled to half their number. The cause of king Charles in Spain was henceforth hopeless. General Stanhope, his officers, and his men, remained prisoners in Spain till a little time before the peace of Utrecht.

Never was a victory more opportune to a government than was this defeat to the ministry of Harley and St. John. The Lords, now having a majority of the partisans of the ministry, entered into an examination of the whole history of the war, going not only back to the battle of Almanza, but to the time of the early exploits of Peterborough. They carried a vote that "the late ministers were justly to be blamed, for contributing to all our disasters in Spain;" and the thanks of the House were given to the earl of Peterborough, for his great and eminent services,—given in terms which conveyed a covert reproach to another great general. On the previous 23rd of November, Swift's "Examiner," the literary organ of St. John and Harley, had made a savage attack upon Marlborough, and

that attack was now echoed from the woolsack, to give a new sting to the sarcasms of the coffee-houses.

In this Session of 1711, the Tory ministry endeavoured to propitiate what was called the Country Party, by bringing in a Bill by which every knight of the shire was to have the property qualification of a real estate of six hundred a year, and every member for a borough a similar qualification of half the value. Like all other expedients for setting the interests of one class above those of another class, this measure for making the land paramount was defeated in practice by fabricated qualifications at which all parties connived. Harley had more difficulty with his violent supporters than with those who were thoroughly adverse to him. "In the House of Commons there appeared a new combination of Tories of the highest form, who thought the Court was yet in some management with the Whigs, and did not come up to their height, which they imputed to Mr. Harley; so they began to form themselves in opposition to him." * On the 14th of March, Swift wrote, "the ministry is upon a very narrow bottom, and stands like an isthmus between the Whigs on one side and violent Tories on the other. They are able seamen, but the tempest is too great, the ship too rotten, and the crew all against them." Four days after, an event occurred which changed the face of affairs as regarded Harley. On the 8th of March he was stabbed at a sitting of the Privy Council by the marquis de Guiscard, a French spy, who had been arrested in St. James's Park on that morning, and taken to the office where the Council were sitting. Guiscard asked to speak in private with St. John, who very wisely refused. He then suddenly gave Mr. Harley two or three violent blows upon the breast, with a penknife which he had contrived to secrete. Harley, bleeding, rose up; and St. John and the other councillors drew their swords, and inflicted many severe wounds upon the assassin. Harley slowly recovered. When he attended in his place on the 11th of March, the Speaker congratulated him upon his escape and restoration to health. His attempted assassination was an undeniable evidence of his extraordinary merits. Both Houses had gone up with an Address to the queen expressing their opinion "that his fidelity to your majesty, and zeal for your service, have drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of Popery and faction." "This accident," says Burnet, "was of great use to Harley; for the party formed against him was ashamed to push a man who was thus assassinated by one that was studying to recommend himself to the court of France." It averted suspicion from the secret correspondence that Harley was himself carrying on with that court, if not directly with the court of St. Germains. St. John was equally desirous to have the same cover for his own designs, and his partizans insisted that the blow was meant for the Secretary and not for the Chancellor of the Exchequer. A clandestine negotiation for peace was at that time going forward with the French minister, Torcy, under the immediate direction of St. John, through the Abbé Gautier, whilst the queen was made to pledge herself to the Dutch government that no step towards a pacification should be taken but in concert with them.

* Burnet.

On the 4th of March Marlborough left England, to resume his command of the Allied forces in the Netherlands, but without a remnant of the political power which had once been entrusted to him, though the weakness of the ministry had induced Harley and St. John to relax somewhat in their hostility to the great general. Marlborough never stood in a loftier attitude than in the campaign of 1711. On the 17th of April, the emperor Joseph died of small-pox. The governments of England and France saw that the great obstacle to a separate peace would be removed if his brother Charles were elected emperor; for the danger to the Balance of Power from the emperor being king of Spain, was really greater than the danger of the crowns of France and Spain being in the family of the Bourbons. The British Cabinet instantly sent orders to Marlborough to co-operate with the States of Holland and with Eugene, in forwarding the election of the Austrian prince, in preference to that of the king of Bavaria. Louis secretly promoted the same object. But the uncertainty of the future was too great to cause any essential difference in the conduct of the war in the Netherlands, although the expected co-operation of prince Eugene in the command of the Allied troops was interrupted by the necessity of his presence on the Upper Rhine. A portion of the British force was also withdrawn from the Netherlands, to take part in a hopeless renewal of the war in Spain, or to be sent upon an ill-concerted expedition against Quebec. The French army was declared to be far stronger than that of the Allies. Marlborough determined to invest Bouchain, and he was not daunted by the French superiority of numbers, or by the impregnable lines which marshal Villars had constructed during the preceding autumn and winter. By rapid changes of position; by taking an important post in one day, and suffering the enemy to concentrate their attention by its recapture, whilst he carried forward his ultimate design; by inducing Villars to fancy that the Allies were about to give him battle, and then suddenly marching away at nightfall; by this wonderful strategy he was enabled to write to Secretary St. John on the 6th of August, that the whole army had passed the lines on the previous day, and were drawn up in order of battle; and, on the 14th of September, that Bouchain had surrendered.

On the 8th of October, Charles of Austria was elected emperor of Germany. Oxford and St. John had for some time been carrying on their secret negotiation with France for a peace, as if England were the sole party; and they had signed a preliminary treaty, in which it was agreed that the crowns of France and Spain should not be worn by the same prince. They knew that the notion which Marlborough and the Allies had of a general peace was, that it should contain a provision that no Bourbon prince should ever wear the crown of Spain. It would be easier to destroy Marlborough, than to convert him; and the ministers vigorously set about his destruction. The first words of the queen's speech at the opening of Parliament, on the 7th of December, could not be mistaken. The army had gone into winter quarters, and Marlborough had come home. Anne said, "I have called you together as soon as the public affairs would permit; and I am glad that I can now tell you, that, notwithstanding the arts of those who delight in war, both place and time are appointed for opening the treaty of a general peace." In the debate which ensued, Marlborough defended

himself from this implied reproach with an animation and solemnity, which rarely marked his course in parliamentary proceedings. But at the same time he declared, "that he could by no means give into the measures that had lately been taken to enter into a negotiation of peace with France, upon the foot of the seven preliminary articles; for he was of the same opinion with the rest of the Allies, that the safety and liberties of Europe would be in imminent danger, if Spain and the West Indies were left to the House of Bourbon." The earl of Nottingham proposed an amendment in the Address to the effect, "that no peace could be safe or honourable to Great Britain, or Europe, if Spain and the West Indies were allotted to the House of Bourbon." The amendment was carried by a majority of sixty-two against fifty-four. A similar amendment in the Commons was rejected by a majority of two hundred and thirty-two against a hundred and six. In the Address of the Lower House to the queen, the feeling against Marlborough was kept up by an especial reference to "the arts and devices of those who, for private views, may delight in war." In answer to the Address of the Lords, queen Anne said, "I should be sorry any one could think I would not do my utmost to recover Spain and the West Indies from the House of Bourbon." The ministers dreaded not only the prospect of being ejected from power, but had the greater fear of Whig revenge upon the discovery of their clandestine dealings with France. They kept their places, however, and they then turned their thoughts to the mode in which they could best damage and destroy their adversaries. Marlborough was the first victim. An information against him was laid before the House of Commons, by the commissioners of the public accounts, and he was dismissed from all his employments. Marlborough was an avaricious man; he clutched at all the gold he could safely touch, but he was too cautious to seize upon perquisites and appropriate funds for which he had not strict precedent. The charges against him were under two heads, and were declared established by large majorities in the House of Commons. Marlborough's defence was certainly very incomplete, as judged by the opinions of our own times; but it seems to have satisfied all but the furious partizans of the ministry, to whom his high influence, especially in foreign courts, was a serious obstacle to their policy.

The discomfiture of the ministry in the House of Lords was stopped from going further, by a bold but dangerous manœuvre. They created twelve new peers. There was no decided notice taken of this proceeding, except by the humourous lord Wharton, who asked one of the new peers whether they voted by their foreman. The opposition of the Peers being in some degree disarmed by this new creation, and the Commons being decidedly with the ministry, the queen, on the 17th of January, announced the opening of negotiations at Utrecht. Conferences were opened at Utrecht; but the real negotiations for peace between Great Britain and France were secretly carried on at Paris. At the beginning of January prince Eugene arrived in London with the object of preventing any such separate negotiation, by offering a guarantee that the emperor would double his contingents, if necessary, to carry the war, in concert with all the members of the Alliance, to a successful conclusion. The propositions of the emperor were coldly listened to; mentioned to Parliament; and

then laid aside. Eugene went back to conduct the campaign as the commander of the Allied armies. The duke of Ormond was associated with him, but the States would not entrust those powers to Ormond which they had entrusted to Marlborough. On the 26th of May, Eugene and Ormond, with a far larger force than had been brought into the field under Marlborough in the previous year, passed the Scheldt below Bouchain. A French army of inferior force, under Villars and Montesquiou, was nearer the French frontier. On the 28th, Eugene proposed to attack the French camp, which was open and exposed. Ormond equivocated, and requested delay. He had received private instructions from Secretary St. John, in the queen's name, to avoid engaging in any siege, or hazarding a battle, till he had further orders from her majesty. Eugene was indignant; but at length brought the English general to agree to co-operate in the siege of Quesnoy. The trenches were opened in the night of the 18th of June; and on the 4th of July the garrison surrendered as prisoners of war. In the middle of July, there having been for some time a secret correspondence between Ormond and Villars, Ormond proclaimed an armistice for four months between England and France. He withdrew his British troops from those of the Allied army; and called upon the foreign contingents in the pay of England to follow the example. With a trifling exception, they all refused. This infamous abandonment of the Alliance left the field open for France to recover all the ground she had lost. One by one the fortified posts and towns which had been won by the Allies were retaken by the French. Impressive speeches were made in both Houses against the dishonour of the refusal of Ormond to co-operate with Eugene. But they were defeated by large majorities. A very effective protest was signed by many peers; and it was printed and circulated in several languages. The ministry endeavoured to repress it, and would have prosecuted the printer, could they have discovered him. Previous to the withdrawal of the British troops, the queen had informed the parliament, in a speech from the throne, of the terms upon which "a General Peace may be made." The Congress at Utrecht had been no party to these terms, and this statement was only a continuance of the duplicity that had attended the secret negotiations with France. It was moved in the Lords, that the Allies should give a general guarantee to the conditions of peace. This was rejected by a large majority; but a protest was signed by many peers, in which the objections to the proposed Treaty, and to the separate negotiations, were very forcibly put. The people, however, were not in a temper to make any very strenuous opposition to any negotiation for peace, which would bring them an immediate reduction of taxation; and the landowners, who were still paramount in Parliament, were rejoiced at whatever would put an end to those advantages which the moneyed interest derived from the necessities of the government. St. John, who had now been created viscount Bolingbroke, was dispatched to Paris, to settle some points that were still in dispute. The wily secretary had two interviews with the Chevalier St. George. The plenipotentiaries of the emperor at Utrecht had not hesitated to say that the great end of the English management was to bring in the Pretender; and the Dutch had expressed the same belief. The abilities of Bolingbroke were

[illegible] were [illegible]. Before the [illegible], however, a [illegible] of arms was proclaimed between Great Britain and France. The States refused to accede to this convention. But they sent [illegible]: they and the Empire could not stand up against the military resources of France and the genius of her commanders, and they finally, in December, approved the negotiations made at Utrecht between France and England.

On the 11th of April, 1713, the Treaty of Utrecht was signed by the representatives of Great Britain, France, Savoy, Portugal, Prussia, and the States-General. The emperor refused to be a party to it. By this treaty, and by subsequent treaties at Rastadt and Baden, Spain and the Indies were given to Philip the French king recognised the Protestant succession, and engaged to make the Pretender withdraw from the French dominions. He renounced for himself, his heirs, and successors, the succession to the throne of Spain, while Philip renounced in like manner the succession to the throne of France. The fortifications of Dunkirk were to be demolished, and the harbour filled up, an equivalent being first given to France by Great Britain. Hudson's Bay and Straits were to remain to Great Britain, and restitution was to be made by France to the Hudson Bay Company for all damages sustained: St. Christopher's, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland were given to Great Britain, with certain rights of fishing off Newfoundland reserved to France: and, by a separate treaty with Philip, as king of Spain, Minorca and Gibraltar were retained by Great Britain; the emperor of Austria received the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands; Sicily was separated from Naples, and given to the duke of Savoy, with the title of king: and the succession to the throne of Spain, in default of descendants from Philip, was settled in the house of Savoy; Luxemburg, Namur, Charleroy, Ypres, and Nieuport were assigned to the Dutch, in addition to the places already possessed by them. Upon the assembling of Parliament, the queen announced in general terms the conclusion of the treaty of peace. On the 9th of May, her majesty sent a message to the effect, that she had ratified the treaties of peace and commerce with France, and had concluded a treaty with Spain. The treaty of commerce contained articles which were conceived in a spirit of liberality far before the age. The mercantile public clamoured against them as destructive of British commerce, and the treaty of commerce was rejected by a small majority of the Commons.

On the 7th of July there was a public Thanksgiving for Peace, and both Houses of Parliament went in procession to St. Paul's. The Parliament was prorogued on the 16th; and very shortly afterwards was dissolved. The elections were conducted with more than usual party violence. The Jacobites were working steadily at their great object of preparing the way for their legitimate shadow of a king, and they had great encouragement in their schemes through the ascendancy of Bolingbroke. Oxford [Harley] had become comparatively powerless; and the bold Secretary, in conjunction with the duke of Ormond, reduced the army, particularly the regiments which had been raised by William III.; and they placed their own instruments in the command of various strongholds. The greatest obstacle to the success of their plans was the inflexible determination of the Chevа-

lier St. George to adhere to his own religion. The new Parliament met in February, 1714. On the 28th of May, the princess Sophia fell dead in an apoplectic fit. Her son George, elector of Hanover—or more properly, elector of Brunswick and Lunenberg—was now, under the Act of Settlement, the heir-apparent to the British Crown. On the 9th of July, the Parliament was prorogued by the queen in person. A violent rupture had taken place between Oxford and Bolingbroke. On the 27th of July there was a protracted dispute in Council between the two rivals, at which Anne was present till a late hour of the night. It ended in the dismissal of Oxford. Bolingbroke was now supreme. The agitation of the queen brought on a seizure of apoplexy. In an interval of consciousness, she delivered the staff of the highest office to the duke of Shrewsbury, and her death, on the morning of the first of August, gave the power of the government to the friends of the House of Brunswick.

CHAPTER XLI.

It had been determined by Statute in 1705 that in the event of Anne's death the Council was immediately to meet, and then to open three sealed packets, which contained the names of persons nominated by the Protestant successor to the throne, to act with seven great officers of state named in the Statute, as Lords Justices. When the sealed packets were opened, and eighteen peers, the greater number of whom were Whigs, were nominated by the Elector of Hanover, the hopes of the Jacobite party received a more fatal blow than when the dying queen appointed Shrewsbury Lord High Treasurer. Opposition there was none. The same afternoon the Parliament met, according to the provision of the Act of Regency. The Lords Justices entered upon their administrative functions. The Civil List was settled upon the same scale as had been granted to queen Anne. The title of king George was recognised by France and the other European powers, whether Protestant or Catholic. The Peers and the Commons sent congratulations to the new sovereign upon his happy and peaceable accession to the throne, and besought his majesty to give the kingdom the advantage of his royal presence as soon as possible. George exhibited no eagerness to quit the quiet country where he was respected, and where he had no contests of Whig and Tory to disturb his peace. It was the 18th of September when he landed at Greenwich, accompanied by his eldest son. The new king had no showy qualities. Fifty-four years of age, below the middle stature, shy, awkward, and unable to speak English, his demeanour was not calculated to excite any fervid enthusiasm. His public merits were probably little known to his new subjects. He was unfortunate in his marriage, and did not win popular respect by the exercise of the domestic virtues. Twenty years before the Elector George Louis was called to the throne of England, some terrible tragedy had occurred in the

palace of Hanover, which ended in the somewhat irregular divorce of the princess Sophia Dorothea, the wife of the electoral prince, who was now pining away her life in the castle of Aldhen. The unostentatious sovereign was not fitted by nature to form for himself a court-party, by which he might in some degree have neutralized the two great parliamentary parties. He was inevitably and completely thrown into the hands of the Whigs, to whose firmness and decision he was indebted for his quiet accession to the throne. Bolingbroke was removed from his office of Secretary of State; and the seals were taken from him with some impolitic want of respect. Lord Townshend was appointed in his place; and the other great offices were filled up by leading Whigs. The doubts of Marlborough's fidelity to the Hanoverian succession had been manifested by the omission of his name in the Council of Regency. He was, nevertheless, nominated to his former offices of Captain-General and Master of the Ordnance. The peers of both parties attended the coronation of the king, which took place on the 20th of October. In January the Parliament was dissolved, and the writs for a new election were sent out. When the two Houses met on the 17th of March, the preponderance of the Whigs was decidedly manifested. The king opened the Parliament in person; but his speech was read by the lord chancellor. Its tone was moderate and conciliatory. The Addresses of both Houses were very pointed against the latter advisers of queen Anne. Bolingbroke fled to France, and soon after became Secretary of State to the Pretender. A secret committee was appointed to examine into the intrigues connected with the peace of Utrecht and the cessation of arms which preceded it. When their Report was presented, Walpole rose and impeached Bolingbroke of high treason. Lord Coningsby then impeached Robert, earl of Oxford, of high treason and other crimes and misdemeanours. Both these resolutions of impeachment were carried without a division. On the 21st of June, a similar impeachment of Ormond was decided by a majority of forty-seven. Ormond followed Bolingbroke in his flight to France. Acts of attainder were immediately passed against the two fugitives. Oxford was impeached at the bar of the Lords, and was committed to the Tower. These impeachments were followed by riots of a really serious character, with which the powers of the justice of peace and the constable were quite unequal to cope, and which gave occasion to the Riot Act, which, with some modifications, continues to be the law of the land. The elections of the spring of 1715 were conducted with more violent excitement than at any previous period. It was manifest that the old High-Church spirit was again stirring up the bitterest party strife.

The Hanoverian king had been proclaimed at Edinburgh without any manifestations opposed to the triumphant attitude of the Whigs. Amongst the Scottish nobles who had advocated the Union none had been more zealous than John Erskine, earl of Mar, who came to Edinburgh as Secretary of State in 1706, under the Whigs, and continued to be Secretary under the Tories. The advisers of king George had small confidence in "Bobbing John," as the earl was called from his happy art of accommodating himself to circumstances, and upon the changes which ensued after the arrival of the king, Mar was removed from his important office, and the

duke of Montrose was appointed in his stead. Mar came to London; married a daughter of the duke of Kingston, one of the great Whig party; attended the royal levee on the 1st of August; and on the 2nd was on his way to Scotland to organise an insurrection. Disguised as a working-man, with two friends and two servants, he sailed from London to Newcastle in a collier; and there hiring a vessel, went up the Frith of Forth, and landed at Elie, a village in Fifeshire. In his way to his castle of Kildrummie, he issued invitations for a great hunting-party in the forest of Mar. On the 26th of August, several noblemen, and gentlemen of "interest in the Highlands," were assembled round Mar's castle, with a following of about eight hundred men. On the 3rd of September a meeting of a more select number was held at Aboyne, a castle of the Gordon family. Mar subsequently issued a manifesto announcing his appointment to command the forces, which appointment the Master of Sinclair holds to have been forged. On the 6th of September, he raised the royal standard in Braemar, and proclaimed James VIII. king of Scotland, and James III. king of England. The white cockade was speedily worn by the devoted vassals of many Highland chieftains, but the people, properly so called, had no participation in the rising of 1715. The general body of Presbyterians soon saw that, although they might clamour against the Union and the Whig ministers—there was no alliance for them with the Roman Catholic and the Episcopalian supporters of king James. The great soldier and statesman, John, duke of Argyle—the MacCallum Mhor, under whose command thousands of Celtic followers would fight either for king James or king George—was the staunch supporter of the Hanoverian succession, and to him was confided the command of the government forces in Scotland. At the moment when Mar raised the standard of revolt the news arrived of the death of Louis XIV., the consistent supporter of the Jacobite cause. The Regent duke of Orleans was more politic than to quarrel with the English government, and he not only rendered no assistance, but intercepted the military stores provided for the insurgents at the expense of the Chevalier St. George. The Jacobites were defeated in a bold attempt to seize the castle of Edinburgh, on the 9th of September, and four or five of the conspirators were taken by the civil authorities. The Master of Sinclair, who had joined the insurgents in spite of his doubts of their prudence and his contempt of their leader, succeeded in boarding a government vessel laden with arms that was at anchor near Burntisland, and thus obtained the means of arming four hundred rebels. Mar had now about twelve thousand men under his command at Perth. At the beginning of October, the duke of Argyle was at Stirling, with about fifteen hundred regular troops, in such a position that Mar could not venture an attempt to force a passage southward. The main army, therefore, remained at Perth to await their expected royal leader, whilst two thousand five hundred men marched under the command of brigadier MacIntosh, an experienced soldier, towards the coast of Fife, where a number of boats had been collected in various small harbours. To divert the English cruisers, an appearance of bustle in preparing craft was made in the neighbourhood of Burntisland, whilst sixteen thousand men were carried across to landing-places on the southern coast of the

Forth, near North Berwick. Another detachment, which sailed later, was not so successful; for the government vessels were then on the alert, and a portion of the troops had to return to the Fife coast. Three hundred men landed on the Isle of May, where they were blockaded by the government vessels. Their leader, lord William Murray, a boy of eighteen, the fourth son of the duke of Athol, kept his men together, and refused himself to leave the island, till he had brought them all safely off. MacIntosh and his little army were tempted to depart from the instructions of Mar, and resolved to attack Edinburgh before Argyle could be there to defend it. But the duke was at Edinburgh with five hundred horse, as the foot soldiers of MacIntosh arrived. They found no supporters waiting for them in arms; and they marched to Leith, which town they entered without resistance. After two days, the insurgents, on the night of the 15th, marched at the lowest ebb of the tide along the sands beyond Musselburgh; and they reached Seton House, the castellated mansion of the earl of Winton, early in the morning of the 16th. Argyle had hurried back to Stirling, Mar having made a judicious feint of moving southward. On arriving at Kelso, on the 22nd, the Highlanders were met, according to appointment, by a body of horsemen from the south of Scotland, under the command of lord Kenmure, and of Northumbrians, under the command of Mr. Forster. These leaders were chosen as being Protestants, to counteract the prevailing opinion that this was a Roman Catholic insurrection. The number of the English did not exceed three hundred. Amongst them was lord Derwentwater, who, with many friends and all his servants, had united his fortunes, and given the countenance of his excellent character, to this feeble attempt to overthrow a strong government. The insurgents lingered at Kelso for five days. King James was proclaimed, "with colours flying, drums beating, and bag-pipes playing;" and a long document, entitled a "Manifesto," was read. After much debate it was resolved to go boldly into England, where they were assured twenty thousand men of Lancashire would join them. The little army of about eighteen hundred men moved forward to Jedburgh, and thence to Hawick. Here the Highlanders resisted the decision to cross the Border. They, however, agreed to keep together as long as they stayed in Scotland. But as the army advanced in a westerly direction along the border, their discontent became more manifest, and at last five hundred of the obstinate mountaineers went off, and dispersed themselves in the hills and moors, in the hope to reach, sooner or later, their distant homes. On the 31st of October, the diminished forces had reached Longtown. When they were on English ground, the command of the whole band was assumed by Mr. Forster, who held his commission from the earl of Mar. The insurgent force, although under imperfect discipline and irregularly armed, was so formidable in its appearance, that fifteen thousand of the *posse comitatus*, called out to oppose them, fled in terror at their approach to Penrith. Reaching Lancaster on the 7th of November, the rebels were welcomed by Roman Catholic families; and at Preston they were joined by many of the Catholic gentry, with their tenants and servants. Two troops of dragoons quartered here had moved off on the approach of the rebels. Although their accession of strength fell far short of the expected general rising in

the northern counties, the insurgents were full of confidence. Mr. Forster seems to have been wholly unequal to the duty he had assumed. On the night of Friday, the 11th of November, the news came that a force under general Wills was marching from Wigan upon Preston. A council of war was immediately held, but without the chief in command, who had received "some damage at a convivial entertainment." The orders given by this council were countermanded by Forster the next morning. General Wills expected that the rebels would have made a stand at the bridge over the Ribble, about half a mile from the town, which they might have barricaded; and he therefore advanced cautiously through the deep and narrow lane which led from the bridge. When he entered the town, he found that barricades had been thrown up in the street, which presented a formidable defence. A hundred and twenty of the king's troops fell in a few minutes from the deadly aim of the Highland marksmen. But other entrances to the town by by-lanes were soon occupied by the besiegers; and they possessed themselves of two houses which became strong positions. The insurgents who had marched from Scotland held their ground bravely; but many of the new recruits took the opportunity of making their escape from such perilous strifes, over an unguarded ford of the Ribble. The next morning general Carpenter reached Preston with two thousand five hundred cavalry; and the town was effectually surrounded on every side. The Highlanders wished to make a daring attempt to cut their way through the king's forces. Forster and the English made an effort to obtain favourable terms of surrender. Wills refused to treat with rebels. At last about fifteen hundred of the insurgents surrendered themselves prisoners at discretion. Two-thirds of these were Scotch. Amongst the prisoners were eight noblemen. The number of the insurgent forces who escaped from Preston must have been considerable. The English troops marched into the town. The Highlanders were drawn up in the market-place, and were finally put into the church, where they continued about a month. Some of the common men were subsequently tried, and, being found guilty, were executed or transported. Officers who had held commissions in the royal forces were summarily convicted by courts-martial, and were shot. The noblemen and other leaders were marched under strong guard to London.

In Scotland the government had obtained possession of Inverness. At the same time the earl of Mar marched southwards from his camp at Perth, and Argyle led his forces northwards. On the 12th of November, the Master of Sinclair, with three squadrons of cavalry, and the greater number of the Highland clans, were in advance of Mar, whose quarters were at Ardoch. They were marching upon Dumblane, when they learnt that Argyle was already there. The van ceased their advance; the rear formed a junction with them; and the whole army passed the night in a very narrow hollow of the hill near the Sheriffmuir. Early in the morning of the 13th the insurgents drew out of their confined quarters, and formed, in two lines, above the hollow where they had passed the night. Argyle, who was now at the head of four thousand seasoned troops, had prearranged that he would endeavour to bring the rebels to battle upon the Sheriffmuir, a broad eminence formed by a spur of the Ochils. When

Argyle's army was known to be at hand, the Highland chiefs cried out "Fight! Fight!" The left wing of the king's troops, under general Witham, were terrified and scattered under the rush of the Highlanders, headed by Mar, and in a few minutes were in full retreat towards Stirling. It was a doubtful battle. Whilst Mar had scattered the left wing of the royal army, Argyle had broken the left wing of the rebels, and had driven them over the river Allan. The rout was here complete; though many times in a distance of three miles did the Highlanders attempt to rally. Mar determined to leave the battle-field to Argyle, to whom the ineffectual battle had all the advantages of a great victory. The insurgents returned to Perth in numbers greatly reduced by desertion. Reinforcements for Argyle's army were constantly arriving at Stirling. Six thousand Dutch troops had landed, and were on their march to Scotland. In this condition of affairs James Edward sailed from Dunkirk in a small armed vessel, landed at Peterhead, and, with only six followers, reached the camp at Perth on the 16th of January, 1716. He took up his residence at Scone, and surrounded himself with all the etiquette of royalty. In an account of the "Proceedings at Perth;" it is said, "We saw nothing in him that looked like spirit. Our men began to despise him. Some asked if he could speak. His countenance looked extremely heavy. He cared not to come abroad among us soldiers, or to see us handle our arms or do our exercise." The prince issued proclamations, one of which commanded all able-bodied male persons to repair to his standard; another fixed the day of his coronation for the 23rd of January. There was some apprehension at the Court in London that the Chevalier would receive assistance from France. The Regent, however, was not disposed to give any open aid to the Pretender. Argyle, with his reinforced army, was moving northward. A decree went forth from the royal palace of Scone, by which the military commanders of Mar's forces were ordered to burn and destroy each village on their road to Perth. Six happy abodes of a peaceful population were thus devastated; and the inhabitants were turned out into the snow to perish. Mar's belief was that Argyle's troops could not march when there was no cover left. But Argyle did march. On the 29th the main body moved, the peasantry having been pressed to clear the roads, which were buried in snow. On the 30th, Argyle was at Auchterarder, one of the desolated villages. Terror began now to prevail amongst the courtiers of James Edward. The army was informed that it was determined to retreat from Perth. They crossed the Tay upon the ice; and passing through Dundee reached Montrose on the 4th of February. Many of the Highlanders had previously dispersed, and had sought the shelter of their valleys. In the offing were several French vessels. James Edward and the earl of Mar passed at night by a lane to the harbour; got into a boat which was in waiting; were soon on board a French ship; and were safely landed near Gravelines. The unhappy prince afterwards wrote to Argyle, sending a sum of money which he desired to be given as a relief to the poor people whose homes he had commanded to be destroyed. General Gordon, who was left chief in command, went on to Aberdeen with an army reduced to a thousand men. When Argyle entered Aberdeen on the 8th of February the whole insurgent army had melted away.

The Parliament met on the 9th of January, 1716. The rebellion was necessarily the most prominent subject of the king's speech. Amongst the ill-consequences of this rebellion was the extraordinary burden which it must create. To lighten this, his majesty announced that he would freely give up all the estates that should become forfeited to the throne. Not an hour was lost in the proceedings which were expected to consign many victims to the executioner. Before the House adjourned, Mr. Lechmere impeached James earl of Derwentwater of high treason. In his speech the Whig member asserted that the punishment of the leaders of the rebellion was a national question, involving the great principle of the Act of Settlement as opposed to the bare claim of hereditary right. He maintained, therefore, that no pardon under the Great Seal could discharge a judgment obtained under such an impeachment. Six other members severally impeached William lord Widdrington, William earl of Nithisdale, George earl of Winton, Robert earl of Carnwath, William viscount Kenmure, and William lord Nairn. The Commons agreed to the impeachments without any opposition; and on the same day they were carried to the bar of the House of Lords. In a few days the articles against the seven noblemen were presented to the peers; and on the 19th of January, they knelt at the bar, and each delivered his answer to the charges. The answers of all, with the exception of that of lord Winton, amounted to a plea of guilty, with a supplication for mercy, founded upon extenuating circumstances. On the 9th of February, lord Derwentwater and his companions in misfortune were again brought to the bar of the House of Lords, and the ancient sentence in cases of high treason was pronounced by Lord Chancellor Cowper, who had been appointed by the king to act as Lord High Steward. The public compassion was more than commonly excited when it was known that the young countess of Derwentwater had obtained an audience of the king to implore pardon for her lord, and that the wives of the lords Nithisdale and Nairn had suddenly appeared in the ante-chamber through which king George passed, and thrown themselves at his feet. The lobbies of Parliament on the 21st of February were filled with high-born ladies who came in a body to petition the Lords and Commons. Many even of the Whig members of the Lower House were advocates for mercy. Walpole, whose nature was wholly opposed to severity, took the statesman's view that condign punishment in the cases of these lords was essential to the public security. To prevent these appeals, he moved the adjournment of the House to the 1st of March, during which interval the executions were to take place. Walpole only carried his motion by a majority of seven. In the House of Peers the power of the king to pardon was affirmed: and an address to his majesty, to reprieve such of the condemned lords as should deserve his mercy, was voted by a small majority. The ministers could not wholly resist such manifestations. They resolved to reprieve the lords Nairn, Carnwath, and Widdrington; but issued an order for the execution of the lords Derwentwater, Kenmure, and Nithisdale on the following morning. On the 24th of February Derwentwater and Kenmure suffered death on a scaffold erected on Tower Hill. The chamber in the Tower in which lord Nithisdale was confined was found vacant. His escape had been effected by the courageous agency of his devoted wife, who, with

the help of three female friends, managed to conduct him from his prison in disguise. Having shared her husband's place of concealment in an obscure lodging for a day or two, the brave wife had the satisfaction of knowing that he got to Dover in the character of a footman to the Venetian ambassador, whose coach and six was going to meet his brother. Many other prisoners—amongst whom was lord Winton immediately after his trial, Mr. Forster, and the old brigadier MacIntosh—also escaped. Some humbler instruments of the insurrection were less fortunate. Many were executed, and more banished to the plantations.

On his arrival at St. Germains, *incognito*, the Pretender was met by Bolingbroke, who gave him the sound advice to hasten to his old residence at Bar-le-duc. He promised that he would immediately set out, embracing Bolingbroke at their parting. But, instead of taking a journey to find a safe asylum, before it was too late, lingered in Paris, and sent to Bolingbroke a dismissal from his service. Bolingbroke never forgot the indignity he had received. He vowed that never more should his sword or his pen be employed for a Stuart; and he kept his word. James at once fell into the hands of weak politicians and intriguing priests. He was politely refused admission to the territory of Lorraine; and he finally settled in the Papal States—a locality precisely calculated to render the Protestant feeling of Great Britain more acute.

The vindictive and intolerant spirit of the English legislature against Roman Catholics was again called into action by the Rebellion of 1715. A Bill was brought in by Mr. Lechmere, "to strengthen the Protestant interest in Great Britain by enforcing the laws now in being against Papists." One important Act of Parliament, which was mainly intended to avert the dangers which threatened the peaceful continuance of the Hanoverian succession, remains in force at the present day. This was the Septennial Act, by which the Parliament prolonged their own power to seven years, to avoid the evils that might have been produced by the agitated state of parties if a general election were to take place in 1717. The Bill passed in the House of Lords by no very preponderating majority. In the Commons the proportionate majority was much greater. Amongst the people generally the measure appears to have excited very little interest, and scarcely any opposition. Whilst the Septennial Bill was passing through Committee in the Commons, Mr. Lechmere desired to introduce a clause to disable the holders of pensions during pleasure from becoming members of *either house* of Parliament. This was opposed as interfering with the privilege of the Peers. But a Bill was passed which excluded holders of pensions from the House of Commons.

A Bill was brought in to repeal that clause of the Act of Settlement by which the king was restricted from going out of the kingdom without the consent of Parliament. It passed without opposition, and George prepared to set forth to his German dominions, in spite of the remonstrances of his responsible advisers. Speaking a foreign language, surrounded by foreign mistresses and favourites, and constantly called away to his foreign states, George I. never ceased to be regarded by the English people as a foreigner. There was a constant suspicion, during his reign and that of his successor, [illegible] alliances and wars were in the interest of Hanover rather

than in that of Great Britain; and though this belief was in some instances unjust, every minister had to contend against the unpopularity which it threw upon the government. Previous to his majesty's departure for Hanover there was a creation of eight peers.

In the spring of 1716, defensive alliances had been concluded by the British government with the States-General and with the Emperor, to operate in case of aggression on either by France or other powers. But the issue of the Rebellion of 1715 had entirely indisposed the government of the Regent of France to any rupture with England, and the policy of the two countries now tended towards peace and a more intimate alliance. Negotiations to this end were going forward between Stanhope and the Abbé Dubois whilst George I. was at Hanover. On the other hand, the continental objects of the English king threatened to involve his subjects in a war with Sweden. When Charles XII. burst upon Europe again after five years' seclusion at Bender, he found a large part of his territories divided among many rapacious neighbours. Frederick IV. of Denmark, in 1712, had conquered Schleswig and Holstein, Bremen and Verden. To strengthen himself against Charles, he had bartered away Bremen and Verden to the Elector of Hanover for a hundred and fifty thousand pounds, on condition that George should join a coalition against Sweden. George's son-in-law, Frederick William of Prussia, had gone to war that same year, with his giant grenadiers, to compel Charles to resign his pretensions to Stettin, which Prussia had obtained in pawn for a payment of sixty thousand pounds. The Elector of Hanover sent a British fleet into the Baltic to coerce Sweden; and with six thousand Hanoverians joined the Prussians, Danes, and Russians, against "the Lion-king." At Stralsund Charles made his last effort. He was overpowered; and getting away to Sweden, endeavoured to gratify his revenge against England by stirring up another Jacobite insurrection. Northern Europe was now still more agitated; for the Czar Peter had marched with his Muscovites into Mecklenburg, and was threatening Denmark. This smoke did not burst into flame, however.

When king George set out for Hanover, he was extremely jealous of entrusting during his absence any special power and authority to the prince of Wales. He at last consented to appoint his son Guardian of the Realm and Lieutenant; but he withheld the title of Regent from him, and imposed several restrictions upon his administrative power. The popularity which the prince acquired during the king's absence was looked upon with fear and suspicion at Hanover. Townshend, in his communications with Stanhope, had suggested that in certain emergencies a larger discretionary power should be given to the "Guardian of the Realm." The king was enraged; and avowed his determination to dismiss his chief minister from his office of Secretary of State. To soften this dismissal, Townshend was offered the post of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. The secretary at first stoutly refused. His colleagues were indignant. Stanhope, from Hanover, tried to persuade them to acquiesce in the king's determination. The public indignation was loudly expressed. George hastened his return to England; and expressed his regret to Townshend for having acted with precipitation. The fallen minister was at last induced to accept

the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland; and Methuen was appointed Secretary of State, as the colleague of Stanhope.

When the king opened the Session of Parliament on the 20th of February, 1717, he announced that a Treaty of Alliance had been concluded between Great Britain, France, and the States-General. The French were to abandon a new harbour, which had been constructed at Mardyke; and the Pretender was to be removed beyond the Alps. The king further notified that he had directed papers to be laid before Parliament, which contained an account of a discovery which had delayed the opening of the Session. In October, some letters between baron Gortz and count Gyllenburg, the Swedish envoy in London, had been intercepted and deciphered by the English government, and the extraordinary measure had been resorted to of arresting the Swedish envoy, and of seizing his papers. The contents of the papers fully justified this act. Gortz had organized a scheme for an insurrection in England, and a simultaneous invasion of Scotland by the king of Sweden. Spain had entered into the confederacy. Its prime minister, Alberoni, had remitted a million of French livres to the Swedish envoy in Paris, to set the forces of Charles XII. in motion. The Pretender had offered sixty thousand pounds for the same object. The whole affair exploded upon the arrest of Gyllenburg. On the 3rd of April, Stanhope delivered to the Commons a royal message, asking for an additional supply, to secure his majesty's kingdoms against the dangers with which they were threatened from Sweden. In the debate which ensued, strong objections were made to the proposition, and the motion was only carried by a majority of four votes. It was opposed by many of the Whigs, and coldly supported by others. The result of this debate was, that the same evening Townshend was dismissed from his office of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; and that, the next morning, Robert Walpole resigned. Other resignations followed, including that of Methuen. Stanhope now became the head of the Government; Sunderland and Addison were appointed Secretaries of State; and James Craggs, Secretary-at-War.

The earl of Oxford having petitioned that his confinement might not be prolonged, the 24th of June was fixed for his trial. As soon as the proceedings commenced in Westminster Hall, lord Harcourt, the ex-chancellor, moved that the Peers should retire to their own House; and he there proposed a resolution, which was carried by a majority of thirty-two, "that no evidence should be received on the charges for misdemeanour till the charges for high treason were disposed of." It was known that the evidence was insufficient to convict Oxford of the crime that would have affected his life and estate. The Commons refused to comply with this proceeding of the Peers, and, the Lords persevering, they resolved to abandon the prosecution. Oxford was acquitted, as no prosecutor had appeared. The Session of Parliament was concluded by an Act of Grace, from which Oxford and Prior were excluded; but which released from prison the lords Carnwath, Widdrington, and Nairn, and others who were under sentence of death, or in confinement, for their participation in the Rebellion of 1715.

[illegible] V. of Spain was entirely governed by his queen, over whom Alberoni, the prime minister, had an absolute control. This

remarkable Italian, the son of a labourer, had gradually worked his way to the highest trust and dignity. He had great projects in view, which he thought would raise Spain in the scale of nations. He proposed an armament at Barcelona, whose destination was entirely unknown. In August, 1717, a Spanish fleet anchored in the bay of Cagliari; and eight or nine thousand troops made a descent on the island of Sardinia, of which they took possession after a stout resistance from Spaniards of the Austrian party. Spain had an eye to Sicily, which had been ceded at the peace to Victor Amadeus. England interposed, in the endeavour to preserve the peace of Europe. Negotiations went forward without much effect. The bold and crafty Alberoni wanted only to gain time, and he made the most extensive preparations for war upon a great scale. In a year or two he had set in motion every instrument of intrigue against France and England. The Turks had been totally defeated by prince Eugene at the great battle of Peterwaradin. Alberoni urged the sultan to persevere in the war with the emperor. He had encouraged baron Gortz in his schemes for the invasion of England by Sweden. He entered into correspondence with the Pretender, and proposed a Spanish expedition to land in Britain, to be commanded by James Edward, or by the duke of Ormond. He fomented insurrections and conspiracies in France. In 1718 it became evident that the British government must prepare for warlike operations; and give up its attempts at mediation.

Just at this time the king and the prince of Wales openly quarrelled, on the subject of a sponsor to be associated with the king at the baptism of the prince's second son. The prince of Wales was put under arrest in his own apartment, and was finally commanded to leave the palace, which he did with the princess Caroline of Anspach, his sensible wife. Then was exhibited the unbecoming spectacle of the heir-apparent in opposition to the government of his father, which threatened as much embarrassment to the tranquil progress of government as any complication of foreign affairs. Parliament met on the 21st of November. There were interesting debates in both Houses on the evident tendency to engage in war indicated by the number of troops to be employed. Just at the close of the Session, a message from the Crown pointed out the necessity of an increase of the navy. No specific object was named; but Walpole observed that the message and the address which was voted, had the air of a declaration of war against Spain. The Parliament was, however, prorogued with the royal expression of a hope that such Treaties might be concluded, "as will settle peace and tranquillity amongst our neighbours." Stanhope, who had been now promoted to the peerage, had proceeded to Madrid, in the desire to avert war. Whilst the English prime minister was talking of peace, a Spanish fleet of twenty-nine ships of war, with transports for thirty-five thousand soldiers, had sailed from Barcelona with sealed orders. On the 4th of June, admiral Byng sailed for the Mediterranean, having twenty ships of the line under his command. The Spanish armament entered the bay of Solento, and having landed a large force upon Sicilian ground, under the marquis di Sede, the troops in a few days became masters of Palermo. The chief military operation was the siege of Messina. On the 31st of July the citadel was invested. On the 1st of

August, Byng's fleet was anchored in the Bay of Naples, where he took on board two thousand German troops to reinforce the Piedmontese garrison of Messina. The Spanish admirals put to sea, and Byng hurried after them through the straits of Faro. On the 11th the English squadron was carried by a breeze into the heart of the Spanish fleet, off Cape Passero. Six of their men of war had been separated from their main body, and a division, commanded by captain Walton, was despatched by the English admiral to intercept them. Byng was superior in force; and the Spanish admirals acted without a settled plan. But they fought bravely till the main fleet was all taken or destroyed. Messina fell before the Spanish troops at the end of September; and Byng again anchored in the Bay of Naples. Alberoni seized all vessels and goods in Spanish ports.

In the Session of Parliament which opened on the 11th of November, a measure was carried for the relief of Protestant Dissenters. Stanhope desired to repeal, not only the Act against Occasional Conformity, the Schism Act, and the Test Act, but to mitigate the penal laws against Roman Catholics. The debates were warm in both Houses; and finally, by a majority of only forty-one, the measure was passed without the repeal of the Test Act, and without any attempt to put the Roman Catholics upon a juster footing of equality with their fellow-subjects.

Charles of Sweden had fallen by a stray bullet in the trenches of Frederickshall. Gortz, the restless minister of the late king, had perished on a scaffold in a political revolution. There was no longer hope for the house of Stuart in Sweden. Alberoni now resolved on an alliance with the Pretender, to whom he was to give direct assistance in another attempt at the invasion of Great Britain. The Spanish minister had failed in the issue of a conspiracy which he had stirred up against the Regent Orleans. It was effectually crushed; and, being traced to the schemes of the Spanish minister, war was declared by France against Spain. The Pretender was invited to Madrid. The duke of Ormond, and the earl Marischal and his brother, had also passed into Spain. It was arranged that Ormond should land in England; that lord Marischal should sail with some forces to Scotland; and that Keith, his brother, should go through France to gather together the Jacobites who had taken refuge there. The armament which sailed from Cadiz, consisting of five men-of-war, with twenty transports, carrying five thousand men, was scattered by a great storm in the Bay of Biscay, and the greater part returned to Spanish ports, in a dismantled condition. The earl Marischal, with two frigates, carrying about three hundred troops, proceeded to Scotland; and his brother, with Tullibardine, Seaforth, and a few other noble refugees, joined him in a small vessel. The whole proceeding was known to the British government, through information furnished by the Regent of France. The adventurers, with the Spanish soldiers, landed on the banks of Loch Alsh, in the month of May, 1719, and established themselves in an old castle in the inner reach of the Loch. The vessels returned to Spain. Three English men-of-war entered these solitary waters, and battered the rude tower to the ground. Scattered parties of Highlanders joined the Spaniards; and the whole body, about fifteen hundred—some accounts say two thousand—[illegible] at Glenshiel. No general rising took place in the Highlands.

In June, general Wightman, with sixteen hundred troops, marched from Inverness. He hesitated to attack desperate men in their formidable pass, surrounded by mountains, whose pathways were known only to the natives, but a sharp struggle took place with detached bodies on the mountain sides, which lasted three hours. The next day the Spaniards surrendered as prisoners of war; but the Highlanders had disappeared. Wightman had twenty-one men killed, and a hundred and twenty-one wounded. He brought into Edinburgh two hundred and seventy-four Spanish prisoners. The Scottish leaders took shelter in the Western Isles; and finally escaped to Spain.

The Austrians, after a serious defeat at Franca Villa, in June, 1719, were enabled, with Byng's aid, to besiege the Spaniards in Messina, of whose citadel they obtained possession in October. There were military operations of less importance before the Spaniards finally evacuated Sicily and Sardinia. Meanwhile, the French had sent an army against Spain, under the command of the duke of Berwick, who was assisted by English sailors. The French made themselves masters of Fuenterabia and St. Sebastian; and lord Cobham, with an English squadron, captured Vigo. Before the reverses in Sicily, Alberoni had made overtures for peace. Stanhope proposed to Dubois, to demand from king Philip the dismissal of his minister. Philip submitted to this dictation, and, in December, 1719, Alberoni, by a royal decree, was dismissed from all his employments, and was commanded to leave the Spanish territory within twenty-one days. The cardinal went back to Italy, a poor man. After vain attempts to resist or evade the demands of the Allies that Spain should accede to the Quadruple Alliance, that accession was proclaimed in January, 1720. Philip renewed his renunciation of the French crown. Europe was again at peace. Even the Czar of Muscovy had been warned by the presence of an English fleet in the Baltic, that he would not be permitted utterly to destroy Sweden. By England's protection of the female successor of Charles XII., the elector of Hanover secured Bremen and Verden. A peace of twelve years, with a very trivial interruption, was the result of the Quadruple Alliance.

The two Parliamentary Sessions of 1719 were remarkable for ministerial attempts to limit the royal power of creating peers. The proposition produced an excessive ferment, and was finally abandoned. At the opening of the Session in November, 1719, the king said to the Commons, "I must desire you to turn your thoughts to all proper means for lessening the debts of the nation." The House agreed in the necessity of reducing the National Debt, which at the death of queen Anne had reached fifty-two millions. In 1711 there was a floating debt of about ten millions. Harley, then Lord Treasurer, proposed to create a fund for that sum; and to secure the payment of interest, by making certain duties of Customs permanent. Capitalists who held debentures were to become shareholders in a Company incorporated for the purpose of carrying on a monopoly of trade to the Spanish coasts of South America; making the new fund a part of their capital stock. Thus was established the South Sea Company. In January, 1720, a proposal was read to the House of Commons from this Company to make certain public debts and annuities part of the capital

stock of the Company. The Bank of England sent in a rival proposal; and the two Companies went on outbidding each other, till the South Sea Company's large offer to provide seven millions and a half to buy up the Annuities was accepted. The annuitants were not compelled to exchange their government security for the Company's Stock; and the terms offered by the Company were not encouraging. Nevertheless, within six days, two-thirds of the annuitants had exchanged their certain income for the boundless imaginary riches of South America. The hundred pound shares of the South Sea Company went up to a thousand pounds in August. The shares of the Bank of England and of the East India Company were transferred at an enormous advance. Smaller companies of every character rushed into the market amidst the universal cry for shares and more shares. It was calculated that the value of the stock of all the Companies amounted at the current prices to five hundred millions sterling; being five times as much as the circulating medium of Europe, and twice as much as the fee simple of all the land of the kingdom. The government became alarmed and a Royal Proclamation was issued against "mischievous and dangerous undertakings, especially the presuming to act as a corporate body, or raising stocks or shares without legal authority." At the instance of the South Sea Company the subscribers to all projects not legalized, were ordered to be prosecuted by the officers of the Crown. A panic ensued. In a day or two, the Stocks of all the Companies not incorporated rapidly fell; and with the downward rush went down every description of Stock. By the middle of September, holders of South Sea Stock were crowding the Exchange, not as eager buyers, but as more eager sellers. This greatest of bubbles had burst. The duke of Portland, lord Lonsdale, and lord Irwin, were provided with colonial governments to enable them to live. Merchants, lawyers, clergy, physicians, passed from their dream of fabulous wealth and from their wonted comforts into poverty. The ordinary course of industry was utterly deranged. There was alarm for the public consequences. Walpole, who had again joined the government, though in a subordinate office, applied his great financial abilities to avert the difficulties which this convulsion might occasion to the State, by disentangling the government from the embarrassments of the South Sea Company. A Bill was passed to compel the Directors to deliver on oath an estimate of the value of their property, which was to be regarded as a fund to repair the public loss. They were forbidden to leave the kingdom. A secret Committee of Inquiry was appointed. After they had examined Mr. Robert Knight, the cashier of the Company, he fled to Brabant. He was arrested at Antwerp; but the States of Brabant refused to give him up. It was believed that there were influences at work powerful enough effectually to screen him. The prudent cashier took care to obliterate, as far as possible, the evidence that great ladies, and ministers of state, had been corrupted by the South Sea Directors. Out of the mouths of the Directors themselves the Committee extracted evidence to show that they had created half-a-million of fictitious Stock previous to the passing of the Company's Bill, and that the duchess of Kendal, as well as other favourites of the king, had large douceurs out of the profits made by the transfer of shares. Craggs, the Secretary of State, his father the Postmaster-

General, and Aislabie, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, were amongst the recipients of this bribery. Charles Stanhope, one of the accused, was cleared by a majority of three. The earl of Sunderland was exonerated by a larger majority; but he could not stand up against the popular odium, and resigned his post of first Commissioner of the Treasury. Aislabie was expelled the House, and was sent to the Tower. James Craggs died of small-pox, during the heat of the inquiry. His father, the Postmaster-General, destroyed himself by poison. The punishment of the Directors under the Bill that was passed was severe. Their estates, amounting to two millions sterling, were confiscated for the relief of the sufferers by their schemes. A small allowance was made to each; but they were disabled from ever holding any place, or for sitting in Parliament. Such visitations for their offences were thought far too lenient by the greater number of their contemporaries. "It was acknowledged on all sides, that the South Sea Directors, however guilty, could not be touched by any known laws of the land, ... but a bill of pains and penalties was introduced, a retro-active statute, to punish the offences which did not exist at the time they were committed."* During the debates upon the conduct of the South Sea Directors, Stanhope died very suddenly, and lord Townshend again became Secretary of State. With Walpole Chancellor of the Exchequer salutary measures were pursued to restore confidence. The South Sea Company were relieved from certain engagements to make advances to the government; and the credit of their bonds was sustained at its just value. The Mississippi scheme of John Law in France had also exploded in that fatal year for projectors; producing there what was equivalent to a national bankruptcy. The Regent had shifted a large amount of the debts of the State to the deluded people, and no attempt was made to retrieve the national credit.

Amongst other important questions in the busy session of 1722, a Bill was passed for the relief of the Quakers, in spite of the vehement opposition of the London clergy. The session was prorogued to the 15th of March; and it was previously dissolved under the provisions of the Septennial Act. During the prorogation, the earl of Sunderland died; and his father-in-law, the great duke of Marlborough, terminated his chequered career of political time-serving and of military glory. He was borne to Westminster Abbey, with funeral pomp proportioned to his great achievements.

In 1720, the wife of James Edward had given birth to a son, Charles Edward Louis Casimir, who was destined even in his cradle to give rise to conspiracies and possible insurrections. The departure of king George, in the summer of 1722, upon his usual visit to his German dominions, was to be the signal for an invasion of England by the Pretender and his faithful Ormond. The managers of the plot had the supreme folly to apply for aid to the Regent of France, who informed the British minister at Paris. The vigilant Walpole was soon acquainted with the plan of action, and the names of the actors. The king was advised not to go to Hanover; a camp was formed in Hyde Park; and some of the con-

* Memoirs of Edward Gibbon.

spirators—two Nonjuring clergymen, two Irish priests, a young barrister, and two lords—were apprehended. After a delay of three months, the bishop of Rochester was arrested, and after examination before the council, was sent to the Tower. Atterbury's arrest produced the most violent ferment amongst the High-Church party. The episcopal order, it was proclaimed, was outraged. The bishop was prayed for in the London churches. The plot, it was maintained, was a base fiction. The new Parliament met in October; and the king announced the discovery of a dangerous conspiracy, and the arrest of some of the conspirators. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended for a whole year; and the consent of the House of Peers was desired to sanction the detention in the Tower of the bishop of Rochester, lord North and Grey, and the earl of Orrery. On the 1st of March, 1723, a Committee of the Commons made a report of their examinations into the evidence of the conspiracy. Christopher Layer, the barrister, had been previously tried and condemned in the King's Bench. He was the only person who suffered capital punishment. Bills of pains and penalties were passed against the two Irish priests. The bishop of Rochester was also proceeded against by Bill, enacting his punishment and deprivation. This Bill passed the Commons without a division. Atterbury declined making a defence before the Lower House, but he defended himself at the bar of the House of Lords with great ingenuity and eloquence. The Bill was passed by a majority of forty peers; most of the bishops voting against him. The debate was remarkable for the constitutional opposition of lord Cowper, the ex-chancellor, who argued that the possible guilt of the offender did not justify an irregular and arbitrary mode of dealing with his offence. The estate of Atterbury was not forfeited by his attainder. He embarked for France in June, 1723; and died at Paris in 1732.

In 1724, lord Carteret was removed from the office of Secretary of State, and appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. He found the Irish people in a state of frenzy. In 1722, a patent had been granted to William Wood, a proprietor and renter of iron and copper mines in England, to enable him to coin farthings and half-pence for Ireland, to the value of £108,000. Ireland was completely without a currency to conduct the smaller operations of trade, and no one can doubt that in such a case the extortions practised upon the humblest classes must be considerable. Walpole and his subordinates took every reasonable measure of precaution that the coinage should not become an opportunity for fraud or excessive gain. Sir Isaac Newton, as Master of the Mint, approved the terms of the contract, and it was declared that in weight and fineness of metal the pieces were satisfactory. The difference of exchange between England and Ireland accounted for a slight diminution in weight. The Irish parliament, however, voted an address to the king, that the terms of the patent would occasion a loss to the nation of 150 per cent. A Committee of the English Privy Council went into a searching examination of the whole affair; and fully justified the patentee from any charge of having abused the fair terms of his patent. It was, however, contended that the amount of farthings and half-pence issued should not exceed £40,000 in value; and ...ney should not be a legal tender for a larger sum than five

pence halfpenny in the payment. The Irish parliament had falsely asserted that the depreciation amounted to 150 per cent. Some letters were published by Swift, under the name of M. B. Drapier, in which it was asserted that the depreciation amounted to 1100 per cent. Stirred up by the mischievous Dean, the whole nation went mad about Wood's halfpence. Carteret offered a reward of £300 for discovering the author of the Drapier's Letters. He prosecuted their printer. The grand jury threw out the bill; and another grand jury made a presentment of all who had attempted or should attempt to pass Wood's halfpence "as enemies to his majesty's government, and to the safety, peace, and welfare of all his majesty's subjects of this kingdom." They also said, in words furnished by Swift, "We do, with all great gratitude, acknowledge the services of all such patriots as have been eminently zealous for the interest of his majesty and this country, in detecting the fraudulent imposition of the said Wood, and preventing the passing of his base coin." It was in vain that the government attempted to stand up against this storm. The patent was withdrawn. Walpole had the rare wisdom of yielding even to popular prejudice, when perseverance was clearly more perilous than concession.

The next year Scotland was also firing up upon a domestic question. The House of Commons, in opposition to the opinion of Walpole, had determined that the Malt Duty, which had been constantly evaded in Scotland, should be merged in a duty of threepence on every barrel of ale. The duty was to come into operation on the 23rd of June. On that day the population of Glasgow attacked and destroyed the house of Daniel Campbell, the member of parliament for Glasgow, who was considered to have supported the government in devising the ale duty. Military force was called in; and the next day, the soldiers being beset by the mob in their guard-house, the people were fired upon, and several were killed and wounded. General Wade then marched into Glasgow with his troops, who had been employed in constructing the military roads of the Highlands, and effectually quelled the riot. At Edinburgh, the brewers refused to brew. This combination soon broke down, however, and, in September, Walpole wrote to lord Townshend, "I think we have once more got Ireland and Scotland quiet, if we take care to keep them so."

In this year, the lord Chancellor, Thomas Parker, earl of Macclesfield, was impeached, found guilty, excluded for ever from office, and fined thirty thousand pounds, upon the charges of selling Masterships in the Court of Chancery, and of conniving at the frauds of the Masters in trafficking with the trust-money of the suitors, and the estates of widows and orphans.

In 1725, the duke de Ripperda was sent from Spain upon a secret mission to Vienna, to settle by a direct treaty between the two great rival powers, certain royal claims and disputes which the Congress of Cambrai had been wearily discussing since the peace of 1720. The regent Orleans had died in 1723, when Louis XV., though only fifteen years old, had been declared of age to take the government into his own hands, with the duke de Bourbon as his minister. The youthful king had been betrothed to the Infanta of Spain when Philip acceded to the Quadruple Alliance. Now,

however, it was not thought desirable to complete a marriage with a child of eight years old, and the Infanta was returned to Spain with little ceremony. The court of Madrid was of course in a fever of indignation. All Frenchmen were ordered to leave Spain. The Congress of Cambrai was at an end. The Alliance of the courts of Madrid and Vienna, concluded by the Treaty of Vienna in 1725, was to be one of hostility to the courts of Versailles and St. James's. War seemed imminent, however pacifically disposed were Walpole and Henry, who had succeeded the duke de Bourbon as prime minister of Louis. By the Treaty of Hanover, in September, 1725, England, France, and Prussia were bound to hold by each other, if either were attacked. Some change might have been expected in the policy of Spain by the fall of Ripperda, who, being accused of having exaggerated the desire of Austria for an intimate alliance with Spain, was dismissed from his employments, and took refuge in the house of the English minister. When Ripperda was dragged from Mr. Stanhope's apartments, and sent to prison, the rights of ambassadors were considered to have been violated. The disputes between the two countries were still more embittered by the revelations that Ripperda made to Stanhope of the secret articles of the Treaty of Vienna; of which he declared the chief object was the extirpation of the Protestant religion. In the Parliament which met in January, 1727, the king announced that he had received information that one of the secret articles of the Treaty of Vienna was an agreement to place the Pretender upon the throne of Britain. The Parliament instantly voted a large increase of the army and navy. Palm, the emperor's minister at London, addressed a memorial to the king, in which the secret articles were disavowed, and the royal word was spoken of with disrespect. The two houses were indignant, and Palm was commanded immediately to leave England. Admiral Wager had sailed to the Baltic with an English fleet, the Czarina having prepared for co-operation with Austria and Spain. A squadron under Admiral Hosier had blockaded Porto Bello—an unfortunate enterprise, for the brave admiral and a large number of his fleet's crews perished of yellow fever in the Spanish Main. On the 11th of February, the siege of Gibraltar was commenced by a Spanish army under the command of the Conde de Las Torres. Lord Portmore hastened from England, in his eightieth year, to defend the fortress of which he was the governor. English men-of-war in the harbour secured a constant supply of provisions for the garrison from the coast of Africa. For four months the Spaniards ineffectually fired upon the rock, and then they raised the siege. In closing the Session of Parliament on the 15th of March, 1727, king George announced that he had concurred with France and the States-General in making overtures of accommodation. Sweden had acceded to the Treaty of Hanover; and a Convention had been signed by Denmark. The Austrian ambassador signed, on the 31st of May, preliminaries of peace with England, France, and Holland. Spain remained alone; neither prepared for war, nor acceding to the conditions of peace.

On the 3rd of June, the king set out for Hanover, accompanied by the duchess of Kendal and lord Townshend, and landed on the 7th at [illegible]t, in Holland. On the 8th of July, he proceeded on his journey,

leaving the duchess of Kendal on the Dutch frontier. In the forenoon of the 10th he was struck by apoplexy, whilst in his coach. He refused to stop, desiring to reach Osnabruck, where his one surviving brother, the prince bishop, had his palace. When the bishop was roused by the gallop of horses in his court-yard at midnight, George was dead. He was buried at Hanover.

CHAPTER XLII.

In spite of the general expectation of a change of administration under the new king, sir Robert Walpole and his party continued in power. Walpole had proposed in Parliament that the entire revenue of the Civil List should be settled on the king, being an increase of about 130,000*l.*; and that queen Caroline should receive a jointure of 100,000*l.* Not a voice was raised against the proposal, but that of Shippen. Caroline of Anspach was the firm friend of Walpole. In this shrewd princess George II. had such an adviser and friend as few sovereigns have ever been blessed with. She possessed the rare wisdom of governing her husband without appearing to govern. Queen Caroline and Robert Walpole perfectly understood the system under which the succession of the house of Brunswick became less and less assailable. Expediency was their great principle. The consequence of this policy was that there are fewer stirring events in the first fourteen years of the reign of George II. than in any period of like duration in our history.

England had ceased to be perplexed with apprehensions of insurrection and invasion for restoring the Stuart family. James Edward's character was such as to alienate his warmest friends. The British and French governments were in entire accord. Spain, although still grumbling about Gibraltar, had consented to a peace. All unsettled questions with the emperor and others were referred to a Congress at Soissons. But after eighteen months of never-ending discussions the ministry of George became tired of a state of things which was neither peace nor war; and they, in conjunction with France and Holland, concluded the Peace of Seville with Spain, leaving the emperor to fight his own battle. Some sixteen months later, by the Treaty of Vienna with Great Britain and Holland, there was obtained a guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, by which the Emperor, who had no sons, had provided that the succession to the hereditary states of Austria should rest in the female line. Spain, shortly after, acceded to the Treaty.

The year 1728 is chiefly noticeable for the arrival in England of Frederick, afterwards created prince of Wales. The young heir to the crown,—now about twenty-one years of age,—was in a somewhat unhappy position. He was stinted of pecuniary means by his parsimonious father; was the object of a deep-rooted antipathy on the part of both his parents; and

had been brought up from his childhood to believe that he was to marry Wilhelmina, princess of Prussia, as Frederick, Crown-Prince of Prussia, was to marry the English Princess Royal. This double marriage-project was always liable to wreck upon some political rock-a-head, and in four years Frederick had another wife provided for him, Wilhelmina having, in 1731, been compelled to marry the prince of Baireuth.

In 1730, lord Townshend and sir Robert Walpole quarrelled; and the quarrel ending in Townshend's resignation of office, Walpole became supreme in the administration. In the latter end of the summer, a design was "projected among all the Dissenters of England to petition the Parliament in the next Session for the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts." Walpole could not deny the claims of the Nonconformists; but he knew the storm that would be raised if he gave them encouragement. He adroitly persuaded the body of London Dissenters to choose a Committee. "As the honest gentlemen who composed that committee were all moneyed men of the city, and scriveners, who were absolutely dependent upon sir Robert, and chosen by his contrivance, they spoke only as he prompted, and acted only as he guided. . . . In this manner this storm that threatened the Administration from the Presbyterian party blew over." In 1727 and 1728 Acts of Indemnity had been passed in favour of those who had not duly qualified for office. In 1729 such an Act was intermitted. In 1730 it was renewed. In 1731 it was again intermitted. During the remainder of Walpole's administration the relief was regularly granted.

The Parliamentary Records of 1729 and 1730 present us with three Reports of the Select Committee of the House of Commons "on the State of the Gaols of this Kingdom." The inquiry was confined to the three London prisons for debtors—the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and the King's Bench. It exposed as horrible a system of oppression, fraud, and cruelty as probably ever existed in any civilised country.

In the Session of Parliament which commenced in January, 1731, a Bill enacting "That all proceedings in Courts of Justice shall be in the English language," was passed in both Houses, after some opposition, especially from the Lords. The judges, speaking through the Lord Chief Justice, were decidedly against any change from the ancient and absurd practice of using a corrupt Latin for written pleadings. The parliamentary debates of 1732 were characterised by the usual vigour of a British House of Commons, at a period of a strong government encountered by a powerful opposition. In this session Pulteney made the most bitter denunciations against Standing Armies, deeming it "impossible that the liberties of the people can be preserved in any country where a numerous standing army is kept up." England has, nevertheless, preserved its liberties with a Standing Army. But England never lost the safeguard of a free expression of public opinion. Vain were the attempts to prevent the publication of proceedings in Parliament,—attempts in which Pulteney himself, with other "patriots," was eager to join.

In 1732 Walpole, whose great object was to propitiate the Country party, revived the Salt-duty, to relieve the proprietors of estates from the necessity of paying a Land-tax of two shillings in the pound instead of

one shilling. There were men in the House of Commons who saw that the minister was about to injure the agriculture and manufactures of the country by imposing a duty upon an article of essential importance in the operations of industry. Walpole carried his revived tax by a majority of only thirty-eight. The most popular argument against the government was, that this measure was a step towards a general Excise. The first imposition of a tax known as Excise was by the Parliament, after the commencement of the Civil War, when beer, ale, cyder, and perry were so taxed. A similar tax on other articles had been since occasionally imposed. The Customs duties on tobacco, tea, brandy, and wine, although very productive to the revenue, were diminished by frauds of enormous magnitude. On the 14th of March, 1733, Walpole brought forward a plan, which had chiefly in view the prevention of these frauds and outrages. He proposed that the duties upon wine and tobacco should be inland duties; that the imports should be warehoused, and removed from time to time by permit, upon due payment; that the retail dealers in the articles so taxed should come under the same Excise laws. The gross produce of the Customs upon tobacco was £750,000. The complicated frauds reduced the net receipts to £160,000. By changing the mode of collection, the revenue would be so increased that he would be able wholly to abolish the Land-tax. The actual duties were not to be increased by their collection as inland duties. Yet, such a storm was raised, in Parliament and out of Parliament, as went nigh to shake the monarchy to its foundation. For three weeks the Excise Bill was debated fiercely at every stage. The ministerial majority gradually dwindled. The ferment throughout the country, stimulated by pamphlets and ballads, alarmingly increased. The king and queen both assured their minister that they would never forsake him, and that they would stand or fall together. On the 10th of April, the citizens presented to the House of Commons a petition praying to be heard by counsel against the Bill. Such a concession in the matter of a tax before the House was contrary to its rules and orders; yet the demand was rejected only by a majority of seventeen. Walpole felt that this was a defeat. On the 11th he proposed that the second reading of the Bill should be deferred for two months. This was carried without a division. Universal was the rejoicing at the defeat of the government measure. In the next session Walpole said, "I am not so mad as ever again to engage in anything that looks like an Excise, though, in my own private opinion, I still think it was a scheme that would have tended very much to the interest of the nation."

The last Session of the Parliament, chosen in 1727, was opened by the king on the 17th of January, 1734. A new quarrel had broken out in Europe upon the death, in 1733, of Augustus II., king of Poland. Austria and Russia advocated the succession of his son. France supported the election of Stanislaus, who had been king before Augustus. The war assumed a more general character, and revived some of the old disputes between France, Spain, and Austria. An army of French, Spaniards, and Sardinians overran Austria. Lombardy, Naples, and Sicily were invaded by Don Carlos, duke of Parma, the son of the queen of Spain; and, the Austrians being unable to resist, he was crowned king of Naples and Sicily

as Charles III. On the Rhine the war was conducted by prince Eugene, still vigorous, against Marshal Berwick. Under these circumstances, the king of England, whilst declaring his own neutrality, called upon his Parliament to "make such provisions as shall secure my kingdoms, rights, and possessions, from all dangers and insults, and maintain the respect due to the British nation." The king and queen were opposed to Walpole's pacific views, but the minister continued firm in maintaining the neutrality of England, in conjunction with the States-General.

The repeal of the Septennial Act was the great domestic question of this Session. The party that advocated a return to triennial parliaments would possess the superior popularity in the coming elections. "Whig patriots," especially Pulteney, had supported the Septennial Act of 1716. They now opposed the government upon this measure. Bolingbroke, the arch-enemy of Walpole, at whose intervention he had been allowed to return to England in 1723, was now at hand to persuade his followers that any weapon was lawful for the purpose of striking down the prime minister. In the debate upon this constitutional question, sir William Wyndham made a personal attack upon Walpole, under the supposed case of a grasping and corrupt minister, "pluming himself in defiances, because he finds he has got a parliament, like a packed jury, ready to acquit him at all adventures." The great Tory chief further *supposed* "a prince upon the throne, either for want of true information, or for some other reason, ignorant and unacquainted with the inclinations and the interest of his people; weak, and hurried away by unbounded ambition and insatiable avarice." Walpole treated Wyndham's invective as the inspiration of Bolingbroke, and, in return, drew the portrait of a *supposed* "anti-minister, in a country where he really ought not to be, and where he could not have been but by an effect of too much goodness and mercy; yet endeavouring, with all his might and with all his art, to destroy the fountain from whence that mercy flowed. . . . . Blindly followed by those he had been lucky enough to have gained over to his party . . . . and hated by all the rest of mankind. . . . . Making it his trade to betray the secrets of every court where he had before been; void of all faith or honour, and betraying every master he had ever served." The boldness with which Walpole had thus stood up against attack produced a sensible effect upon his adversaries. Bolingbroke retired to France. The Session was closed on the 16th of April, and on the 18th the Parliament was dissolved.

The first Session of the new Parliament, which met in January, 1735, was prolonged only till May. The king announced his determination to visit his dominions in Germany, and the queen was appointed regent. The summer passed without any important military operations. Soon after the king's return from Hanover, in October, the preliminaries of a general peace were signed at Vienna. By this pacification France added Lorraine to her territory. "The happy turn which the affairs of Europe had taken" was announced at the opening of Parliament in January, 1736.

On the 20th of February a petition against the excessive use of spirituous liquors was presented to the House of Commons from the justices of peace for Middlesex. It was stated that within the bills of mortality

there were twenty thousand houses for retailing spirituous liquors. Sudden deaths from excessive gin-drinking were continually reported in the newspapers. Upon the motion of Sir Joseph Jekyll, it was proposed to lay a tax of twenty shillings a gallon upon gin, and to require that every retailer should take out an annual licence, costing £50. Walpole gave no distinct support to this measure, nor did he oppose it. The Bill was passed, and was to come into operation after the 29th of September. Compliance with the statute was to be enforced by the machinery of the Common Informer. Hooting mobs assembled round the liquor-shops, whose signs were put into mourning. The last rag was pawned to carry off a cheap quart or gallon of the beloved liquor. As was foreseen, the Act was evaded. Informers were rolled in the mud, or pumped upon, or thrown into the Thames. Gin riots were constantly taking place, for several years. The impossibility of preventing by prohibitory duties the sale of a commodity in large request, was strikingly exemplified in this gin-struggle. In 1736 a more serious struggle was taking place in Scotland. In that country smuggling was generally abetted, and the nation, with the exception of a few flourishing trading-communities, regarded smugglers as useful members of society. Two such persons, named Wilson and Robertson, having had some goods seized by the officers of revenue, entered with two associates the custom-house of Pittenweem, and, when the collector fled, carried off a large sum of money. Wilson and Robertson were apprehended, were tried, and were sentenced to death. After the condemned sermon in the Tolbooth church, Wilson, surrounded by four keepers, held two with his hands and a third with his teeth, whilst Robertson knocked down the fourth and escaped. This generous effort to save his comrade made Wilson's own fate certain. He was executed on the 14th of April; whilst the populace looked on with stern compassion. After the body was taken down, a rush was made to seize it from the hangman. The populace then attacked the city-guard, who were under the command of John Porteous, their captain. Porteous is said to have fired himself; he certainly ordered his gendarmerie to fire upon the people. Several persons were killed or wounded. Porteous was brought to trial in July, before the High Court of Justiciary, on a charge of murder, for having caused the death of citizens without authority from the civil magistrate. He was convicted, and sentenced to capital punishment; but his conduct being considered by the Council of Regency in London as an act of self-defence, he was reprieved by the English Secretary of State. The news of this reprieve produced a sensation that foreboded mischief. The 8th of September had been fixed for the execution. On the evening of the 7th, Porteous was surrounded by a jolly party in the Tolbooth, draining the punch-bowl in toasting the speedy liberation of their friend. Mr. Lind, captain of the city-guard, "being informed that the mob was gathering," went to the provost, who was drinking at a tavern with some naval officers. "The provost desired him to go immediately back, and draw out his men, and that he would instantly follow him, and put himself at the head of the guard to face the mob." * The mob was quicker than

* Evidence before Parliament.

the provost or his captain. They had disarmed the guard; had taken possession of the guard-house; and were arming themselves with muskets, halberds, and Lochaber axes, which they there found. Edinburgh had suddenly fallen into the complete possession of a lawless multitude. The mob had secured the West-port, the Cowgate, and the Netherbow-port, nailing them up, and barricading them, to prevent military aid coming from the suburbs. In the Canongate was a regiment, under the command of major-general Moyle. The provost dispatched a verbal message to Moyle to send a force to his aid. The general refused to move without explicit orders from the civil magistrate. Nor would the governor of the Castle act on his own responsibility. Thus secure, the multitude went about their work with a calm resolution which was long attributed to an organization proceeding from leaders much above the ordinary directors of mobs. Onward they marched, in numbers rapidly increasing, to the Tolbooth. Their solemn demand, that Porteous should be delivered up to them, being refused, they proceeded to batter the outer gate. Fire accomplished what bodily strength could not effect. The rioters rushed to the apartment of the unhappy man. He was concealed in the chimney; but they dragged him down, and bade him prepare for death. Struggling ineffectually, he was carried to the Grass-market, the usual place of execution. Near the spot where the gallows had stood on which Wilson was hanged, a pole projected from a dyer's shop. A rope suspended from this pole was fastened round the neck of Porteous, and slowly drawn up. The organizers of this terrible act of butchery were never discovered, after the most rigid investigation. A Bill was brought before the English Parliament for disabling the lord provost from ever holding office, and for imprisoning him; for abolishing the town-guard of Edinburgh; for taking away the gates of the Netherbow-port. The Scottish Peers and the Scottish members of the Commons fired up at this supposed assault upon the national honour. The debate in both Houses assumed the character of a national controversy. When the Bill finally went to the Lords, it merely disqualified the lord provost from holding office, and imposed a fine upon the city of Edinburgh of £2000, for the benefit of the widow of Porteous. A supplementary measure produced a violent opposition from the Presbyterian clergy. It was enacted that they should read from their pulpits, once a month, a proclamation for discovering the murderers of Captain Porteous. This was held to be an interference with the spiritual authority of the Kirk.

People of all ranks in England were indignant at the long absence of the king, who had remained in Germany during the whole summer and autumn. In December he came home. In April the prince of Wales had been married to the princess of Saxe-Gotha. The bride was only seventeen years of age; could speak no English, and little French; but she had good sense; and in the difficult circumstances of her subsequent life had to exercise much prudence and sagacity. Soon after the king's return, the differences between the prince of Wales and his father became notorious. The allowance which the king made to the prince was £50,000 per annum. Private advisers of the prince recommended him to apply boldly to Parliament for an annual grant of £100,000 out of

the king's Civil List, and be no longer dependent on his father. Some wiser persons earnestly counselled forbearance. But the prince was obstinate; and he had the indelicacy to make promises to peers and commoners of what he would do for them when he came to the throne, if they would support him now. Contrary to expectation the ministry had a majority of thirty in the Commons. The question was subsequently tried in the Lords, and there also the prince failed. The king wanted to turn his son out of St. James's. Walpole dissuaded his majesty from that step. But on the occasion of the birth of his first child, a daughter, the prince insulted his parents by insisting that the princess of Wales should not be confined at Hampton Court, where he and his wife were residing with the king and queen, and removing her in all haste to St. James's, immediately before the birth of the child. The king then issued a peremptory command that the prince of Wales should leave St. James's, with all his family. Frederick quitted the palace, and took up his residence at Norfolk House, in St. James's Square. In the midst of these unseemly exhibitions, queen Caroline was taken dangerously ill, on the 9th of November. The prince of Wales expressed great anxiety to see his mother. He was forbidden by the king to come to St. James's. The queen herself did not desire to see him. On the 14th, sir Robert Walpole arrived. The queen said to him, "My good sir Robert, you see me in a very indifferent situation. I have nothing to say to you, but to recommend the king, my children, and the kingdom to your care."* On Sunday night, the 20th of November, Caroline died. The king, with all his silliness about mistresses, felt real grief for the queen, which, "as it was universally known, and showed a tenderness of which the world thought him before utterly incapable, made him for some time more popular and better spoken of than he had ever been before this incident."† On the 4th of June, 1738, was born George Augustus, son of the prince of Wales. This occasion of national rejoicing probably increased the reigning king's jealousy of his son. A notice from the Lord Chamberlain was inserted in the London Gazette, that no visitor of the prince should be admitted to the Court of St. James's. The Opposition gathered more and more round the prince.

In 1739 the foreign policy of Great Britain was driven by parliamentary faction, seconded by popular ignorance, upon a lamentable change from peace to war. For a century and a half England and Spain had been commercial enemies. The trade of Spain with her vast possessions in South America was essentially a monopoly. A regular participation in that trade was jealously guarded against in every treaty of Spain with England. The right of searching merchant vessels sailing near Spanish colonial ports was always insisted upon; and the right was rarely suffered to be evaded, for guard-ships (*guarda costas*) were always maintained in full activity. If the Spanish government would not relax its narrow policy, English adventurers would not scruple to evade it. When a population wants to buy, and ships are at hand to sell, prohibitory decrees are weapons "hung by the wall." The English merchants grew bolder with success, and the Spanish government more angry and violent. The right

* Lord Hervey. † Ibid.

of search on the high seas was asserted by the *guarda costas*. Petitions from merchants of various ports, complaining of Spanish outrages, were daily presented to the Commons. Captains and seamen were examined at the bar of the House, and related grievous stories of cruelties and oppressions exercised upon British crews. Walpole was negotiating to obtain redress in a peaceable manner, and he therefore resisted the motion for the production of papers which would have embarrassed this endeavour. In the House of Commons an Address to the Crown of a very warlike tendency was carried. In opening the Session of Parliament in February, 1739, the king announced that he had been enabled to conclude a convention with Spain, under which a payment would be made to compensate his subjects for losses, and all matters in dispute would be settled by plenipotentiaries as regarded the future. Violent were the debates in both Houses. All the papers connected with these negotiations were demanded to be laid upon the table; and the demand was of course resisted. But when the Convention was laid before Parliament, and published to the nation, a general outcry burst forth. William Pitt, who, in 1736, had contrived in his first speech to offend the king, and had since become gentleman of the bedchamber to the prince of Wales, put forth all his oratorical strength against the Convention. Lyttelton and sir Thomas Sanderson joined in the war-cry. The ministerial majority was only twenty-eight—260 against 232. This majority, small as it was, induced sir William Wyndham and sixty other leading members of the opposition to secede in a body from the House of Commons. Walpole was thus enabled to carry a very questionable measure—that of subsidizing Denmark for a Hanoverian object, instead of for the interest of Great Britain. The Parliament was prorogued on the 14th of June.

When the plenipotentiaries under the Convention had met, there was a dispute about a money payment of ninety thousand pounds. Cardinal Fleury offered to guarantee the payment, provided an English squadron was withdrawn from the Mediterranean. Walpole was urged to demand an express renunciation of the right of search, and an acknowledgment of the British claims to disputed territory in North America. Spain unceremoniously rejected the demands; and on the 19th of October a declaration of war against Spain was proclaimed in London, the prince of Wales and a numerous body of opposition leaders accompanying the heralds. When the Parliament met on the 15th of November, 1739, the seceders from the House of Commons had returned. Walpole, although regarded, truly enough, as the secret friend of peace, had now to bear all the odium of the increased taxation which is the inevitable result of war. When he wished to conduct war with the necessary vigour, he was opposed. The duke of Argyle deserted him. Wyndham died in 1740. But Pulteney was still ready to do battle against Walpole, and "the terrible cornet of horse"—Pitt—was prepared for any onslaught. In the Cabinet, the duke of Newcastle was growing jealous of the man who had so long treated him as a subordinate, and opposed all Walpole's measures.

On the 17th of March, 1740, both Houses went up with an address of congratulation to the king, "on the glorious success of your majesty's arms in the West Indies, under the command of vice-admiral Vernon, by enter-

ing the port, and taking the town, of Porto Bello, and demolishing and levelling all the ports and castles belonging thereto, with six men-of-war only." The "six men-of-war only" was a phrase carried by the Opposition in the Commons, to mark the contrast between this commander and admiral Hosier, who had hesitated to attack the same place with twenty ships, in 1726. This forced inactivity of Hosier had enabled the government to avert a war. In the course of the summer and autumn the ministry sent out an armament to join the popular admiral at Jamaica. The whole force consisted of 115 ships, 15,000 sailors, and 12,000 soldiers. It was resolved, upon the advice of Vernon, to attack Carthagena, the strongest fortified place in Spanish America. General Wentworth had the command of the land forces. After various delays, the fleet was before Carthagena. The one narrow entrance to the bay, called the Boca Chica, was defended by several forts and batteries, one principal fort being known as the Castle. The troops were landed, and erected batteries to fire upon this castle on one side, whilst the large ships should attack it on the other side. After a fierce cannonading the Boca Chica was at length abandoned by the Spaniards, and the men-of-war entered the outward harbour. Vernon wrote home to announce his "wonderful success." Carthagena was held to have fallen, and a medal was struck in honour of the gallant Vernon. The fleet tardily overcame the obstacle of sunk ships, and penetrated to the inner harbour. The troops were landed again, "at a place called La Quinta, not far from the town, where, after a faint resistance from a body of Spaniards who opposed their disembarkation, they encamped, with a design of besieging the Castle of St. Lazar, which overlooked and commanded the city. . . . A resolution was taken in a council of war, to attack the place with musketry only." The result was that the general was forced "to retreat on board with the remains of his army, which, from eight thousand able men landed on the beach, near Boca Chica, was now reduced to fifteen hundred fit for service."* Vernon, who was indifferent to any success in which he should not have the chief honour, sent no assistance to Wentworth in the attack upon Fort San Lazaro, until the failure was irretrievable. The wet season had begun; the fleet and army were ill-provisioned; an epidemic fever raged. On the 24th of April it was determined to abandon the assault of Carthagena. The fortifications were demolished.

Another expedition was dispatched from England in September, 1740. A squadron of six vessels under commodore Anson was to attack the shores of Peru, sailing round Cape Horn. Five hundred out-pensioners of Chelsea were to have incumbered the squadron. Only about half sailed, the rest having deserted. It almost surpasses belief, that the only land troops which these vessels carried consisted of these old men, some wounded, all feeble. In the spring of 1741, in attempting to double Cape Horn, the ships were encountered by violent hurricanes; and the Centurion, Anson's ship, was separated from her companions. Anson made for the uninhabited island of Juan Fernandez. Before he reached this refuge on the 10th of June, two hundred of his crew had died of the scurvy. The Trial sloop

* "Roderick Random."

arrived at the island, having lost two-thirds of her crew by the same fatal disease, under which the poor out-pensioners of Chelsea were the first to sink. The Pearl and Severn, two large ships, had put back to the Brazils. The Wager was wrecked on a small desert island. Her crew were saved from drowning; but the prospect of the more terrible death of famine rendered them desperate. They mutinied; seized the long-boat; and left their captain, Byron, with the lieutenant, the surgeon, and two midshipmen, on the desert island where the wreck took place. Anson remained at Juan Fernandez, with three vessels, till September, when they sallied forth, and secured a valuable prize. Other prizes were made as they cruised about the island. The town of Paita was attacked by a boat's crew, and a large amount of public treasure was obtained. But affliction came again upon the little squadron. The scurvy again broke out. The ships became leaky. The commodore could not man his prizes, and he destroyed them. The fifty-gun ship, the Gloucester, sprung a leak, and there were not hands aboard to work the pumps effectually. The crew were removed to the Centurion, and the doomed vessel was set on fire. After a long sojourn in Tinian, one of the Ladrone islands, Anson again sailed forth in the spring of 1743 to look for Spanish galleons. On the 20th of June the Centurion met with one of these great treasure-ships. After a severe action she carried her prize into Canton, with a million and a half of dollars. Anson returned to Spithead in June, 1744.

When Walpole, in 1738, was using all the influence of his experience to prevent England being driven into a war with Spain, he had predicted that it would not be a war with Spain alone. As he had foreseen, France and Spain formed a family compact. But there were other complications at the end of 1740, which were also threatening a general European conflict. Charles VI. died on the 20th of October. His daughter, Maria Theresa, who was the heiress of his hereditary estates, would have formidable rivals to the succession. The question of the Pragmatic Sanction was now to be regarded as little more than a parchment edict, even by those who had guaranteed it. Maria Theresa, queen of Hungary, as she was styled, was wedded to Francis, grand-duke of Tuscany. The elector of Bavaria first disputed the succession of the young queen. He had a prior claim, he maintained, under the will of the emperor Ferdinand I. France and Spain supported this claim, happy in a chance of lowering the House of Austria. England and Holland adhered to the guarantee which they had given to the late emperor. Frederick II., king of Prussia, proposed to Maria Theresa that he would support her claim to the succession generally, if she would cede to him certain duchies and lordships of Silesia, which had been taken from his ancestors in the time of the Thirty Years' War. To enforce his claim, he led thirty thousand of the well-drilled Prussian grenadiers to the invasion of Silesia, and secured the greater part of the territory which he invaded. On the 10th of April, 1741, a great battle was fought at Molwitz, near the fortified town of Brierg. The Austrian cavalry routed the Prussian cavalry; and Frederick himself was driven far beyond the field of action. But the Prussian infantry redeemed the temporary defeat, and won the battle. France was now ready to make common cause with the victor. England voted a subsidy to the queen of Hungary.

But Walpole still tried the effect of negotiation; and the elector of Hanover, disregarding the feeling of the English Parliament, tried the effect of neutrality. Two French armies joined the forces of the elector of Bavaria, and were moving upon Vienna. Maria Theresa fled into Hungary, and, at the Diet at Presburg, appealed to the hereditary valour of the Hungarian States to protect her. "We will die for our *king*, Maria Theresa!" was the shout of the assembly. From the most distant provinces of that interesting country, the people assembled in arms. The elector of Bavaria, with his French allies, entered Bohemia, and took Prague by surprise on the 25th of November. Here he was crowned king of Bohemia; and he next reached the summit of ambition by being chosen emperor of Germany, as Charles VII. In 1742, the levies of Maria Theresa, under the command of prince Charles of Lorraine, held the French in check in Bohemia; and another army defeated the French and Bavarians at Linz. The Austrians entered Bavaria; and Munich, the capital city of the elector, was occupied by his adversaries on the same day that he was chosen emperor at Frankfort. The struggle continued with various successes and reverses on either side. Frederick again pressed for the cession of Silesia, and could not obtain his demand. His army took the field; and he defeated the Austrians in Bohemia, on the 17th of May, 1742. On the 15th of July, king George, in closing the Session, exulted in "the treaty lately concluded between the queen of Hungary and the king of Prussia, under my mediation, and so highly to the honour of Great Britain." This treaty gave Prussia Silesia.

The threatening aspect of European affairs had produced no moderation in the conduct of parties in England. On the 13th of February, 1741, Mr. Sandys, a member of no great mark, brought forward a motion for an address to the king to remove from his councils and presence sir Robert Walpole, to whom the mover imputed every public evil. It was proposed that during the debate sir Robert should retire from the House. The unfair attempt was overruled. Walpole was bitterly attacked by some; was sincerely but feebly defended by others. He spoke last, and he spoke admirably, going, step by step, through the various charges against him. The motion of Mr. Sandys was negatived by a majority of 290 against 106. A similar motion made by lord Carteret in the House of Lords was also rejected. Walpole's unpopularity, however, went on rapidly increasing. Upon him was thrown the blame of the failure at Carthagena. The king had gone to Hanover, and, without the knowledge of his English ministers, had entered into a treaty of neutrality for his German States for one year. The Parliament had reached its natural termination under the Septennial Act. The ministry decidedly lost ground in the elections for the new Parliament, which met on the 4th of December. Night after night were the old attacks renewed. The ministerial majority dwindled away. After a great debate on the 18th of January, Walpole had only a majority of three, in the fullest house ever known. On the 28th of January, after another battle, he had only a majority of one. On the 1st of February he resigned. Walpole's fall from power did not abate the hostility of his enemies. On the 9th of March, a motion for a Secret Committee to inquire into the administration of sir Robert Walpole during

the past twenty years, was made by lord Limerick. It was rejected by a majority of two. A second motion, to limit the inquiry to the previous ten years, was carried. Secret and special services had amounted in ten years to nearly a million and a-half sterling. But no charge could be brought against the minister that he was himself venal. In his great defence he exclaimed, "Have I ever been suspected of being corrupted? A strange phenomenon. A corrupter, himself not corrupt!" The Report of the Secret Committee was received with public contempt. No proceedings were taken upon it. Immediately after his resignation, Walpole had been created earl of Orford. He now sat quietly in the House of Lords, where his great rival, Pulteney, soon afterwards sat, as earl of Bath. Lord Orford died in March, 1745.

The fall of Walpole was followed by a shifting of some of the officers of state. Some of the opposition got places, others got none. The duke of Argyle desired to form a coalition ministry. The plan would not succeed; and the duke retired in disgust. The king would have nothing to say to the Tories. Pitt was not called to office. His exclusion was no doubt owing to the personal dislike of the king. Neither had Chesterfield or Lyttelton places. Lord Carteret was the only member of the Cabinet who possessed high ability. He was a favourite of George and of his son. An apparent reconciliation took place between the king and the prince of Wales. Carteret, who was a very indifferent substitute for the keen and painstaking Walpole, was satisfied to lead the king, by entering into his majesty's aspirations to hold the scales of European policy, and to command armies. When George opened the Session on the 16th of November, 1742, and mentioned that sixteen thousand Hanoverian troops had been sent to the Low Countries, "with the Hessians in the British pay," it was felt that England was getting mixed up with Hanover in a way that Walpole would have scarcely dared to attempt. A grant of £657,000 was proposed by the Secretary of War, to defray the cost of these troops. Then the national jealousy of foreign mercenaries burst forth. The ministers commanded a majority in Parliament, but the invectives made use of by the opposition went deep into the heart of the nation.

The British troops in Flanders, under the command of the earl of Stair, had marched towards the Rhine in February. They were joined by the sixteen thousand Hanoverians in the pay of England; and by some Austrian regiments commanded by the duke of Aremberg. When the king prorogued the Parliament on the 21st of April, 1743, he announced that, at the requisition of the queen of Hungary, he had ordered his army to pass the Rhine. His majesty immediately departed for Germany, and reached the army on the 19th of June, accompanied by his second son, the duke of Cumberland. Stair had made an imprudent movement, by which he was cut off from his supplies at Hanau. The forty thousand men were reduced to thirty-seven thousand; they were on short rations, and the horses without forage. Their position was an unfavourable one, near the village of Dettingen. The French general, marshal de Noailles, was at hand, with an army of sixty thousand men. It was absolutely necessary that the Allies should return to their magazines at Hanau. On the 27th of June, before sunrise, they had commenced their march from

Aschaffenburg towards Dettingen. A large body of French appeared unexpectedly in their front, to contest the passage of the Allies through the defile of Dettingen. George immediately formed his army in order of battle, with the almost desperate resolution of forcing the strong French lines. The brave little man was surrounded by dangers. As he marched from Aschaffenburg, the French entered the place with twelve thousand men. Behind and before was the enemy, in most formidable numbers, shutting him up in a narrow valley. Grammont, the nephew of Noailles, rushed forward to charge with his cavalry. George dismounted, drew his sword, and put himself at the head of the right of his British and Hanoverian infantry. The French were driven back. The duke of Cumberland, who commanded the left, displayed the same courage as his father. The battle was not over till four in the afternoon, but the victory was complete on the part of the Allies. The French could offer no resistance to the retreat to Hanau, where the half-starved British, Hanoverians, and Austrians again had command of abundant supplies, and where they were joined by their reinforcements. The success of the Allies in the campaign was completed by the expulsion of the French armies from Germany, by the forces under prince Charles of Lorraine. The king was received in England with an enthusiasm which he had never before excited, although lord Stair and others had revived the cry of Hanoverian influence, by complaints that, in the conduct of the war, George did not listen to the counsels of his English officers. Carteret, the secretary of state, who had succeeded to some of the power of Walpole, was now the great object of attack from the opposition. The violent tone of the parliamentary debates led foreigners to believe that Great Britain was torn to pieces by internal dissensions, and that the time was ripe for dynastic changes, if not for invasion and conquest. As long as Walpole was in power, and England was at peace with foreign states, the Stuarts had no chance of winning a throne by revolt and invasion. The son of James II. lived a retired life at Rome, whilst his two sons were growing into manhood. In 1743, prince Charles Edward was urged to leave Rome, and repair to Paris. He was nominally to command an army of veterans assembled at Dunkirk, having the great marshal Saxe as the real leader. The expedition sailed at the beginning of 1744 from Dunkirk. A great storm destroyed or scattered the fleet of transports; and sir John Norris, who was ready for a fight in the Channel, was content to pick up a few dismasted vessels. Marshal Saxe went to take the command of an army in the Low Countries; and Charles Edward secluded himself at Gravelines. On the 20th of March, France declared war against England. King George, very much against his will, was restrained by the general voice of his council, with the exception of Carteret, now earl Granville, from leaving England. The difference of opinion on these Hanoverian questions soon made it impossible that the ministry could hold together. Henry Pelham, brother of the duke of Newcastle, had succeeded Walpole in his command of the House of Commons. The king was obliged to part with Granville. Newcastle and his brother desired a coalition of parties. Pitt, the greatest member of the opposition, refused to take an office inferior to that of secretary of state, but he did not oppose the new government.

The continental war of 1744 was chiefly marked by the sudden movement of the king of Prussia against the Austrians. He overran Bohemia; but evacuated it before the end of the year. Before the campaign of 1745 was opened, the emperor Charles VII. died at Munich. His son, the new elector of Bavaria, withdrew his claim to the Austrian succession, and separated his troops from the army of the French. Maria Theresa restored her conquests in Bavaria. Military operations for the campaign had been concerted between the English and Dutch governments. The duke of Cumberland was appointed commander-in-chief of the confederate army in Flanders, under the tutelage of an old Austrian marshal, and controlled in some respects by the Dutch commander. The united army scarcely reached fifty thousand in number. The French army of seventy-six thousand had taken the field under marshal Saxe. At the beginning of May they suddenly invested Tournay. The duke of Cumberland advanced at the head of his forces to the relief of this fortress. Marshal Saxe, with sixty thousand French, had taken up a strong position on rising ground, with the village of Fontenoy in front. His right rested on the village of Antoin and the Scheldt; his left on the wood of Barré. This position was strengthened by all the resources of military science. On the 10th of May, the duke of Cumberland's army had driven in the French outposts; and he issued orders for an attack. At four o'clock on the morning of the 11th, the Allies advanced; and by nine o'clock the engagement had become general. Louis XV. and the dauphin had joined the French army. The Dutch commander could not stand up against the fire of the French batteries, and he retired to some distance from the field, rendering no help to the English and Hanoverians. William of Cumberland formed a column of fourteen thousand British infantry, thirty or forty abreast; and with measured tread, regardless of every natural obstacle, undismayed by the cannonade left and right which mowed down their ranks, this terrible column strode on through the enemy's lines, carrying all before them. At the moment when all was confusion, the young duke de Richelieu advised that a battery should be brought up so as to fire down the length of the column, whilst it was at the same time attacked in flank. Slowly the compact mass moved back, still facing the enemy, till the cavalry came up to cover the retreat. Its ranks were not broken, not a man fled. When the ramparts of Ath were reached, the British had lost above four thousand men killed; and the Hanoverians nearly two thousand. The Dutch loss was about fifteen hundred. The French acknowledged a loss of seven thousand. Nothing was gained by the extraordinary advance of the British infantry, yet the battle of Fontenoy was long remembered by the nation as something which added to its military fame.

CHAPTER XLIII.

On the 23rd of July, 1745, prince Charles Edward, with seven friends or attendants, landed on Eriska, one of the small western isles between Barra and South Uist. The prince had been eighteen days at sea, in *La Doutelle*, the little vessel which he had hired to make a descent upon the kingdom which he deemed his patrimony. A large French ship-of-war, which was his convoy from Belleisle, had been disabled in an engagement with an English man-of-war; and *La Doutelle* had been chased by other hostile cruisers. The government of Louis XV. had manifested no inclination to render any assistance of men and money to a perilous enterprise. Charles Edward, indignant at this lukewarmness, had taken the resolution of making a bold experiment for the restoration of his House, by throwing himself upon the loyalty of a people who would incur some peril to welcome a descendant of the Bruce. The great support of the Stuarts was to be found in the Highlands; and that support almost wholly depended upon the absolute control of the chiefs over their clans. But in the Lowlands also there was unquestionably some disposition to Jacobitism, which had a strong hold upon the imaginative character of the Scottish people. In England, looking at the real prosperity of the people under a mild government, we may well believe that the system of half a century would be in little danger from an insane passion for the abstract doctrine of hereditary right. Nevertheless, in 1744 it had been thought necessary to pass a Bill "to make it high treason to hold correspondence with the sons of the Pretender to his majesty's crown, in case they shall land, or attempt to land, in Great Britain." With the exception of the marquis of Tullibardine, called by the Jacobites, duke of Athol, who was attainted in 1715, there was no man of mark with the royal adventurer. His companions were chiefly Irishmen, "drawn into Scotland by the allurements which the enterprise held out to them of making their fortunes."* From the dreary island, in whose rude hovels the prince was choked with the peat-smoke, messengers were sent to various persons of consequence in those remote districts. The first Scottish gentleman who came to Charles Edward—MacDonald of Boisdale, brother of the chief of Clanranald—exhorted him to return home. "I am come home, sir," replied the prince.

The little vessel now made sail for the mainland, and anchored in the Loch Na Nuagh, a small arm of the sea between the districts of Moidart and Arisaig. Here the prince was joined by the young chief Clanranald, and MacDonald of Kinloch Moidart. These two chiefs had at first argued against his project, but their hesitation was at length overcome by the enthusiasm of a younger brother of Kinloch Moidart. Clanranald, after his adhesion, was sent to the Isle of Skye to secure MacDonald of Sleat, and the laird of MacLeod, two powerful chiefs, who could each raise more

* "Memoirs of the Rebellion," by the Chevalier de Johnstone.

than his thousand followers. Young Clanranald's mission failed. Charles Edward was more successful with Cameron of Lochiel, on whose decision depended peace or war; for "if Lochiel had persisted in his refusal, the other chiefs would not have joined."* Gradually more offers of support came by messengers to the prince, who remained on ship-board till the 25th of July. On that day he landed at Borodale; and took up his quarters at a farm-house belonging to Clanranald. On the 19th of August he proceeded to a general gathering of the friendly clans at Glenfinnan, a valley on the border of Loch Shiel. Fifteen hundred Highlanders were here assembled. Tullibardine raised a banner of red silk, with a white space in the centre. He then read the declaration in the name of James VIII., dated from Rome in 1743, and the commission to his eldest son as Prince Regent. These declarations treated the whole contest for the throne of England as a personal question between the elector of Hanover and the son of James II. The British Parliament rightly designated them as seditious and presumptuous declarations against the Constitution of the United Kingdom.

A day or two before the gathering at Glenfinnan, the first blood had been spilt in a skirmish between the Keppoch MacDonalds and a party of the Scots Royals, proceeding to Fort William. The advantage was on the side of the daring band of Highlanders. The rebellion was begun. Its first success would make the timid bold, and the prudent rash. The Regency which directed the government of Great Britain in the absence of George II. in Germany, despised the charms of that popular enthusiasm for the exiled family, which the apparent hopelessness of the young prince's cause carried forward into a personal admiration for his daring confidence. The enterprise was not altogether so rash and desperate as the members of the government chose to think. There were less than three thousand troops in Scotland, of which number only fourteen hundred were available to oppose the hostile clans. The commander-in-chief in Scotland was sir John Cope, an officer of the routine school, scarcely able of himself to deal with a great emergency. Cope had orders to attack the rebels in the mountains, and it was assumed that the general would receive important aid from the well-affected clans. He marched from Stirling on the 20th of August towards Fort Augustus; and soon discovered that he could rely little upon Highland auxiliaries. On the 28th, Charles Edward was at the foot of Corriaraic, near Fort Augustus. Cope prudently declined to encounter him in the mountain-passes, and resolved to march to Inverness—an extraordinary resolution, by which he left the Lowlands open to the advance of the rebels. The Highland army crossed the Grampians; and reached Perth on the 4th of September. The prince had made his public entry into that city on the 3rd. The prepossessing appearance, the bold bearing, and, above all, the cordial trust of this young man, won him some supporters; yet not enough to make him feel that the enthusiasm of the Highlands would attend him in the Lowlands. Still he went on. The road was open before him. Two important men joined him—James Drummond, styled duke of Perth, and lord George

* Home, a volunteer in the Royal army.

Murray. Lord George had seen something of war, and was a man of ability. When he joined Charles Edward his qualifications gave him a high place in council, and in military arrangements; but his freedom of speech caused him to be coldly looked upon. Suspicion and jealousy soon divided the rebel camp into factions.

On the 11th of September the little army marched southward. They went on to Corstorphine, within four miles of Edinburgh, without opposition. There was division in the municipal councils of the Scottish capital, and all the force which could be mustered was not more than eleven hundred men, not a third of whom were disciplined soldiers. On Sunday, the 15th, the citizens were called to arms by the alarming toll of the great fire bell. The volunteers mustered; but there was no one to command them. They manned the town walls on that night. On the Monday, the dragoons were seized with a sudden panic, and disgracefully galloped away in a body. The magistrates called a meeting; when a formal summons to surrender was read, containing a threat that resistance to the prince would be followed by military execution. A deputation was now sent to the rebel camp to offer terms of capitulation. An unconditional surrender was demanded. A second deputation, to entreat for delay, obtained no hearing. These baffled negotiators returned to the city before day-break on the morning of the 17th. The Canongate having been opened to allow the hackney-carriages which had brought back the deputation to go out to the suburbs, a party of Highlanders, who had waited in ambush, rushed in. The volunteers had dispersed, and there were none to dispute the possession of the city with the alert mountaineers. The other gates were soon opened. Charles Edward entered the palace of Holyrood; and, amidst the antique pomp of heralds and pursuivants, and the huzzas of the multitude, king James VIII. was proclaimed at the High Cross of Edinburgh.

In the meantime, Cope was landing at Dunbar. On the 18th he had completed the debarkation of his troops, artillery, and stores; and he had been joined by the panic-stricken dragoons who had run away from Edinburgh. On the 20th Cope had reached the village of Preston; and, about two o'clock that afternoon, the prince's army arrived from Edinburgh to encounter him. The English general had a strong position, thus described by Johnstone: "The general had on his right two enclosures, surrounded by stone walls, from six to seven feet high, between which there was a road about twenty feet broad, leading to the village of Preston-Pans. Before him was another enclosure, surrounded by a deep ditch filled with water, and from ten to twelve feet broad, which served as a ditch to the marshy ground. On his left was a marsh, which terminated in a deep pond; and behind him was the sea." The most trustworthy accounts make the royal troops amount to somewhat above two thousand men, and the Highlanders to less than three thousand. The night came on cold and dark. Pickets of the royal army kept guard along the morass. It had been determined by Charles, with the advice of a council of war, to attack at break of day. The Highlanders were sleeping, wrapped in their plaids. The prince, lord George Murray, and other chiefs, were lying down in a field of peas. A proprietor, named Anderson, was brought to lord George Murray, to tell him that he knew a far more practicable way through the morass than their

present position offered. Another council was held; and Anderson's plan was adopted. In the silence of the dark morning, the Highlanders began to move. The morass was successfully crossed. The column marched northward towards the sea; and then formed in line. Between the two armies was a broad corn-field, the harvest having just been got in. Over the thick stubble rushed the Highlanders; fired; cast away their muskets; and threw themselves on the astonished line. Neither horse] nor foot could stand up against these strange and terrible foes. "None of the soldiers," says Home, "attempted to load their pieces again, and not one bayonet was stained with blood." The cannon which Cope had landed was of little use, for he had only one artilleryman; and sailors who were placed to work the guns immediately abandoned them at the rush of the Highlanders. The road between the two enclosures was blocked up by the fugitives. With the exception of colonel Gardiner, who, when his own panic-stricken troop had fled, died nobly fighting at the head of a party of the foot, who had no officer to command them—with this signal exception, the king's officers seem to have abandoned their men to the terrible slaughter, with very feeble attempts to rally them. The prince, as related by Home, "remained on the field of battle till midnight, giving orders for the relief of the wounded of both parties. He returned to Edinburgh on the 22nd of September, with exulting followers, but with a diminished army, many of the Highlanders having returned to their homes in triumph with their spoil. But the victory which had been gained inspired such confidence in wavering chiefs and hesitating lairds, that the prince was soon enabled, in spite of large desertions, to muster double the number of men that he had been able to oppose to general Cope.

King George returned from Hanover on the 31st of August. The Parliament was summoned to meet on the the 17th of October. On the 9th of October, prince Charles issued a proclamation, warning all his subjects to pay no obedience to this summons of the elector of Hanover. Some few Scottish peers did, in consequence, keep away from the meeting of Parliament. The freedom of speech which was heard in both Houses, at this crisis of danger, is a proof that no arbitrary power had deadened the old spirit which ejected the Stuarts. The Opposition in the Commons supported an amendment to the Address, which proposed the framing of such bills as might prove most effectual for securing the independence of Parliament. Lyttelton and Pitt both spoke against this amendment. Pitt asked, "Shall we spend our time in projects for guarding our liberties against corruption, when they are in such immediate danger of being trampled under foot by force of arms? Would not this be like a man's sitting down to think of ways and means for preventing his being cheated by his servants, at the very time that thieves were breaking into his house?" The amendment was negatived.

Fifteen English peers had offered to raise regiments. The offer was accepted by the government. The king was to pay them; and their colonels, it was alleged, named none but their own relations and dependents for the officers. Walpole says that not six regiments were raised, and not four employed. A motion was made in the Commons, for an address to beseech his majesty, "that the officers in the new regiments, now

raising, or already raised, may not be allowed any rank from their commissions after these regiments are broke." This address, which if carried would have put an end to the scheme for raising these regiments, was rejected only by a small majority. Whilst these discussions were exhibiting suspicions of the integrity of the highest in rank, and differences of opinion in statesmen professing the same principles, Charles Edward was marching southward. On the 8th of November he entered Cumberland. On the 10th his entire army invested Carlisle. Upon leaving Dalkeith, the rebels had divided into two columns, and had taken separate roads. The Chevalier de Johnstone attributes to this stratagem the determination of Wade to remain with his large force to protect Newcastle, from whence he did not march till five days after the investment of Carlisle. The city surrendered on the third day after the opening of the trenches. The siege was conducted by the duke of Perth with a small force; for the prince, with the greater part of the army, had marched to Brampton, in the expectation of giving battle to Wade. The besieged were not wanting in artillery. The city was surrounded with old walls, within which was the militia of Cumberland and Westmoreland. In the castle, the garrison consisted only of one company of invalids, commanded by colonel Durand. The town authorities compelled this feeble garrison to join in the capitulation; and they had previously ordered them to desist from firing upon the besiegers. The possession of Carlisle appears to have somewhat influenced the decision of Charles's council to march onwards towards London. On the 20th the van of the Highland army moved from Carlisle; and the main body, in a second division, commanded by the prince, followed shortly after. The whole force did not reach five thousand men, according to some accounts; it amounted nearly to seven thousand, upon other estimates. On the 27th the two divisions were united at Preston. "In every place we passed through," says De Johnstone, "we found the English very ill-disposed towards us, except at Manchester, where there appeared some remains of attachment to the House of Stuart." "Manchester," says Volunteer Ray, "was taken by a sergeant, a drummer, and a woman, about two o'clock in the afternoon [of the 28th], who rode up to the Bull's Head on horses with hempen halters, where they dined. After dinner they beat up for recruits, and in less than an hour listed about thirty." The Manchester recruits were formed into a regiment. It "never exceeded three hundred men," says De Johnstone, "of whom the recruits furnished by my sergeant formed more than half. These were all the English who ever declared themselves openly in favour of the prince; and the chiefs of the clans were not far wrong, therefore, in distrusting the pretended succours on which the prince so implicitly relied." Having been in Manchester two days, the rebel army marched on the 1st of December to Macclesfield, fording the Mersey near Stockport. Lord George Murray, with the van, made a movement which led the duke of Cumberland to believe that the object of the rebels was to get to Wales. He therefore marched from Newcastle-under-Line to Stone; and left the road to London open. Murray suddenly altered his course, and the whole army arrived at Derby on the 5th. The duke of Cumberland's spies had been taken prisoners. In Derby the rebels obtained only three recruits; and, as was

their usual course, they possessed themselves of the money collected for the taxes, which here amounted to 2500*l*. Without these resources, it is difficult to understand how this army contrived to subsist by paying for the necessaries which it wanted. It is highly honourable to the rebels that in their march through a rich land they plundered very little, and committed no wanton mischief. At Derby the Highlanders were animated to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, breathing nothing but a desire for the combat with the duke of Cumberland. In spite of this ardour, the chiefs, one and all, opposed the desire of the prince to give battle on the 6th. They knew, says de Johnstone, that "in case of a defeat in England, no one in our army could by any possibility escape destruction, as the English peasants were hostile to us in the highest degree." Lord George Murray has clearly described the dangers which surrounded the adventurous prince and his men when they had reached Derby: "We did not doubt but that the duke of Cumberland would be that night at Stafford, which was as near to London as Derby. Marshal Wade was coming up by hard marches the east road; and we knew that an army, at least equal to any of these, would be formed near London, consisting of guards and horse, with troops which they would bring from the coast where they were quartered; so that there would be three armies made up of regular troops, that would surround us, being above thirty thousand men, whereas we were not above five thousand fighting men, if so many."

There was considerable excitement in London when Charles Edward was known to have reached Derby. There were some fears entertained at this crisis of a French invasion, by which, in conjunction with the Highland insurrection, "the Jacobites were elevated to an insolence of hope which they were at no pains to conceal."* There was a Jacobite party in London, with one of the City members, alderman Heathcote, at its head; and a run upon the Bank was one of the means adopted to produce confusion. The commercial men of the City, however, gave public notice that they would not refuse to receive the notes of the Bank of England, in payment of any sum of money. The most important influence opposed to the rebellion was the impassive calmness, or decided resistance, of the commercial and industrious classes. These classes were fairly represented at Liverpool, where a regiment of foot of seven hundred men was raised, clothed, and paid by public subscription. They were represented at Glasgow, where a body of twelve hundred men was raised, half of whom were sent to the defence of Stirling, and half remained to protect the city. In Bristol, the same spirit was displayed. Of London, Smollett says, "The militia of London and Middlesex were kept in readiness to march; double watches were posted at the city-gates, and signals of alarm appointed. The volunteers of the city were incorporated into a regiment; the practitioners of the law headed by the judges; the weavers of Spitalfields, and other communities, engaged in associations; and even the managers of the theatres offered to raise a body of their dependents for the service of the government." A camp was formed at Finchley, in which London artisans were associated with troops of the line. The fidelity of the common people to their

* Smollett.

government, and their aversion to the cause of the Stuarts, were unquestionable.

At the beginning of December, 1745, a proclamation was issued, calling upon magistrates to discover and bring to justice all Jesuits and Popish priests; and offering a reward of one hundred pounds for the apprehension of any such objects of the severity of the earlier statutes. In justification of this measure, it was urged that "the number of national Roman Catholic priests, who swarm more than ever in this town, was found dangerous to the State, especially at a time of open rebellion in favour of a Pretender of the same religion."

Lord George Murray, who was foremost to advise the retreat from Derby, offered to make that retreat, and to be always in the rear himself. Before daybreak on the morning of the 6th of December, the little army left Derby. The men thought they were advancing to attack the duke of Cumberland. When they discovered their mistake, "nothing was to be heard throughout the whole army but expressions of rage and lamentation." The peaceful and orderly disposition of the Highlanders in their advance was now with difficulty kept up. At Lancaster they plundered, and threw open the prisons. As they went onward, "few there were who would go on foot if they could ride; and mighty stealing, taking, and pressing of horses there was amongst us."* The prince, as blindly confident as the brave and ignorant men who would have followed him to destruction, was no longer cheerful and alert, but showed his disappointment by moody displeasure. His hurried march back over ground which he had so recently passed in some sort of triumph, was not accompanied by any encouraging popular demonstrations. The retreat was soon manifestly through a hostile district.

The rebel army had been two days on its march back to Scotland before the duke of Cumberland became aware that they were not advancing towards London. He immediately dispatched from his camp at Meriden, near Coventry, all his cavalry to pursue them; and the country people, as the infantry followed, furnished horses to mount foot-soldiers, draughted out of various regiments. A thousand cavalry troops were thus extemporised. Marshal Wade also dispatched his cavalry from Wakefield, under general Oglethorpe, in pursuit of the rebels. The duke of Cumberland and Oglethorpe arrived at Preston on the 13th; and on the 17th they united their mounted forces at Kendal. They were now close upon the rear of the Highland army. Lord George Murray having been delayed by the difficulties of getting along the bad roads, and up the steep hills, was widely separated from the van. Murray had only about a thousand men. He was resolved to wait an attack, even without reinforcements, for which he had applied. He took up a position between the hedges of the village of Clifton, near Penrith, and the wall of lord Lonsdale's park. The night was cloudy, with a feeble moonlight. Creeping along amongst the inclosures the dismounted dragoons of the royal army were advancing upon the Highlanders. Their main body was on horseback at some distance. After a good deal of fire on both sides, the Highlanders,

* "MS. Memoirs of Captain Daniel."

charged down upon the dragoons, many of whom were killed, and the rest fled. Murray had secured by his courageous stand a safer continuance of their retreat for the van. Half-an-hour after the skirmish he also ordered a retreat, and arrived at Carlisle early next day. The van had reached that city the same morning.

On the 20th of December, before break of day, the rebel army, with the exception of a portion of the English regiment raised at Manchester, and some Scottish companies, quitted Carlisle. "I could never comprehend the reason," says De Johnstone, "for sacrificing these unfortunate victims." It has been alleged as an excuse for the callous obstinacy with which Charles Edward resolved to leave this unhappy garrison to the first vengeance of the English, that he believed the duke of Cumberland "had no battering artillery at his disposal." When the duke came up to Carlisle on the 21st, and invested the place, there was no artillery to compel an immediate surrender, but large guns were soon brought up from Whitehaven. The bombardment of Carlisle began on the 28th. "The rebel garrison," says the Volunteer Ray, "were as much surprised as if they had felt the shock of an earthquake, wondering from whence these roaring guns came." On the 30th a white flag was hung out from the walls. The firing ceased. The garrison capitulated without any terms, but that they should not be put to the sword, but be reserved for the king's pleasure. The number of prisoners was a hundred and fourteen English, two hundred and seventy-four Scotsmen, and eight Frenchmen.

The duke of Cumberland, after the surrender of Carlisle, was summoned to London to take the command of the forces that were assembled to guard the south coast against a threatened French invasion. A portion of the army of the duke was left under the command of general Hawley, to advance into Scotland. Marshal Wade's troops were to return to their post at Newcastle. On the 20th of December the Highland army quitted England. They reached Glasgow on the 24th. In September a payment had been forced from the Glasgow citizens to the amount of five thousand five hundred pounds, part in money and goods, and part in bills. Their enemies had now come to make heavier demands, in the shape of thousands of Highland coats, shirts, shoes, tartan hose, bonnets, and money. Parliament afterwards voted ten thousand pounds as a compensation to the loyal traders. After remaining a week at Glasgow, the Highland army marched to Stirling. They were sturdily opposed by the people; but they got possession of the town. General Blakeney, the governor of the castle, met them with defiance. Charles Edward was turned aside from the siege of Stirling by the intelligence that general Hawley had reached the neighbourhood of Falkirk. The prince had now been joined by large numbers of Highlanders from Perth, under the command of lord Strathallan; and by refugees who had been landed from France. His army now reached nine thousand men. On the morning of the 17th of January, Hawley's army had been joined by a regiment of dragoons, and by a thousand Highlanders, under the command of colonel Campbell, afterwards duke of Argyle. When they encamped near Falkirk, some Highland horse and foot paraded upon the high-road from Stirling to Falkirk, to divert attention from the principal attack. About one o'clock two English officers

climbed a tree, and saw the main body of the Highlanders marching towards them, by the south side of the Torwood. The troops became alarmed. Hawley was spending a pleasant morning at Callander House. In his continued absence the officers formed their regiments in front of the camp. The general at last came; and ordered three regiments to march to the moor, and take possession of the high ground between them and the advancing enemy. The infantry were commanded to follow. "For some time it seemed a sort of race between the Highlanders and the dragoons, which of them should get first to the top of the hill."* A storm of wind and rain beat directly in the face of the soldiers, who were marching up the hill with their bayonets fixed, and could not secure their pieces from the rain. The rebel army was marching in two columns. Three Macdonald regiments, who were at the head of the columns to the north, got to the top of the hill before the dragoons, and, taking ground where they had a morass on their right flank, turned their backs to the storm. The hurry in which the troops on both sides were formed; the inequality of the ground; and the darkness of the storm, produced a scene of confusion which could scarcely be called a battle. Before the infantry of Hawley's army were completely formed, he sent an order for the cavalry, in number about seven or eight hundred, to attack the two lines of eight thousand Highlanders. The dragoons plunged into a bog; "where," says Scott, "the Highlanders cut them to pieces with so little trouble, that, as one of the performers assured us, the feat was as easy as slicing *bacon*." The darkness rendered the movements of either army scarcely perceptible. "It seemed a total rout," says Home, "and for some time general Hawley did not know that any one regiment of his army was standing." But one regiment remained steady; and being joined by other infantry, drove back the pursuers. The Highlanders now, in turn, fancied themselves defeated. "Part of the king's army, much the greater part, was flying to the eastward, and part of the rebel army was flying to the westward." Hawley retreated to Linlithgow, through Falkirk, leaving his baggage and his guns. The next day he marched to Edinburgh with an army not greatly reduced in numbers, but sadly degraded in the senseless conduct of this battle of half an hour. Several officers and soldiers were tried by court-martial, of whom two soldiers were condemned to be shot, and more than one officer was cashiered. The leaders of the rebel army scarcely exulted in their victory. They blamed each other for its incompleteness. The duke of Cumberland was immediately sent off to Scotland, to retrieve this disaster. Travelling post night and day, he arrived at Edinburgh on the 30th of January. On the 31st he set out on his march to raise the siege of Stirling, which had been very inefficiently conducted. The prince, with his own immediate advisers, was for protracting the siege, and remaining to fight the duke of Cumberland. More prudent counsel enforced the necessity of a retreat. Charles Edward had no choice but to yield; but he is held to have shown his anger, like a petted child, by deranging all the precautions that had been taken for an orderly march. The retreat assumed very much the character of a flight.

* Home.

The Highland army, marching rapidly in two divisions—one by Blair Athol, and one by the coast—reached Inverness on the 18th of February. The duke of Cumberland, moving much more slowly, took up his head-quarters at Aberdeen. Charles Edward had taken the citadel of Inverness; and Fort Augustus had been destroyed by one of the Highland parties. Fort William and Blair Castle held out against him. Five thousand Hessian troops had arrived to strengthen the forces of the British Government. Many of the Highlanders had deserted after the battle of Falkirk. The insurgents were cut off from the abundant supplies of the Lowlands. The king's ships intercepted the provisions and the gold which were occasionally dispatched from France. The Highland army was without pay; and they sold their allowances of oatmeal "for their other needs, at which the poor creatures grumbled exceedingly." * On the 8th of April, the duke of Cumberland commenced his march from Aberdeen, his army of about nine thousand men being abundantly provided from transports. On the 11th they reached the Spey. As the duke approached, lord John Drummond, who was posted to guard the passage of the deep and rapid river, fell back, although the ford was so bad that the passage might have been easily contested. On the 15th the duke's army reached Nairn, and there halted. The prince's army was encamped on Culloden Moor, about twelve miles distant. On this flat ground, peculiarly unsuited to their tactics, the Highland army awaited the coming struggle. The men were in exalted spirits, and the prince was full of confidence. But doubts came over the leaders, and they determined to attempt something bolder. A night attack upon the royal army was resolved upon. About eight o'clock in the evening they set out. The darkness of the night made the way uncertain over the rough and swampy waste. The men were weary and half-famished. Lord George Murray had the command of the van. About two o'clock he halted; for there were four miles still to march, and there was a great interval between the two columns. A surprise had become impossible, and, in spite of the prince's desire to attack at any hour, they were forced to give it up and return to Culloden. After this night-march, the jaded men were in a very unfit condition for the final struggle of the morning of the 16th. The duke of Cumberland was close at hand. Murray proposed to take a better position "on the other side the water of Nairn." But the old confidence in some miraculous success prevailed, and the insurgents prepared for battle.

It was eleven o'clock when the king's army was seen advancing. It was formed in three lines, one of which was a reserve. The two foremost lines were so disposed that if the first line were broken by the Highland charge, the second line should stand firm. Cannon were placed between the battalions, and cavalry on the flanks. "As soon as the duke's cannon were placed, he began cannonading; which was answered by the prince's, who rode along the lines to encourage his men, and posted himself in the most convenient place to see what passed, where one of his servants was killed by his side." † The cannonade had caused deadly havoc in the

* Papers. † Colonel Ker's Narrative in "Jacobite Memoirs."

ranks of the Highlanders, before a charge was ordered. It was made at great disadvantage, for a violent storm was driving hail and sleet in their faces. But that terrible onset, which few disciplined troops could stand, carried the Highlanders partly through the first line. The second line stood firm. Then one volley from the unbroken ranks, three deep, utterly disordered the right and centre of the rebel army. They fled in irredeemable confusion. The contest became an indiscriminate slaughter. This battle, which conclusively ended a dynastic struggle of fifty-seven years, did not continue for fifty-seven minutes.

After the victory the English soldiers went up and down, knocking on the head such of their vanquished enemies as had any remains of life in them. The weather was cold; the dead, and those supposed to be dead, had been stripped. But, naked and starving, some wretched creatures were still alive on the 17th of April. These were collected in two heaps, and a six-pounder applied to each heap. This was not the only atrocity of that week of triumph and of shame. To a little cot-house, about a quarter of a mile distant from the battle-ground, many of the wounded men had crawled in the night time. They were found by the soldiers. The door of the hut was shut; fire was put to the frail building; and thirty-two persons, including some beggars who had come to the field for plunder, perished in the flames. On the 18th, parties were sent to search the houses in the neighbourhood of the battle; to remove the wounded, and to kill them. Nineteen officers had been carried wounded to Culloden House, the residence of the lord-president Forbes. These nineteen men were tied with ropes; thrown into a cart; carried some distance; and shot under the park wall. One of them, though left for dead, was rescued, and recovered, to remain a crippled memorial of these atrocities.

To go over the afflicting details of military executions;—of men whipped to extort confession; of boys, women, and old men murdered and maltreated; of prisoners left to perish upon insufficient allowance in filthy dungeons;—would be as disgusting to our readers as the perusal of the documents has been to ourselves. It is some satisfaction to know that William of Cumberland was "during many years one of the most unpopular men in England."* The national prejudices of the English at that period, and at subsequent times when these prejudices were even more intense, never led them to countenance the barbarity after Culloden.

An Act had been passed, suspending that portion of the law of high treason which required that bills should be found in the counties where the offence was alleged to have been committed. The object was to try Scottish prisoners in England. The first persons brought to trial were eighteen officers of the Manchester regiment who were left to their fate at Carlisle. Mr. Townley, the colonel, and seventeen of his companions, were tried, and nine were executed on the 30th of July. Three of the Scottish officers who were left at Carlisle, were condemned and executed at Kennington Common in August; and five others, taken at various places, suffered in November. A special Commission was opened at Car-

* Macaulay.

lisle in August. There were three hundred and eighty-two prisoners in the castle, but they were allowed to draw lots, that one in twenty might be selected for trial. Thirty-three were executed. At York twenty-two were also subjected to the brutal penalties of high treason.

The trials of three rebel lords—Kilmarnock, Cromartie, and Balmerino—began on the 28th of July. Bills of indictment had been found by the grand jury of Surrey against the three noblemen, and they were tried by the Peers in Westminster Hall. Walpole says that the whole ceremony was conducted with the most awful solemnity and decency. Kilmarnock and Cromartie pleaded guilty. Balmerino stood his trial. Walpole describes him as "the most natural brave old man I ever saw; the highest intrepidity, even to indifference." Kilmarnock, upon being brought up for sentence, expressed deep contrition for having joined the rebellion at a rash moment. Cromartie manifested a similar feeling of remorse. Balmerino simply desired the Lords to intercede for mercy. Cromartie was pardoned. Kilmarnock and Balmerino were executed on Tower Hill, on the 18th of August. Kilmarnock suffered with resolution. Balmerino, says Walpole, "died with the intrepidity of a hero, but with the insensibility of one too."

The last of the titled sufferers was lord Lovat. Simon Fraser, lord Lovat, had not been with his clan in the rebellion, but his son was with them. The chief of the clan, who had exhibited the passions of an untamed savage in his youth; who, in his maturer age, pursued the same system of barbarian violence in his transactions with his neighbours; in his extreme old age covered his actions with what he considered an impenetrable shield of craft. When Cope was beaten at Preston-Pans, lord Lovat thought the Stuart cause would prosper; and he compelled his son, by threats and entreaties, to join the insurgents. Meanwhile, he continued himself to play fast and loose with both parties. After the retreat from Derby, he tried to make his son faithless to the cause he had himself driven him to adopt. The honour of the son in clinging to the side on which he was fighting, is a pleasing contrast to the habitual perfidy of the father; and it is satisfactory to know that the younger Fraser was pardoned for his share in the rebellion. In December, 1746, lord Lovat was impeached by the House of Commons. His trial commenced before the peers on the 9th of March. The chief evidence against him was that of John Murray, of Broughton, who had been Secretary to Charles Edward. Lovat's conduct upon his trial was as little dignified as his ordinary mode of life. He died decorously, quoting the line of Horace, "It is pleasant and honourable to die for one's country." There were forty-three persons attainted by Parliament, some of noble families, but a large proportion of inferior rank.

After the battle of Culloden, Charles Edward quitted the large body of horsemen who had accompanied him from the fatal moor, having resolved to make his way, with a few of his personal friends, to the west coast, in order to embark for France. On the 24th of April, with two of his companions, and a poor Highlander, who had been his guide from the battle-field, he was sailing in a small boat from Loch Na Nuagh, where, nine [illegible] he had landed with few companions, but with the support

of the most sanguine hopes. The duke of Cumberland soon after fixed his head-quarters at Fort Augustus, in the very heart of the district where the young prince was hiding, for whose apprehension a reward of thirty thousand pounds had been offered. Through the compassionate courage and sagacity of Flora MacDonald, Charles Edward was enabled to escape to Skye. The chief of this country, sir Alexander MacDonald, was opposed to the Jacobite cause, but Flora boldly appealed to the sympathy of his wife, and through her aid Charles was enabled to escape from the danger which he might have encountered in this hostile district. He thus safely got out of Skye, and reached the isle of Rasay, alone, disguised as a man-servant. Day after day the prince sustained new hardships. He returned to Skye, and early in July was conveyed in a boat to the mainland. He wandered long amongst the glens between Loch Shiel and Loch Hourn. In August he returned to the Glengarry country, which was then cleared of troops. Finally, on the 20th of September, he, for the third time, sailed from Loch Na Nuagh; but he now sailed in a French vessel, accompanied by Lochiel, and three other of his fugitive adherents.

CHAPTER XLIV.

DURING the agony of the rebellion, immediately after the defeat at Falkirk, there had occurred what is termed a ministerial crisis. Lord Granville, although out of office, had the confidence of the king; whilst the duke of Newcastle, and his brother, Mr. Pelham, his majesty's chief ministers, were not favourites with him. They resolved to try their strength by demanding office for Mr. Pitt. The king refused, and the Pelhams, with the whole body of their Whig followers, resigned. Granville became minister—for forty-eight hours; for he could command no parliamentary support. The Pelhams returned triumphantly to power, upon their own terms. The Pelham Administration continued its temporising course through eight years of a monopoly of the real authority of the State. "Never," says a reviewer of that Administration, "was the tempestuous sea of Parliament lulled into a profounder calm." Something of this calm was produced by the almost complete absence of publicity from parliamentary proceedings. But there were other influences far more cunningly devised than the despotic privileges which controlled the public journals. The scheme of corruption which Walpole instituted to keep things quiet was perfected under the Pelhams. The agency which had been resorted to for the support of the Crown was perpetuated for the aggrandisement of an Oligarchy. The king refused to nominate Pitt Secretary-at-War. He was first appointed Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, and, within a few months was promoted to be Paymaster-General. Pitt was a poor man; but he had higher aspirations than the "auri sacra fames" of a venal age. The Paymaster-General used to retain a hundred thousand pounds as

a balance in his own hands, which he invested in government securities, for his private benefit. Pitt sent every balance, as it arrived, to the Bank of England, to be available for its proper purposes. This extraordinary Paymaster exhibited similar self-denial towards foreign powers. Amidst their general contempt for the government, the people came to know that there was one man who professed some regard for public virtue.

When the British troops had been withdrawn from the Low Countries to put down the Rebellion, the successes of the French were rapid and decisive. All the Austrian Netherlands submitted to their arms. On the other hand, the French were driven out of Italy by the Austrians and Sardinians. On the 3rd of May, 1747, Admiral Anson captured, sunk, or destroyed, off Cape Finisterre, a French fleet, which had for its principal object to attempt the recovery of Cape Breton. Commodore Fox, on the 16th of June, took forty French ships, richly laden from the West Indies. Admiral Hawke, on the 14th of October, defeated a French fleet off Belleisle.

The political importance of Holland had for some years been frittered away by an imbecile government. Upon the death of William of Orange, the office of hereditary Stadtholder had been merged in that of Grand Pensionary. Louis XV. in 1747 sent an army of twenty thousand men to invade Brabant. Prince William of Nassau had succeeded, as Captain-General and Lord High Admiral, to the powers held by William III. He was now proclaimed Stadtholder; and to him were entrusted the means of national defence. This young man was the son-in-law of George II., and he and the favourite son of George were to command the allied forces of British and Dutch. On the 2nd of July, at Lauffeld, near Maestricht, they, with an Austrian army commanded by marshal Bathiany, encountered the French headed by marshal Saxe. The duke of Cumberland, with his British, fought with desperation. The prince of Nassau, with his Dutch, got out of the fight as soon as possible. The Austrian marshal never moved from his entrenched position. There was a terrible slaughter of the British and the French. The war still went on unfavourably for the allies, Bergen-op-Zoom having surrendered to the French in September. Louis expressed sentiments of moderation, and finally made overtures of pacification. But it was many months before peace was accomplished. George II. wanted to obtain some paltry advantage for his beloved Hanover which might be won by another campaign. The duke of Cumberland and his brother-in-law wanted more fighting. A Congress was opened at Aix-la-Chapelle in March, 1748; even while the war was going on in Flanders. The pacific members of the Cabinet outvoted the warlike; and Mr. Pelham wrote to lord Sandwich, one of the negotiators at the Congress, that the king had resolved to accept the conditions of peace proposed by France, without having the concurrence of the other powers. The preliminaries were signed by the plenipotentiaries of England, Holland, and France, at the end of April. All conquests in all parts of the world, that had been made by any of the powers engaged in the war, were to be restored. The right of search claimed by Spain off her American coast was left precisely in its former position. One point only was gained—the Pretender and his descendants were to be renounced. Charles Edward was to be expelled

from France. The French Government proposed to establish him at Fribourg, with an adequate pension, and the honours that attached to the empty title of prince of Wales. The young man, with characteristic obstinacy, refused to quit Paris. He was at last arrested as he was going to the Opera; imprisoned for a few days at Vincennes, and then turned loose on the frontier of Savoy. He wandered about Europe for many years, bearing a fictitious name. He contracted debasing habits of intoxication, and outraged his few remaining supporters. The brother of the unhappy prince had been named a cardinal in 1747; and this was considered by Charles and his friends as a fatal barrier to the restoration of the House of Stuart to the throne of Protestant Great Britain. But of much greater importance to the security of the House of Brunswick was the pacification of the Highlands, which was gradually being accomplished by a series of enactments. The disarming Act of 1748, and that for the abolition of the Highland dress, might be regarded as unnecessary severities, and as sources of national irritation. But the great measure for the abolition of heritable jurisdictions was open to no objections beyond the complaints of a few interested nobles. The sum of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds was wisely expended in buying up the emoluments which great and petty chiefs of clans derived from the exercise of their arbitrary and dangerous powers. The Sheriff Courts were taken as the foundation of local tribunals where justice should be administered by responsible judges.

Mr. Pelham, though a timid war-minister, was sufficiently bold as a financier. The whole unredeemed capital of the funded debt amounted, in round numbers, to seventy-one millions, of which forty-three millions were due to the bank of England, the South Sea Company, and the East India Company, at varying rates of interest,—namely, 4 per cent., 3½ per cent., 3 per cent. Of the other public debt, nearly nineteen millions were in 4 per cent. annuities, and eight millions in 3 per cent. consolidated annuities. Mr. Pelham proposed that all persons or bodies corporate entitled to any part of the redeemable national debt, which carried interest at 4 per cent., who should consent to receive interest at 3 per cent., commencing on the 25th of December, 1757, should receive 3½ per cent. in the intermediate years. The confidence in the Government and the convenience to many persons of these public investments with their certain dividends, enabled the minister to accomplish his plan without the disquiet which some had dreaded.

The Parliament which commenced its sittings in November, 1747, was continued through its full septennial period until April, 1754. In this tenth Parliament of Great Britain, the energy of lord Chesterfield, with the learned aid of lord Macclesfield, carried through the Reform of the Calendar. The change which Pope Gregory XIII. had introduced in 1582 had gradually been adopted by all European States except England, Russia, and Sweden. Thus, in reading a French historian, we not only find an event bearing date ten or eleven days in advance of the date of an English narrative, but the year is made to begin from the 1st of January in the foreign annalist instead of the 25th of March, as in the English. To make the legal year correspond in all future time with the solar year, was the result of scientific calculations, the rationale of which is now

generally understood. It was necessary also to make a change in the Calendar as to the time of finding Easter. There were many minor regulations essential to be provided for in consequence of the great change. It may be supposed that such a reform, however valuable, would not be made without some popular discontent.

On the 20th of March, 1751, Frederick, prince of Wales, died after a short illness. The Princess Dowager threw herself and her eight children entirely upon the guidance of the king. George, her eldest son, now twelve years of age, was created prince of Wales. A Bill of Regency excited great public attention, and produced long and agitating debates in both Houses.

In 1752 an Act was passed "for the better preventing thefts and robberies, and for regulating places of public entertainment, and for punishing people keeping disorderly houses." This enactment appears to have in some degree been consequent upon the publication in 1750 of Henry Fielding's "Inquiry into the Causes of the late increase of Robbers." In that treatise the first section is devoted to a view of the consequences "of too frequent and extensive diversions among the lower kind of people." He proposes "to stop the progress of vice by removing the temptation." His second section treats of drunkenness. Against gin he directs his strongest reprobation. The consumption of gin had increased to a frightful extent under the prohibitory Act of 1736, which was impossible to be enforced; and the statute of 1743, which reduced the excessive duty, was in operation when Fielding wrote. Mr. Pelham believed no remedy could be found for the evil. It has been most wisely said, with reference to habits of intoxication, "From whatever point of view we regard the subject, we shall see that our hopes of improvement have no solid foundation except in the enlightened sentiment of the people."* "Gaming amongst the vulgar," was placed by Fielding as one of the causes of robbery. He held that the magistrate was armed with sufficient power to destroy all gaming "among the inferior people." This was the creed of that age with regard to every one; and was one of the chief causes that the inferior people so stoutly rebelled against the Gin Act of 1736.

In the Session of 1753, a Bill was introduced in the Commons, "which enabled all Jews to prefer Bills of naturalization in Parliament, without receiving the Sacrament as ordained by Statute 7 Jac. 1."† The clamour which arose against this measure was not more illiberal than the arguments by which it was opposed in Parliament. Nevertheless, the Bill was passed in the Commons by a majority of forty-one. In the Lords it was also carried, and received the support of many bishops. The duke of Newcastle was so terrified by the popular cry of "No Jews," that on the opening of the next Session of Parliament he moved for the repeal of the obnoxious Statute.

The Marriage Act of 1753 was almost as unpopular as the Act for Jewish Naturalization. The Bill introduced by the Chancellor, lord Hardwicke, required that a marriage should be preceded by the publication of banns in a parish church, and that the marriage should be there celebrated;

* Charge to the Grand Jury of Birmingham, by the Recorder, Mr. M. D. Hill, Jan. 1855.

† Blackstone.

that a licence might be granted for a marriage to take place also in a parish church, but with the consent of parent or guardian if granted to a minor. The proposed measure passed the Peers, but in the Commons it was resisted with a violence which is amusing to look back upon. It was carried, however, by a large majority. This Act has been justly regarded as the great step in the improvement of the conjugal relations of the people of England, high and low; and to it has been attributed the wondrous growth of the population in the short space of one century.

The prime minister, Mr. Pelham, died on the 6th of March, 1754. Horace Walpole says of this statesman, "Let it be remembered that, though he first taught or experienced universal servility in Englishmen, yet he lived without abusing his power, and died poor." The duke of Newcastle achieved the great object of his ambition, in succeeding his brother as the head of the Treasury. He offered the seals of Secretary of State, with the lead of the Commons, to Mr. Fox. The prospect of a place which would give him real power raised all the ambition of Fox, who desired to be actively engaged in working the parliamentary system. He very reluctantly gave up the disposal of the secret service money, but he stipulated that he was to know how the bribes were disposed of. The next day, Newcastle receded from this condition. Fox rejected the secretaryship; and sir Thomas Robinson, a dull diplomatist, was appointed to the office. Parliament was dissolved within a month of Mr. Pelham's decease. The new Parliament met on the 14th of November. Pitt and Fox continued in their subordinate offices—Pitt as Paymaster, Fox as Secretary-of-War. But they each writhed under the arrangements by which Robinson had taken the management of the House of Commons. Newcastle at last contrived, by giving Fox a seat in the Cabinet, to detach him from his concert with Pitt. Pitt felt the desertion. Newcastle had silenced one of his formidable opponents. The other gave him no trouble for the rest of the Session. Pitt found his consolation for all public disappointments in the calm of a happy domestic life.

On the 25th of March, 1755, the king sent a message to both Houses on the subject of the danger to his possessions in America from the French colonists, with whom there had been perpetual disputes as to boundaries and alleged rights. In the East Indies there had been similar disputes, amounting to actual warfare. The East India Company had been gradually increasing in wealth and influence. They had established settlements at Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. These were the three Presidencies, each having a President and a Council, appointed by the Court of Directors. A French East India Company had a station at Chandernagore on the Hoogbly; and another station on the coast of the Carnatic, where their fort was called Pondicherry. The French possessed also the Isle de France (Mauritius), and the Isle de Bourbon. From the period of the breaking out of the war between England and France, the English and French settlers were in active hostility. La Bourdonnais, the governor of the Presidency of the Isle de France, carried a force of three or four thousand Frenchmen, sepoys, and negro slaves, in French vessels across the Indian Ocean, and suddenly attacked Madras, in September, 1746. He bombarded Fort St. George for five days, which then capitulated. La Bour-

donnais stipulated to restore the settlement to the English Company upon the payment of a ransom. Dupleix, the Governor of the Presidency of Pondicherry, would not ratify this treaty. He annulled the capitulation, and insolently carried the Governor of Fort St. George, and other officers, in triumph to Pondicherry. A considerable force was sent from England in 1748, and the siege of Pondicherry was undertaken. After a great loss the English raised the siege. The peace came, and under its conditions Madras was restored. But the English and French, although no longer able to fight as principals, could carry on their hostilities as supporters of rival native princes. The Mogul power was hastening to decay, whilst its viceroys or subahdars had become independent, or nearly so. The Nizam of the Deccan died in 1748. The succession of his son, Nazir Jung, was disputed by a claimant to the throne. In the Carnatic, a province dependent upon the Deccan, the reigning prince was also assailed by a rival. Dupleix gave his well-timed assistance to the two pretenders. In a battle in August, 1749, the Nabob of the Carnatic was slain. His son, Mahomed Ali, fled to Trichinopoly; and Arcot fell into the hands of the Nabob set up by Dupleix. The same success attended the pretender to the throne of the Deccan. Dupleix received the new Nizam at Pondicherry, and was declared Governor, under the Mogul, of the country upon the eastern coast, from the river Kistna to Cape Comorin. In Trichinopoly Mahomed Ali prolonged a feeble resistance to Chunda Sahib and his French allies, in their rapid steps towards the complete dominion of the Carnatic. The last stronghold was invested. There was no force to attempt raising the siege. At the time of the capitulation of Madras Robert Clive, a young Englishman, employed in the counting-house of a merchant there, had fled to Fort St. David, and obtained an ensign's commission in the Company's service. Ensign Clive had now become Captain Clive, and his abilities had procured him the employment of commissary to the troops in the presidency of Madras. The young captain of twenty-five, who had never seen a field of battle, conceived the plan of attacking Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic. The heads of the Presidency gave him the command of an expedition, consisting of three hundred Sepoys, and two hundred Europeans. He had eight officers under him, four of whom were factors of the Company. Clive and his little band marched up to the gates of Arcot, whilst a violent storm terrified the superstitious natives who composed the garrison. He entered the city of a hundred thousand people without striking a blow. The besiegers of Trichinopoly detached a large force, which finally amounted to ten thousand men, to attack the ruinous fort at Arcot in which Clive had established his small garrison. The siege went on for fifteen days. At last, on the 14th of November, fired with superstition, and not less with stimulating drinks, crowds rushed to the assault of Arcot. Elephants with plates of iron on their foreheads were driven against the gates. Terrified by the musketry from the walls, they turned upon the multitudes that followed them, and trampled them down. Clive was the soul of the defence. In an hour the attack was at an end. At two o'clock the next morning the besiegers were no more seen.

Large reinforcements were sent to Clive from Madras, and he went forth

to attack Rajah Sahib in the open field. The victory of Arnee opened the way to more successes. Rajah Sahib marched upon Madras in January, 1752, and committed some ravages. But Clive was at hand; and again he won a great victory. Trichinopoly was feebly defended, although the siege had now become a mere blockade. Clive was appointed to head a new expedition to raise the siege; but his senior officer, Major Lawrence, having arrived from England, took the command. The two acted together without jealousy. The besiegers of Trichinopoly capitulated; and Chunda Sahib was put to death by the Mahrattas. Clive, after less important successes, found his health fail, and returned to England. In 1754, under the direction of English and French Commissioners, hostilities had been suspended; and it was agreed that the rival companies, and the subjects of both nations, should in future abstain from interference in the affairs of the native princes. In 1755 Clive was appointed governor of Fort St. David; and he received from the king the commission of lieutenant-colonel in the British army before he sailed for India. Dupleix had been superseded by his government; and he returned to France, to be neglected, and to die in poverty.

The North American colonies of Great Britain were looked upon as possessions to be defended at all cost from foreign assault. Their inhabitants were, for the most part, of the same race as the English nation; speaking the same language; governed by laws nearly identical; imbued with the same love of liberty. Though all the Colonists had occasional causes of complaint, they showed no doubtful allegiance to the British Crown. In 1749, a large grant was made by Parliament for the encouragement of a new settlement in Nova Scotia, or Acadia, as it was called by the French, who had been several times its masters. Four thousand emigrants, with their families, established themselves in the province; and by them was Halifax founded. This settlement was made in the belief that France was again looking to the possession of Nova Scotia. By the treaty of Utrecht, Newfoundland had been ceded to Great Britain, but a limited right of fishery was reserved to the French, who had their settlement of Placentia, on the south of the island. Here, therefore, was a cause of perpetual dispute. Another source of disquiet to the British colonists was the possession of Canada by France. The French Canadian settlers had penetrated to the Ohio, and had there built a fort which they called Duquesne. On the Ohio, the Virginians had also a fort called Block's Town. The French were seeking a participation in their trade in skins. The old families of Virginia were engaged in far more lucrative and less adventurous occupations than in exchanges with the natives. In 1758 the colony exported seventy thousand hogsheads of tobacco, equivalent to seventy millions of pounds. The price was ten times higher than the present rate. Tobacco was cultivated upon every estate in Virginia. It was the general measure of value, and the principal currency. In January, 1755, although no formal declarations of hostilities had taken place, general Braddock, with a body of English troops, was sent to the succour of the colonists in Virginia. He marched against the French fort on the Ohio, taking with him George Washington, a young man of twenty-three, who, in the previous year, had been fighting for the integrity of the

colonial territory against the aggressions of the French. Braddock was a commander of the old routine caste. In a valley between two woods, within ten miles of Fort Duquesne—utterly neglecting all precautions against surprise—the English general fell into an ambuscade of Indians. A few French only encountered him; but the unerring marksmen of the woods picked off his officers; and Braddock himself, fighting with desperate courage, was mortally wounded. Half his troops fled in confusion, abandoning their artillery. The other half were killed or wounded; and the terrible Indian scalping-knife left few to tell the tale of this fatal reverse.

Admiral Boscawen, with eleven ships of the line, had been sent to watch a French expedition that had sailed from Brest. Off Newfoundland the squadrons met in a fog. Captain Howe, having received a signal to engage, took two of the French vessels. The others got into Louisbourg, the fortified harbour of Cape Breton. In the autumn of 1755, sir Edward Hawke, upon a sudden resolve of the Government, made some captures of French merchantmen in the Channel.

George II. was now in dread for Hanover, from the growing strength of Frederick of Prussia. To counteract this, Russia was to receive a subsidy as well as the elector of Hesse, and smaller potentates. The king signed a contract with the elector of Hesse, without the approval of his ministers at home. Fox expressed himself in private against all subsidies. Legge, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, took a bolder step. He refused his signature to the Treasury Warrants which were to open the public purse. Newcastle was terrified, and applied to Pitt to throw his shield over him, offering him a seat in the Cabinet if he would support the subsidies. Pitt was not to be won. Fox was more tractable than his rival. When the Parliament met, on the 13th of November, the king announced the increase of the naval and land forces, and mentioned the treaties he had concluded with Russia and Hesse. The next morning Fox received the seals of Secretary of State, as a reward for giving his support to the ministerial address. Pitt, on the 20th of November, was dismissed from his office of Paymaster; and Legge and George Grenville were also superseded.

In the midst of these agitations of party, the minds of men were suddenly startled by the terrible earthquake at Lisbon, in which one-fourth of all the houses fell, and thousands perished in the ruins. A royal message to Parliament, on the 28th of November, desired the concurrence of the Houses in sending "such speedy and effectual relief as may be suitable to so afflicting and pressing an exigency." The Commons immediately voted a grant of a hundred thousand pounds.

In a fortnight after his dismissal from office, Pitt seconded the motion of the Secretary of War, for an army of thirty-four thousand men, being an increase of fifteen thousand. He had wanted even a larger increase in the previous year. The king, on the 23rd of March, 1756, announced the probability of an invasion, and informed the Houses that he had made a requisition for a body of Hessian troops, in pursuance of the treaty recently concluded. On the 29th, Mr. Fox moved for an Address to the king, that "he would be graciously pleased to order twelve battalions of his electoral

troops, together with the usual detachment of artillery to be forthwith brought into this kingdom." The Address was voted by a large ministerial majority; but not without strong dissatisfaction. That State alone, exclaimed Pitt, is a Sovereign State which stands by its own strength, not by the help of another country. The Hanoverians and Hessians came, and were encamped in various parts of the kingdom. Yet the common people of England enlisted freely, when called upon.

The English ministers had received intimation very early in the spring of 1756, that a formidable expedition was in preparation at Toulon, not provisioned for a long voyage. They shut their eyes to the exposed state of Minorca, although Port Mahon, the best harbour of the Mediterranean, was thought a more important British possession even than Gibraltar. The defence of this place was entrusted to a small garrison, commanded by an aged and infirm general. The government was at last alarmed. They dispatched admiral Byng, with ten ships, from Spithead, on the 7th of April. On the 10th of April, the French fleet, of twelve ships of the line, sailed from Toulon, with transports, having sixteen thousand troops on board. They were off the coast of Minorca on the 18th, and began to disembark at the port of Ciudadella. General Blakeney got together between two and three thousand troops, the officers of the English regiments being, for the most part, absent; and he prepared for resistance in the strong castle of St. Philip. On the 19th of May, admiral Byng's fleet, having been joined by two more men-of-war, arrived within view of St. Philip, whilst the batteries of the French were carrying on their fire against the fort, where the flag of England was still flying. On the 21st of May, De la Galissonnière, the French admiral, bore down upon the British fleet. Rear-admiral West, with his portion of the squadron, attacked with impetuosity, and drove some of the French vessels out of their line of battle. Byng hesitated about advancing, for fear of breaking his line. De la Galissonnière leisurely retired. Byng called a council of war; represented that he was inferior to the enemy in number of men and weight of metal, and proposed to return to Gibraltar. The council agreed to the proposal. The admiral sent home his dispatches; and on the 16th of June, sir Edward Hawke and admiral Saunders were ordered to supersede Byng and his second in command. The unfortunate admiral was taken home under arrest; and was committed as a prisoner to an apartment in Greenwich Hospital. At Portsmouth he was saved with difficulty from being torn in pieces by the mob. Addresses went up to the throne from London, and from almost every county and city, calling for inquiry and signal punishment. Admiral West was received with favour at St. James's. After a defence as resolute as it was possible to make against an overwhelming force, St. Philip was surrendered, upon an assault on the 27th of June, headed by the duke de Richelieu. The garrison marched out with the honours of war, and were conveyed to Gibraltar.

In closing the Session of Parliament on the 27th of May, the king announced that he had formally declared war against France. A treaty had been concluded at Westminster, on the 16th of January, by which the king of Great Britain and the king of Prussia entered into a convention of neutrality, by which they were each bound not to suffer any foreign

troops to enter Germany, and their several dominions were reciprocally guaranteed. The scheme of subsidising Russia was thus renounced. Some old money differences were at the same time adjusted. This treaty was not submitted to Parliament till the close of 1756. In the meantime the terrible contest known as the Seven Years' War had commenced. Through the influence of Madame de Pompadour, Louis XV. was induced to make common cause with Maria Theresa, whose one great grief was the loss of Silesia. The czarina Elizabeth of Russia joined the coalition, as well as Augustus, king of Poland and elector of Saxony, and the king of Sweden. The king of Prussia was perfectly informed of the confederacy against himself, and he resolved to anticipate its hostile movements. Frederick had enjoyed ten years of repose since the peace of Dresden, and he was now, by his wisdom as a financier, and his strictness as a military disciplinarian, prepared to go to war with a full treasury and a well-trained army. His will was law amongst his five millions of subjects; and, except in his military code, he was a merciful and just despot. Towards the end of August, Frederick left his camp with a hundred thousand men. On the 10th of September, he was in possession of Dresden. The Saxon army was in the fortified camp at Pirna—a position which Frederick deemed impregnable, and therefore was contented to blockade it. He left the management of the blockade to prince Ferdinand; and, with a force of twenty-five thousand men, defeated the Austrian army of forty thousand, commanded by marshal Browne, which was advancing from Bohemia. This battle, in the plain of Losowitz, took place on the 1st of October. Frederick returned to Dresden. The Saxon army in Pirna, strictly blockaded, had only the prospect of famine, or of surrender. They surrendered unconditionally. Some of these seventeen thousand men were compelled, and some were persuaded to enter into the Prussian service. The elector retired to Warsaw.

In October, 1756, Mr. Fox resigned the seals of Secretary of State. He had held the office about ten months, during which period a heavy burden of obloquy had to be borne by the ministry. The popular indignation about the loss of Minorca was now becoming directed against the prime minister. The resignation of the Secretary of State was a sudden blow to Newcastle, who was now left without any support in the House of Commons, Murray, the Attorney-General, having insisted upon being appointed Lord Chief Justice. Pitt stood alone, without a rival. Newcastle, in his extremity, induced the king to consent that an overture should be made to the awful Commoner. Pitt refused to treat. The unhappy duke went about imploring this nobleman and that commoner to take the seals. "No man would stand in the gap," says Waldegrave. At last Newcastle himself resigned. Lord Hardwicke, the learned and able chancellor, followed his old friend. A coalition was proposed between Fox and Pitt, which Pitt refused to agree to. At last, in November, the duke of Devonshire was appointed First Commissioner of the Treasury; Pitt, Secretary of State; his brother-in-law, Temple, at the head of the Admiralty; Legge, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

On the 2nd of December, the Parliament was opened with a speech from the Throne, which boldly indicated a vital change of policy. It declared

that the succour and preservation of America "demand resolutions of vigour and despatch." That, for a firm defence at home, "a national militia may in time become one good resource." That the body of electoral troops had been directed to return to Germany. Finally, his majesty said, "Unprosperous events of war in the Mediterranean have drawn from my subjects signal proofs how dearly they tender my honour and that of my crown." "The king," says Waldegrave, "in common conversation made a frank declaration of his real sentiments," which were little in accordance with those expressed in his Speech.

The electoral troops were sent home. A Militia Bill was now passed, although a similar Bill had been rejected in the previous Session. Under this Act thirty-two thousand men were to be called out in England and Wales. Reinforcements were sent to the earl of Loudoun, who now commanded in America. The regular army had been increased to 45,000 men; and Pitt adopted the politic suggestion made by Duncan Forbes in 1738, that the Highlanders should be enlisted in the service of the State. Two Highland regiments were raised, the command of one being given to Simon Fraser, son of lord Lovat; of the other to Archibald Montgomery, brother of lord Eglinton. As the war minister of George II., Mr. Pitt had to modify some of his former opinions as to continental alliances. He brought down a message from the king on the 17th of February, to ask from his faithful Commons that they would assist his majesty in maintaining an army of observation to protect his electoral dominions, and to fulfil his engagements with his good ally, the king of Prussia. Pitt followed this demonstration of his individual opinions, by moving a grant of £200,000 in compliance with the message.

Amongst the difficult questions which the recently formed Administration had to deal with, was that of the fate of admiral Byng. A Court-Martial upon the unfortunate officer commenced at Portsmouth on the 28th of December. The trial lasted till nearly the end of January. The unanimous verdict was that admiral Byng had not done his utmost to relieve the castle of St. Philip, or to defeat the French fleet; and he was therefore adjudged to be shot to death. But the Court also agreed to recommend the admiral to the mercy of the Crown. It was perhaps difficult for the Crown to exercise its prerogative of mercy amidst the popular clamour for the execution of the sentence. Pitt and lord Temple, says Waldegrave, were desirous to save Byng, and they had the House of Commons with them in their desire for mercy. But every effort was made in vain. The 14th of March was at last fixed for the admiral's execution, and he was shot on the quarter-deck of the Monarque, in which he had been confined, displaying a calmness and resolution which of themselves were sufficient to exonerate him from the charge of a want of courage.

At the beginning of April, 1757, Pitt, Temple, and Legge, were suddenly dismissed from their high offices. In addition to George's own dislike to these ministers, the duke of Cumberland, Waldegrave says, pressed the king very strongly that a new Administration should be formed before he went to Hanover, to take the command of the electoral forces. When the dismissal of the ministers was known, without any official delinquency or public misfortune being made a charge against them, the voice of the

nation was expressed in the most unequivocal manner. Pitt kept very quiet. Twelve weeks were spent in negotiations for the formation of a government. Newcastle was sent for. The duke, dreading Pitt's popularity, wished to coalesce with him. Pitt would not accept office, without the entire direction of the war. George then tried his own hand at making a ministry, but failed. There was no resource. The king empowered lord Hardwicke to negotiate with Newcastle and Pitt. The eloquent Common again became Secretary of State upon his own terms. The influential duke returned to the head of the Treasury, without any real power in the direction of the great affairs of the nation. On the 29th of June commenced what is emphatically termed "Mr. Pitt's administration."

Whilst England was thus distracted by political rivalries, events of great importance were taking place in the most distant settlement of the East India Company. In April, 1756, Surajah Dowlah, a boy of nineteen, succeeded his grandfather as Subahdar of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar. He coveted the wealth which he imagined was accumulated in the British factory of Calcutta; and he marched from his capital, Moorshedabad, to Fort William with a great army. The governor, and the English captain in command, escaped in terror, and left the defence of the factory to the servants of the Company, who were taken prisoners, after the fort had been bombarded for two days. There were a hundred and forty-five men, and one woman, of this devoted company. They were to be secured for the night in the dungeon of the fort. Into that den, eighteen feet by fourteen, with two small windows, were these hundred and forty-six adults forced by the ferocious guard that the tyrant had set over them; and the door was closed. When an order for the release of the prisoners came from the Subahdar at six o'clock in the morning, one hundred and twenty-three had been released by death. The English lady survived, to endure the harder fate of being consigned to the harem of the Subahdar. Mr. Holwell, a civil officer of the Company, who had conducted the defence, and two of the chiefs of the factory, were sent to Moorshedabad as prisoners; the others were set at liberty. Fort William was occupied by a Mohammedan garrison of three thousand men; and the victor returned to his capital. It was not till August that the news of the terrible occurrences at Calcutta reached Madras. A British squadron, under admiral Watson, was at anchor in the roads. Clive was sent for by the Presidency, and the command of an expedition was offered to him. With nine hundred Europeans the armament set sail. The winds were contrary. Two months elapsed before they entered the Hooghly. Calcutta was taken on the 2nd of January, with little trouble. At the head of forty thousand men, Surajah Dowlah marched from Moorshedabad, and encamped near Fort William. Clive went forth to a night attack upon the camp, but retired, after some loss, having been embarrassed by a thick fog. Yet the Subahdar, terrified by this exhibition of prowess, sought to conclude a peace with the English. Clive consented to a treaty of alliance with this miscreant. The honest admiral refused to sign the agreement. The Calcutta merchants had pressed the alliance upon Clive, as they thought it would enable them to attack the rival French sation at Chandernagore. The Subahdar gave a doubtful answer on this subject, which Clive interpreted as an assent. The French

were overpowered and surrendered their fort. Surajah Dowlah was now indignant against his recent allies; and sought the friendship of the French officers. The English resident at the Court of Moorshedabad, under Clive's instructions, encouraged a conspiracy to depose the Subahdar, and to raise his general, Meer Jaffier, to the supreme power;—a Hindoo of great wealth and influence, Omichund, engaged in this conspiracy, demanding thirty lacs of rupees as a reward for his service. The merchants at Calcutta were by no means willing that three hundred thousand pounds should go to a crafty Hindoo. Clive, who, called by the natives "the daring in war," was also the most unscrupulous in policy, suggested an expedient to secure Omichund's fidelity, and yet not to comply with his demands. This was done by means of a false treaty. Admiral Watson refused to sign the treacherous document. "He [Clive] forged admiral Watson's name," says lord Macaulay. From his place in the House of Commons, in 1773, Clive boldly acknowledged that the stratagem of the two treaties was his invention,—that admiral Watson did not sign it; but that he should have thought himself authorised to sign for him in consequence of a conversation; that the person who did sign thought he had sufficient authority for so doing.

The English resident left Moorshedabad. Clive wrote a letter of defiance to Surajah Dowlah, and marched towards his capital. The Subahdar reached the village of Plassey with his sixty thousand men, and all the panoply of oriental warfare. His artillery alone appeared sufficient to sweep away those who brought only eight field-pieces and two howitzers to meet his fifty heavy guns. Meer Jaffier had not performed his promise to join the English with a division of the Subahdar's army. Clive called a Council of War. Seven officers voted for instant action, twelve, himself amongst the number, voted for delay. Nevertheless, he determined to fight. On the 22nd of June, his little army marched fifteen miles, passed the Hooghly, and at one o'clock of the morning of the 23rd rested under the mangoe trees of Plassey. As the day broke, the vast legions of the Subahdar began to surround the mangoe grove and the hunting-lodge where Clive had watched through the night. There was a cannonade for several hours. The great guns of Surajah Dowlah did little execution. The small field pieces of Clive were well served. One of the chief Mohammedan leaders having fallen, disorder ensued, and the Subahdar was advised to retreat. When the British forces began to pursue, the victory became complete. Meer Jaffier joined the conquerors the next day. Surajah Dowlah fled to seek the protection of a French detachment at Patna. He was taken and brought back to Moorshedabad, where he was murdered in his prison, by the orders of Meer Jaffier's son, a boy as bloodthirsty as himself. At the installation of Meer Jaffier, as Subahbar of Bengal, Clive conducted him to the seat of honour. Under the treaty made before the battle of Plassey, large concessions were to be made to the Presidency of Calcutta; and money amounting to two millions and three quarters sterling was now granted as a payment to the fleet, the troops, and the Committee, by whose agency this revolution was effected. Clive was content with something under three hundred thousand pounds. When Omichund was denied his expected gratuity, and was told of the disgraceful

fraud that had been practised upon him, he fainted, and was carried home, to exhibit during the small remainder of his days, an impaired intellect, and to die a broken-hearted idiot. Exactly a year after the battle of Plassey, a Commission arrived at Bengal from London, remodelling the Presidency, and not including Clive in the nomination of officers. The news of the great victory had not reached the India House when this Commission started. The members of the Presidency at Bengal had the good sense to request Clive to take the government upon himself. By his exertions, and through his example, the French were gradually driven from every stronghold.

Frederick of Prussia had commenced his second campaign at the end of April. Four hundred and thirty thousand men were gathered together to crush the prince of a small German State, who had only a hundred and fifty thousand men in the field to encounter this overwhelming force. At the opening of this campaign the Austrian marshal, Browne, was encamped before Prague, in a position almost impregnable. Frederick marched from Saxony into Bohemia by four different mountain passes, and, on the 6th of May, he fought one of the most sanguinary battles on record. The conflict lasted eleven hours; the Prussians losing eighteen thousand men, and the Austrians twenty-four thousand. The king displayed that personal intrepidity which never failed him after his first battle of Molwitz. His victory was complete. Prague was then bombarded, and for three weeks did its unfortunate inhabitants endure the horrors of war, with more than its usual calamities. The city resolutely held out. A great division of the Austrian army under marshal Daun was advancing for its relief. On the 17th of June, Frederick fought the battle of Kolin, with an inadequate force; and he was defeated with the loss of thirteen thousand men. The siege of Prague was raised; and the Prussians hastily marched out of Bohemia.

Under this great reverse of their one ally, the English government turned its attention to naval enterprises. An expedition was sent out in September, under the command of sir Edward Hawke and sir John Mordaunt. Sixteen ships of the line and ten regiments of foot were destined for an attack on the great arsenal of Rochefort. The fortified island of Aix was attacked by captain Howe, who anchored his ship within fifty yards of the fort, and after an hour silenced the French batteries. General Conway took possession of the citadel. After a week spent in councils of war, Mordaunt and Hawke being at issue, it was agreed that the expedition should return home. Mordaunt was acquitted by a Court-Martial. Other evil tidings had travelled to England. The English and Hanoverian army commanded by the duke of Cumberland, was relied upon to prevent the French attacking Prussia. The news now came that the duke de Richelieu had compelled the duke of Cumberland, after a series of retreats, to leave Hanover to the mercy of the French; and, being pursued to Stade, he had agreed to a capitulation, known as the Convention of Closter-Seven; under which all his Hessians and Brunswickers were to be disbanded, and all his Hanoverians were to be sent into various cantonments. The duke [illegible] by his father when he came home, and he resigned his post as [illegible]-in-chief. The indignation of the English people was extreme. [illegible] at its height when the intelligence arrived that

lord Loudoun, having the command of a force of twelve thousand men, furnished by large reinforcements from home, had shrunk from attacking Louisbourg; and that admiral Holbourne, the naval commander, hesitated about imperilling his squadron of eighteen ships of the line in an attack upon the French squadron of nineteen ships of the line.

The king of Prussia, surrounded by dangers on every side, still maintained his unshaken constancy. The Russians were desolating his eastern provinces. Silesia was filled with Austrians. He was under the ban of the Empire, every German State being forbidden to give him aid. The prince de Soubise, with an army of forty thousand French, and twenty thousand troops of the Empire, was encamped near Mucheln. Frederick, with twenty thousand of his Prussians, marched to encounter this unequal force. Soubise was suddenly attacked, when he thought that the king was retreating. Never was victory more complete than in this short battle of Rosbach. The French and the imperial troops vied with each other in the swiftness of their flight. They left seven thousand prisoners, guns, colours, baggage. By forced marches, Frederick reached the neighbourhood of Breslau. Here prince Charles of Lorraine was at the head of an army of Austrians, exceeding sixty thousand men. They met at the village of Leuthen, near the woods of Lissa, on the 5th of December. The Austrians fought bravely; but the genius of the Prussian leader gave him a mighty victory.

The defeat of the French at Rosbach led the king of England to refuse to ratify the Convention of Closter-Seven. Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, a distinguished officer in the Prussian army, was recommended by Frederick to assume the command of the Hanoverian troops, who were thus forced to take part in the campaign of 1758. The Session of the English Parliament was opened on the 1st of December. A subsidy of £670,000 was voted to the king of Prussia with only one dissentient voice, with a present payment of £100,000 for the army in the Electorate. The votes for supplies amounted to ten millions. On the 1st of June, an armament sailed for St. Maloes. The fleet was commanded by lord Anson; the troops by the duke of Marlborough. At St. Maloes a landing was effected without opposition. A number of small vessels were burnt, and then the soldiers re-embarked. On the 8th of August, Cherbourg was taken without opposition; its forts and basin were destroyed, with its hundred and seventy iron guns. From Cherbourg, the same expedition proceeded to make another attempt upon St. Maloes. The place was found too strong for assault; and the English troops, who were in a wretched state of discipline, disgraced themselves by excesses as they wandered about in the district. A large French force came down upon them; and the rear-guard of fifteen hundred men was cut off, and a thousand were killed or made prisoners. As a set-off against these misfortunes, the French were dispossessed of their settlements on the African coast. An expedition was sent against Fort Louis, on the Senegal river, which was taken without slaughter. Goree surrendered to a stronger armament, but not without many broadsides from our ships. There were greater conquests in America. Early in the Session, Pitt had hurled his thunderbolts against lord Loudoun. He now recalled him, and chose in his place men who would not shrink

from difficulties. General Amherst was dispatched to take the command of the troops, with colonel Wolfe as his second in seniority, with the rank of brigadier-general. Admiral Boscawen commanded the fleet of a hundred and fifty ships, bearing twelve thousand troops, which appeared off Louisbourg on the 2nd of June. The defences were very strong; and it was almost the end of July before Louisbourg capitulated, with nearly six thousand prisoners of war. The French fleet in the harbour was utterly destroyed. Pitt proposed to general Abercrombie to reduce the French forts on the borders of Lake George, and Lake Champlain. An attack upon Ticonderago, a strong fort, was repulsed by the marquis de Montcalm, an experienced French general, with a loss to the British regiments and the American militia of two thousand men killed and wounded. The American campaign was concluded by the surrender to the British of Fort Duquesne, the original cause of the war. Its name was changed to Pittsburg.

In this year, whilst prince Ferdinand kept the French in check, Frederick, on the 25th of August, fought the great battle of Zorndorf, near Frankfort-on-the-Oder, in which he defeated the Russians with a fearful slaughter. This was in August. In October, Frederick was surprised by the Austrians in his camp. His presence of mind saved his troops from complete destruction; but after fighting five hours he was obliged to abandon his tents, his baggage and his artillery. In the following April, prince Ferdinand, after having been defeated at Bergen, was obliged to retreat before the duke de Broglie, and the mareschal de Contades, who commanded a force very superior to the Hanoverians and English. Cassel, Munster, and Minden were in the possession of the French. On the 1st of August a small detachment of Ferdinand's army appeared before Minden. De Broglie marched out from his strong position to surround them; when the whole allied army was seen, drawn up in order of battle. De Contades then joined De Broglie, and the two, with their cavalry, made repeated attacks upon the solid English and Hanoverian infantry. Again and again they were driven back; and at length the French general commanded a retreat. The opportunity for the entire rout of the enemy was lost through the misconduct of lord George Sackville, who had the command of the cavalry. But in spite of Sackville, Minden was a British triumph. Other triumphs succeeded. The French were preparing for our invasion. Pitt sent admiral Rodney to destroy their gunboats in the port of Havre, which service was effectually accomplished. Brest was blockaded. Admiral Boscawen on the 17th of August defeated a French fleet in the bay of Lagos. Guadaloupe had capitulated to an English armament in May.

The plans of Mr. Pitt for the campaign in America were of a wide but comprehensive character. In the middle of July, a body of the American militia, and of Indians in amity with them, commenced the siege of Niagara. The fall of this strong fort was numbered amongst the triumphs of that year. In the same month, general Amherst, who had succeeded [illegible] and held by Abercrombie, reduced the fortress of Ticonderago, [illegible] to another fort on lake Champlain. This place was [illegible] at the [illegible] end of the lake the French had taken up [illegible] general had to build boats before he could

attempt to dislodge them. When he embarked on Lake Champlain, he was driven back by storms; and then came the winter. Wolfe had returned home in ill-health in 1758. He was then in his thirty-third year. Pitt promoted him to the rank of Major-general, and gave him the command of an expedition to Quebec. This small army of eight thousand men, having accomplished the difficult passage of the St. Lawrence, landed on the isle of Orleans, opposite Quebec, on the 17th of July, 1759. The marquis de Montcalm commanded the French troops in Canada. Montcalm, Wolfe wrote, "has a numerous body of armed men, and the strongest country, perhaps, in the world to rest the defence of the town and colony upon." Wolfe attacked the entrenchments on the 31st of July, without success. The English generals then determined that a corps of about three thousand six hundred men should be conveyed up the St. Lawrence, several miles above Quebec, where they disembarked. At one o'clock in the morning of the 13th of September, the little band were crowded into boats, to float down the broad river, with the flowing tide. They landed at a little inlet about two miles above Quebec, and with the aid of boughs and stumps of trees the men climbed up to the Heights of Abraham, which form a continuation of the steep ridge of rocks on which the city is built. A French picquet fired and fled. The boats went back to bring another detachment. When the day broke a compact army stood on the high ground at the back of Quebec. Wolfe had disposed his little force with admirable judgment. The left wing was commanded by brigadier-general Townshend, whilst Wolfe was with the right wing, where the hottest work was expected. He had ordered his men not to fire till the enemy came within forty yards. Montcalm was advancing with French and Canadian regiments intermingled, whilst his Indian allies were detached to outflank the British on their left. Montcalm's troops fired as they advanced, and Wolfe received a shot in his wrist. The volley of the British stopped the advance. Wolfe headed his grenadiers to the charge, when another shot struck him in a vital part. Still he issued his orders and pressed on. A third ball hit him in the breast. He fell, and was carried to the rear. The second in command, general Monckton, had also fallen. General Townshend completed the victory. The brave Montcalm was mortally wounded, and being carried into the city died the next day. Quebec capitulated on the 18th of September. On the 20th of November, Pitt moved that a public monument should be erected to the memory of general Wolfe.

Admiral Hawke having been driven by the equinoctial gales from his blockade of Brest, Conflans, the French admiral, came out with twenty-one ships of the line and four frigates. Admiral Duff was off Quiberon Bay with his squadron; and Conflans hoped to attack him before Hawke could come to the rescue. But Hawke did return; and then Conflans hurried to the mouth of the Vilaine—fancying himself secure amidst the rocks and shoals on that shore. Hawke's pilot pointed out the danger of a sea-fight in such a perilous navigation. "Lay me alongside the French admiral," was Hawke's reply. The fight went on till night whilst a tempest was raging. When the morning came, two British ships were found to be stranded, but their crews were saved. Four of the French

fleet had been sunk, amongst which was the admiral's ship. Two had struck. The rest had fled up the Vilaine. This final victory put an end to all apprehensions of a descent upon England.

The year 1760 was not a year of excitement to the English people. The defence of the conquests of 1759 required no great exertions. There was little domestic agitation. Parliament had little more to do than to consider the supplies, for which enormous sums were voted. The reign of George II. came suddenly to an end on the 25th of October, the right ventricle of the old man's heart having burst.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE policy systematically acted upon from the day of George III.'s accession was, as set forth by Doddington, "to recover monarchy from the inveterate usurpation of oligarchy;" and, further, to get rid of the necessary result of that domination, which was expressed in the lamentation of George II. to his Chancellor, "Ministers are the king in this country." These conceptions could not be realised without difficulty and danger. In these early struggles of his reign, the character of the young prince, as his governor, lord Waldegrave, described him in his twenty-first year, comes out with tolerable clearness:—an intellect not deficient, but not highly cultivated—honesty without frankness—resolution, approaching to obstinacy—indolence, soon overcome by a strong will—violent prejudices, liable to mistake wrong for right—sullen anger—enduring animosity. Lord Waldegrave, in assigning this character to the prince, adds, "Though I have mentioned his good and bad qualities, without flattery, and without aggravation, allowances should still be made, on account of his youth, and his bad education." Walpole says, "His majesty had learned nothing but what a man who knew nothing could teach him." The "man who knew nothing" was lord Bute, whose influence had succeeded to the authority of the princess-dowager and the nursery, and by whom, for some time after his accession to the throne, the young king suffered himself to be led. The earl of Bute, the Groom of the Stole, was not only named as a member of the Privy Council, but also of the Cabinet. The earl of Bute prepared his majesty's first address to the Privy Council. Mr. Pitt was indignant at the tone in which the war was mentioned in this address, but, nevertheless, he and the duke of Newcastle continued their alliance as ministers under the new sovereign. When Parliament opened, on the 18th of November, the House of Commons voted a Civil List of £800,000 upon the king surrendering the hereditary revenue. The annual subsidy to the king of Prussia was renewed. Supplies were given to the extent of [illegible] millions. The enthusiasm with which the king was greeted by his [illegible] was in striking contrast with the coldness that had attended the [illegible] in public [illegible] George II. The few remaining Jacobites gave up

their hatred to the House of Hanover, and flocked to St. James's. This happy calm was not to last long. Bute and Doddington were soon intriguing against the king's ministers. Amongst the weapons which this pair devised to damage Pitt in popular estimation, they "agreed upon getting runners," hawkers of pamphlets and bills. Doddington says also, "We wished to have some coffee-house spies, but I do not know how to contrive it." The king's name was used as an authoritative recommendation. Within a week after the accession, Walpole wrote, "The favourite took it up in high style." Three months later, the favourite could even venture to proclaim the policy of the new reign, in an insolent message to Pitt.

On the 3rd of March, the king went to Parliament to recommend further provision for securing the judges in the enjoyment of their offices, during their good behaviour, notwithstanding any demise of the Crown. This measure was merely supplementary to an Act of the reign of William III. On the 21st of March, the Parliament was dissolved by proclamation. Previous to the close of the Session, the Speaker Onslow, who had filled the chair for thirty-three years, announced his intention of retiring. He received a pension of £3000. There were changes in the ministry. Legge ceased to be Chancellor of the Exchequer. Holderness was removed from his office of one of the Secretaries of State. The earl of Bute was appointed in his place. That change was made without the knowledge of Pitt, the other Secretary, who still directed the conduct of foreign affairs, and of the war. In the General Election for the new parliament, venality was carried further than ever. Bribery took the approved form of selling a pair of jack-boots for thirty guineas, and a pair of wash-leather breeches for fifty pounds.

The intended marriage of the king to the princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz was announced in an Extraordinary Gazette of the 8th of July. The mother of the king, and lord Bute, are held to have turned him aside from the beautiful object of his love, Lady Sarah Lennox, to accept this bride chosen from a petty German court. On the 8th of September, the princess arrived at St. James's, and the marriage was celebrated that afternoon. Of the queen, as she appeared on her bridal night, Walpole says, "she looks very sensible, cheerful, and is remarkably genteel." Her good sense and cheerfulness appear to have been the characteristics of queen Charlotte through her long and anxious life.

At the beginning of 1761, the duke de Choiseul, who conducted the foreign affairs of France, had proposed a general negotiation for peace, and plenipotentiaries had been named by England and Prussia to treat at a congress at Augsburg. But the duke also suggested a previous negotiation between France and England. M. de Bussy arrived in London as the French minister; and Mr. Hans Stanley was sent to Paris as the English negotiator. The basis of pacification proposed was the *uti possidetis*—the continued possession of whatever territory each of the contracting powers might hold upon a day named; or an equivalent to such possession. The instructions which Mr. Stanley received were, that he should contend that the *uti possidetis* should date from the day when the treaty was signed. Pitt was looking to further conquests, which would give England a claim for larger equivalents, and he did not hesitate to send an expedition of

nine thousand men to attack the fortresses of Belle-Ile, an island near the mouth of the Loire, on the west coast of France, where a few thousand fishermen obtained a precarious livelihood. There was a great sacrifice of life; and it was two months before the garrison of Palais capitulated. About the same period the West Indian island of Dominica had been captured; and the French dominion in the East Indies had been finally destroyed by the surrender of Pondicherry. These successes gave some additional force to Pitt's demands. He required that Minorca should be restored in exchange for Belle-Ile. He demanded other concessions, which France was unwilling to yield. He insisted that in making a separate peace with France, England should not be restrained from lending her aid to the king of Prussia. Frederick was truly in a condition to require her aid. The Austrians were in possession of the most important posts in Silesia. In Pomerania the Russians had overpowered his commanders. All his resources were fast failing, except his own indomitable energy. The British, the Hanoverians, and the Prussians had been fighting together as allies, in the campaign of 1761. The events of that campaign left the war without any decisive results; but the skill of prince Ferdinand, and the valour of the British under the marquis of Granby and general Conway, were signally displayed through a series of difficult operations, and especially in the battle of Kirch-Denkern on the 15th of July.

As the negotiations advanced between Great Britain and France, the demands of the duke de Choiseul were enlarged and his attitude became more firm. M. de Bussy delivered the *ultimatum* of his court on the 5th of August. On the 15th, the duke de Choiseul and the marquis of Grimaldi, the Spanish ambassador at the court of France, signed the treaty known as "The Family Compact;" by which the two branches of the House of Bourbon agreed to consider the enemy of either as the enemy of both; to guarantee each other's territories; to give each other mutual succours by sea and land. Pitt obtained early and precise information upon the subject of this ominous alliance. He broke off the negotiations with France, and submitted his advice "to a trembling council for an immediate declaration of a war with Spain." He thus declared himself: "This was the time for humbling the whole House of Bourbon; if this opportunity were let slip, it might never be recovered; and if he could not prevail in this instance, he was resolved that this was the last time he should sit in that council." Temple was the only minister who stood by Pitt, who had to succumb, or to quit office. On the 5th of October, he resigned the seals of Secretary of State, and Temple followed him in his retirement. The immediate popularity of the great minister was seriously damaged by his acceptance of a pension of £3000 a-year, and of a peerage for his wife, who was created Baroness Chatham. Pitt, for a little while, became the object of lampoons and caricatures, ascribed to persons "in the interest or pay of Bute." But the multitude did not long frown upon their favourite. On the 9th of November, he went to the Lord Mayor's dinner at the Mansion House, amidst "an universal huzza." Lady Chatham recorded that her husband in this display acted against his better judgment.

When the new Parliament met, on the 3rd of November, the king's

speech promised a vigorous prosecution of the war. Lord Egremont had been appointed Secretary of State in the place of Pitt. George Grenville became leader of the House of Commons, holding the office of Treasurer of the Navy. Pitt continued boldly to maintain the necessity of prosecuting the German war. Grenville, who had supported Pitt's German policy during his tenure of office, now openly opposed it. Attack upon attack was made upon the ex-minister; but he preserved a wonderful calmness. On the 2nd of January, 1762, the king declared in Council his resolution of making war on Spain. "The ministers, who had driven out Mr. Pitt rather than embrace this necessary measure, were reduced to adopt it at the expense of vindicating him and condemning themselves." * The ministers adopted the war-policy of Pitt with regard to Spain, but they alienated for ever the king of Prussia, by meanly evading the annual grant of the subsidy which Pitt had engaged to obtain from Parliament during the continuance of the war.

When the king announced the war with Spain at the opening of Parliament on the 19th of January, hostilities had already commenced. Pitt had arranged an expedition against the French island of Martinique before he quitted office; and he had intended that the same expedition should proceed against the Havannah, in the event of a rupture with Spain. Admiral Rodney commanded a fleet, carrying twelve thousand men, under the command of general Monckton. They disembarked at a creek in Martinique on the 7th of January; reduced several strong posts; and the island was speedily surrendered, although some of its works had been deemed impregnable. Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent were as quickly taken. All men gave Pitt the credit of this triumph. On the 5th of March an expedition sailed from Portsmouth; under admiral sir George Pocock, with land forces commanded by the earl of Albemarle. At Martinique, they were joined by a portion of the forces that had effected the conquest of that island. The British naval force consisted of nineteen ships of the line, with smaller vessels; the transports carried ten thousand troops. The Havannah, which had been strongly fortified, was finally taken; but with a tremendous sacrifice of life. To complete the triumphant operations which Pitt had devised, the Philippine islands were captured by an expedition sent out from Madras.

On the 25th of November, the Session of Parliament was opened with an elaborate speech from the throne, in which the king announced that, through the late glorious exertions of national strength, his enemies had been brought to consent to terms of peace. The preliminaries of this peace had been signed at Fontainebleau on the 3rd of November. In his anxiety for an immediate pacification, lord Bute would have given up Havannah and Manilla, without any equivalent. His colleagues differed from him; and Florida, then a very useless possession, was at length accepted, and the great Indian colonies of Spain were restored. The other acquisitions of Great Britain were,—the whole of the French provinces in North America; the West India islands of Tobago, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Grenada; Minorca restored in exchange for Belle-Ile. Spain gave up

* Walpole.

the points in dispute between her and Great Britain, upon which she had ventured to risk a war. As to the contest still continuing in Germany, it was agreed that France and England should withdraw altogether from interference. The definitive treaty of Peace was signed at Paris on the 10th of February, 1763. On the 15th of the same month, peace was concluded between the empress Maria Theresa, the elector of Saxony, and the king of Prussia. The Seven Years' War ended by replacing the parties to this great quarrel in the exact position in regard to territory in which they stood before its commencement. Pitt had proposed to set against the cost of the war "that spirit which has made us what we are." Looking to the mere question of figures, we may assume that we are paying at the present hour very nearly two millions and a half annually for the glories of Mr. Pitt's administration. That some of that national spirit of which he boasted, has been transmitted to us may be, even now, a compensation for the two shillings a head that every one of the twenty-five millions of the existing population has annually to pay towards the perpetual burden of taxation created by the war that was terminated by the peace of Paris.

The influence of Pitt upon the action of the government was at an end, when the war which he had directed, and to which he continued to lend his spirit, came to an end. Upon the resignation of the duke of Newcastle in June, 1762, the earl of Bute had become ostensibly, as he had been for some time in reality, the prime minister. George Grenville then became Secretary of State; and sir Francis Dashwood Chancellor of the Exchequer. But whatever were the minor arrangements, the real power of the government was centred in Bute; and upon him fell that storm of popular indignation which Wilkes and Churchill embodied in the bitterest of personal attacks. Much of the odium that attached to this minister is to be ascribed rather to the belief that he was a favourite, than to his actions as a statesman. When a Bill for laying a tax upon cider was passed amidst great opposition, the popular clamour reached its height; and at last the unhappy minister was afraid to appear in the streets without the escort of a gang of bruisers. Suddenly, on the 8th of April, 1763, lord Bute resigned all his official employments. Grenville then became the head of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer; lord Egremont and lord Halifax the two Secretaries of State. Fox was raised to the peerage as lord Holland. He had ceased to take any part in public affairs, but he clung to the great sinecure of his office of Paymaster; and had the gratification of still receiving those vast irregular emoluments which Pitt despised.

On the 19th of April the king closed the Session of Parliament. Four days later there appeared in Wilkes's Paper, "The North Briton," the demagogue's comment upon a passage in the king's Speech, which was considered by some, to use Walpole's expression, as giving "a flat lie to the king himself." On the 30th of April a "General Warrant" was issued against the author, printers, and publishers of a seditious and treasonable paper entitled "The North Briton," No. 45, &c. By a "General Warrant," is understood an authority to apprehend any person supposed to be implicated in a particular charge. Balfe, the printer, and Kearsley, the pub-

lisher, were taken at once. Wilkes was arrested the same morning, and carried before the two Secretaries of State, and was by them committed to the Tower; his papers being seized and examined. At first he was closely confined, and was debarred all intercourse with his friends, or the use of pen and paper. When these severe restrictions were laid aside, he was visited by earl Temple and the duke of Grafton. On the 3rd of May, he was brought to the Court of Common Pleas, upon a writ of habeas corpus granted by sir Charles Pratt, the Lord Chief Justice. Serjeant Glynn argued the case, and Wilkes spoke himself with that boldness approaching to effrontery which was one of his characteristics. The court postponed its decision till the 6th, when the Chief Justice, speaking in the name of himself and his fellow-judges, determined that his privilege as a member of parliament protected Wilkes from arrest. "Let Mr. Wilkes be discharged from his imprisonment." The next day earl Temple was dismissed from the Lord-Lieutenancy of Buckinghamshire, and his name was struck off the list of Privy Councillors. Wilkes was deprived of his commission as a colonel of the Buckinghamshire militia. One of the journeymen printers who had been arrested under the General Warrant, obtained a verdict against the Secretary of State, with three hundred pounds damages, for false imprisonment, Chief Justice Pratt having summed up decidedly in his favour. Whilst an inevitable parliamentary battle in the next Session was in preparation, the town was amused by lampoons and caricatures on both sides of the Wilkite question. Pitiful were these effusions of personal spite. More pitiful even was the revenge against Wilkes that was being concocted in the highest places. On the 15th of November, the Parliament was opened. In the House of Lords, before the speech from the throne was taken into consideration, lord Sandwich, one of the most profligate nobles of that age, who had become Secretary of State on the death of lord Egremont, made a complaint of two papers printed at Wilkes's private press. The compositor employed by Wilkes in his own house, receiving there 25*s.* a-week, and bed and board, was examined; and he produced some proof-sheets, with corrections in the handwriting of Wilkes, to establish the authorship. The House then resolved to address his Majesty to desire that he would give immediate orders for the prosecution of the author or authors of this scandalous and impious libel. In the Lower House, after a series of debates, it was resolved that the "North Briton," No. 45, was a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, and that it should be burnt by the common hangman. A riot took place when this resolution was carried into effect. The measures contemplated against Wilkes were delayed by his having been dangerously wounded in a duel. His position appearing very perilous, he sought safety in France before his wound was healed. On the 20th of January he was expelled the House of Commons.

The question of the legality of a General Warrant had been formally decided in an action for false imprisonment against Mr. Wood, the Under Secretary of State, which resulted in a verdict against him by a special jury, with damages of a thousand pounds. The opinion of the Chief Justice was given in the most unequivocal words. "There is no authority in our law-books that mentions this kind of warrants; but in express

terms condemns this. Upon the maturest consideration I am bold to say, this warrant is illegal." The House of Commons, on the 13th of February, examined witnesses, and debated the question of General Warrants for eleven hours; and the next day for seventeen hours. The debate was renewed three days after, and then the ministerial majority was only fourteen. Their honest convictions made some of the ordinary supporters of the government vote with the minority on this question of General Warrants. On the first day of the Session, when the question of Parliamentary privilege was discussed, general Conway, the colonel of a regiment, voted in the minority. The king immediately urged his dismission, with that of others; and that it should be given out "that the next would have the same fate if they do not amend their conduct." In April, Conway was dismissed from his regiment and from his office. The same mode of resentment was adopted in the case of lord Shelburne, colonel Barré, and general A'court, as well as towards persons holding civil offices. These dismissals excited considerable alarm as to the arbitrary tendencies of the court. The question of the proceedings against Wilkes became merged in higher questions. The demagogue was prosecuted for libels; was found guilty; and was outlawed on the 1st of November for non-appearance to receive sentence. But he was now considered a persecuted man. The ministry had the sense of the nation against them, and the king's disposition to look at public measures as personal questions gave him a share in the ministerial unpopularity.

The triumphant administration of Mr. Pitt had given a firmness and compactness to the British empire in North America, which appeared to promise a long continuance of prosperity to the mother-country and her colonies. These North American provinces contained a population somewhat exceeding two millions. The State regarded these colonists as a happy family of good children, to be kept in order by that paternal authority which knew best what was for their advantage. But from the colonial Assemblies, or Parliaments, of the thirteen provinces of North America complaints often arose against the commercial policy of the mother-country, and especially after the peace of 1763, when the attempt to carry out our Navigation Laws by a rigid prohibition of the contraband trade of the American with the Spanish colonies produced the most serious dissatisfaction. Greater dissatisfaction was aroused when, on the 10th of March, 1764, Mr. Grenville moved in the Commons a series of Resolutions, for imposing small duties on certain articles of American commerce; to "be paid into the receipt of his majesty's exchequer, and there reserved, to be from time to time disposed of by Parliament, towards defraying the necessary expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the British colonies and plantations in America." The 14th of these Resolutions was, "That towards further defraying the said expenses, it may be proper to charge certain Stamp Duties in the said colonies and plantations." The Act was postponed in the Session of 1764 to obtain "further information on that subject." On the 10th of January, 1765, the Parliament met. The question of General Warrants was again debated in full Houses, and again the Ministry had a small majority. The question of taxing America by Stamp Duties produced only a feeble debate

and only one division. On the 6th of February, Grenville introduced fifty-five Resolutions, which were to be ingrafted into the Stamp Act. The Bill was passed without a debate or division in the House of Lords; and it received the Royal Assent on the 22nd of March. Walpole says, "This famous Bill, little understood here at the time, was less attended to. . . . . The colonies, in truth, were highly alarmed, and had sent over representations so strong against being taxed here, that it was not thought decent or safe to present their memorial to Parliament." Benjamin Franklin, as agent for the province of Pennsylvania, had come to London to oppose the passing of the Act. When it was passed, he recommended prudential submission to an evil which he thought inevitable. But this was not the prevailing feeling of the colonists. The Act was to come into operation on the 1st of November. In the State Assemblies, a determination not to submit without remonstrance was quickly manifested. Virginia, the most attached to the monarchy of all the provinces—the most opposed to democratic principles—was the first to demand a repeal of the Statute by which the colonists were taxed without their own consent. The Resolutions of the Assembly of Virginia went forth as an example to the other provinces, many of which passed similar Resolutions. The House of Burgesses in Virginia was dissolved by the governor of the province; but the torch which had been lighted was carried from state to state; and delegates were appointed by several of the Assemblies for a General Congress to meet at New York.

During the progress of the Bill for the taxation of the American Colonies, the king "had a serious illness—its peculiar character was then unknown, but we have the best authority for believing that it was of the nature of those which thrice after afflicted his majesty, and finally incapacitated him for the duties of office." * A Bill was passed to enable the king to appoint, from time to time, either the queen, or any other person of his royal family, usually residing in Great Britain, as guardian of the person of his successor, and as regent of these kingdoms. A difference arising between the king and his ministers, on the subject of introducing into the Regency Bill the name of the princess-dowager of Wales, George sent for his uncle the duke of Cumberland; and commissioned him to negotiate with Mr. Pitt for a return to power. An attempt to call back the great minister to the direction of affairs had been made at the beginning of the Wilkite agitation in 1763, but had then failed through Pitt's firm bearing, which satisfied the king that to put his government into the hands of a responsible minister who proposed to act as the representative of a great party would interfere with his own prevailing desire to have a ministry moulded to his own views. Pitt now laid before the duke of Cumberland his plan of politics—that General Warrants should be repudiated; that dismissed officers should be restored; that Protestant alliances should be formed, to balance the Family Compact of the Bourbons. Earl Temple was sent for, but he had other plans, and persuaded his brother-in-law to give up the negotiation. George was obliged to call back his ministers Grenville and Bedford. They dictated terms to his majesty,

* Mr. Croker, in "Quarterly Review."

and Bedford treated him with the utmost disrespect. Pitt was again applied to; and he again declined to take office without lord Temple, who persevered in his resolution. The Whig families were again resorted to. The duke of Newcastle again obtained a post of honour in receiving the Privy Seal; the duke of Grafton became one of the Secretaries of State, with general Conway as the other Secretary; and the marquis of Rockingham was named First Lord of the Treasury. This ministry had the lasting credit of bringing Edmund Burke into public life, though in a subordinate situation.

The Rockingham Administration came into office on the 10th of July. Parliament had been prorogued previous to their appointment; and a few months passed on without any disturbing events. But in the autumn of 1765 came intelligence of riots at Boston, and in the colony of Rhode Island. These riots went on for a fortnight, with much wanton destruction of property. But more important than the outrages of mobs were the solemn proceedings of a Congress at New York, comprising delegates from nine Assemblies. They continued their sittings for three weeks; and then passed fourteen Resolutions, in which they maintained the right of every British subject to be taxed only by his own consent, or that of his legal representatives; and that their only legal representatives were those annually chosen to serve as members of the Assembly of each province. In consequence of the disturbances in America the commerce with that country was under such difficulties that its utter ruin was apprehended; and several millions sterling, due to the merchants of Great Britain, were withheld by the colonists, on the plea that the taxes and restrictions laid upon them had rendered them unable to meet their engagements. On the meeting of Parliament on the 14th of January, 1766, after the Christmas recess, the ministers laid all the papers concerning these disturbances before the two Houses. A debate ensued in the Commons, in which Burke made his first speech in Parliament; and Pitt, whose voice had not been heard for a year, delivered one of his grand orations. He went with the colonists to the full extent of denying the right of the British Legislature to impose taxes without representation. Grenville replied to Pitt, and defended his Stamp Act on the plea that "protection and obedience are reciprocal." Pitt was permitted again to speak, the House being clamorous to hear him. The great orator summed up his views in these words: "That the Stamp Act be repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately. That the reason for the repeal be assigned, because it was founded on an erroneous principle. At the same time let the sovereign authority of this country over the colonies be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation whatsoever."

The petitions against the American Stamp Act, and the papers laid before Parliament, occupied in the Commons the attention of a Committee of the whole House for three weeks. Several persons were also examined, amongst whom was Dr. Benjamin Franklin. The answers of this eminent man attested the favourable temper of America towards Great Britain before the year 1763; the determined resistance of the colonists to the Stamp Duty, in any form; and the resolute spirit with which they had

combined to render themselves independent of the English monopoly in trade. After this examination of papers and witnesses, the repeal of the Stamp Act was recommended by the Committee of the whole House. A Declaratory Bill was passed, embodying the principle of the power of Parliament to bind the Colonies "in all cases whatsoever." In the Upper House this Bill was supported by the lord chancellor Northington; but was opposed by lord Camden [Chief Justice Pratt], who declared that "the British Parliament have no right to tax the Americans. . . . . Taxation and Representation are inseparably united. . . . . Taxation and Representation are coeval with, and essential to, this constitution." Lord Camden divided the House; but only four Peers voted with him against the Declaratory Bill. Whilst this Bill was passing into law, a strong opposition was getting up against the Bill for the repeal of the Stamp Act, which was about to be proposed by the Government. What Macaulay calls "a reptile species of politicians, never before and never since known in our country," were working underground to prevent this repeal of the Stamp Act. Their operations were evinced in the conduct of the king, who first told his ministers that he was for the repeal, and then said publicly that he was not so. His majesty explained himself to mean "that he always was for the repeal, when contrasted with enforcing the whole Act, but not as compared with modification." This misunderstanding of his real meaning had placed his ministers in an extremely awkward position.

On the 21st of February, Conway moved a Resolution that leave should be given to bring in a Bill for the repeal of the Stamp Act. The Resolution was passed, and the mover of it was greeted by the public outside the doors with a transport of enthusiasm. Pitt was also applauded by the crowd, whilst Grenville was hissed. The Bill for the repeal finally passed the Commons by a large majority; and the Lords, by a majority of more than thirty.

The Rockingham Administration did several popular things. They gave in to the clamour of the weavers, by passing an Act for restraining the importation of foreign silks. They repealed the cider tax. They passed Resolutions declaring the illegality of General Warrants, and condemning the seizure of private papers, to discover the authors of libels. Their concessions in some degree indicated their weakness. Several of their supporters fell off, the duke of Grafton amongst the number. A disagreement ensued in the Cabinet; the king was told that the ministry could not go on as they were; and his majesty, in July, resolved to send for Mr. Pitt. The duke of Grafton became head of the Treasury; general Conway and lord Shelburne, Secretaries of State; lord Camden, Lord Chancellor; Charles Towshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Temple refused to take office. Mr. Pitt, to the great surprise of the world, on taking the post of Lord Privy Seal, went to the House of Peers as earl of Chatham; a transformation which is held to have blasted the people's affection for their former idol. The objectors seem to have forgotten the bodily infirmities which necessarily prevented Pitt taking the position in the House of Commons which a prime minister was expected to take. The new Administration entered upon its duties at a period of domestic trouble. The season was one of extreme wetness. The harvest

failed; and riots attended the rising price of corn. By an Order in Council an embargo had been laid on exportation, before the meeting of Parliament. The first appearance of Chatham in the House of Lords was to defend this Order on the ground of public necessity. Camden and others in both Houses maintained its legality. Fierce debates ensued, and it was thought essential to mark that such an exertion of the prerogative was not constitutional, by passing an Act of Indemnity to exonerate those who had advised, and acted upon, the Order in Council. A parliamentary inquiry into the affairs of the East India Company was now forced on by Chatham, in opposition to the wishes of several of his colleagues. He refused to impart to them the nature and extent of his plans. Several of the Rockingham party resolved to secede from him. During the Christmas recess Chatham went to Bath, where he became seriously ill. Parliament assembled, and the prime minister was not in his place. His Cabinet fell into disorder. The Chancellor of the Exchequer commended the Stamp Act, and again proposed to tax the Colonies. Upon the question whether the Land Tax should be reduced in amount, the ministry were in a minority. Everything was in confusion; a violent opposition, a divided ministry. Business continued impossible for the prime minister, whose "nerves and spirits were affected in a dreadful degree." The duke of Grafton was now the real minister; although the name of Chatham in some degree upheld the government. The Session closed on the 2nd of July. The ministry struggled on with considerable difficulty through another session in 1768. There had been many changes in its composition. Charles Townshend had died of fever, and lord North had succeeded him as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Parliament, now approaching the end of its septennial term, was dissolved on the 11th of March, 1768.

CHAPTER XLVI.

At the opening of the new Parliament, on the 10th of May, 1768, the ministry comprised lord Camden, Lord Chancellor; the duke of Grafton, First Lord of the Treasury; lord Shelburne, Secretary of State; lord North, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Chatham still held the Privy Seal, but continued unable to discharge any official duties. This Parliament, known as the "Unreported Parliament," from the rigid enforcement of the standing order for the exclusion of strangers, commenced in a tempest of popular violence, such as had been unwitnessed in England for many years. John Wilkes, an outlaw, suddenly returned from France, and was returned as member for Middlesex, having failed as a candidate for the city of London. On the 20th of April, being the first day of term, Wilkes, according to a promise he had given, surrendered to his outlawry, and was committed to custody. A violent mob rescued their favourite from the officers of the court; but he had the prudence to get away from

them, and surrender himself at the King's Bench prison. Riots daily took place in the neighbourhood of Wilkes's place of confinement. On the 10th of May, a vast mob assailed the prison-gates; and the military being called in, five or six persons lost their lives, and many were wounded. The magistrate who gave the order to fire was tried and acquitted. There were other causes of tumult than the political agitations connected with Wilkes. Seamen from vessels in the Thames were parading the streets, demanding increase of wages; and fighting with the coalheavers, who took part against them. The coalheavers had their own especial grievance, having by Act of Parliament been subjected to the jurisdiction of the alderman of the ward. An alehouse-keeper of the name of Green had given offence to the coalheavers, who were chiefly Irish; and they vowed his destruction. Green's house was attacked, and gallantly defended by himself, his maid-servant, and a sailor, who was there by accident. Eighteen of the besiegers were killed. Green at last made his escape, and concealed himself in a saw-pit. During nine hours, whilst this tumult was going on, no police or military interfered. Green was tried for murder, and was acquitted. Seven of the coalheavers were executed; but the revenge of their associates did not cease, for they murdered Green's sister.

The only real business in the first short Session of the new Parliament was to continue the Act prohibiting the exportation of corn and flour. The Houses adjourned after sitting only ten days. The Parliament was afterwards prorogued, and did not re-assemble till the 8th of November. Lord Mansfield, in June, had delivered judgment in the Court of King's Bench, that the outlawry of Mr. Wilkes was null and void, through a defect in the pleadings; but the original judgment against him for libels was sufficient, and he was sentenced to two years imprisonment, and to two fines of £500. He was now at the height of popularity, and on the 14th of November, a petition was presented to the Commons "for a redress of his grievances." Lord Weymouth, the Secretary of State, made a complaint in the House of Peers, that Wilkes had published a libel against himself. The Commons, after a conference with the Lords, took this matter in hand; summoned Wilkes to their bar in custody; and received his defiance in the assertion that he was the author of the paper complained of, and that he gloried in it. On the 3rd of February, a motion for the expulsion of Wilkes was carried by a majority of eighty-two; and a new writ was moved for Middlesex. Wilkes was re-elected unanimously. The election was declared null and void by a majority in the Commons of a hundred and forty-six. Large sums were subscribed to carry on this dangerous battle between the people and their representatives. Wilkes was a third time elected; and it was voted, that having been expelled the House he was incapacitated for election. The government now provided a candidate who would not shrink from opposing the popular favourite. Colonel Luttrell vacated his seat, and stood for the metropolitan county. On the 13th of April, without any tumult, Wilkes was a fourth time returned by a very large majority. The House of Commons now decided by a majority of fifty-four, that Luttrell should have been returned, and not Wilkes, and that Luttrell should take his seat. King, Lords, and Commons were

now committed to what was deemed a warfare against the people, and a violation of constitutional rights. Sober statesmen were alarmed. The House went on debating, with more or less energy, on every occasion when the re-election of Wilkes was the subject of controversy. On the 8th of May, there was a debate on a petition against the return of colonel Luttrell, when the question that he was duly elected was affirmed by a majority of sixty-nine, in spite of the earnest protest of many members.

Whilst this contest was going on in Parliament, the attention of the town, and very soon of the whole nation, was turned to an anonymous writer in the "Public Advertiser," who, under the signature of "Junius," commenced a series of attacks upon persons of high station. That these envenomed shafts from a foe in ambush produced any real and permanent benefit to the country can scarcely be pretended, even by those who shut their eyes to the monstrous evil of that system of personality which they carried to its utmost limit. The one paramount desire of Junius was to destroy the administration of the duke of Grafton. He was not a politician, in the higher sense of the word. He had some selfish ambition to gratify; he had some private grievances to revenge. Who he was is a mystery which still defies absolute solution. Certainly he was not a man who had won or was winning a great name. Whoever he was, he had essentially a paltry mind. The printer of the Letters, Mr. Woodfall, was prosecuted for an Address of Junius to the king; and was tried before lord Mansfield, in June, 1770. The jury had been charged to consider, first, the printing and publishing the paper; secondly, the sense and meaning of it. They returned a verdict of "Guilty of printing and publishing only." The Court of King's Bench decided that a new trial should be granted, but the original newspaper not being produced, the proceedings fell to the ground. Out of this trial grew a material alleviation of the Libel Law.

On the 9th of May, the Parliament was prorogued. It re-assembled on the 9th of January, 1770. During the summer, lord Chatham had come forth from his long retirement. In the House of Lords, he now moved an amendment to the Address, pledging the peers that they would take into their most serious consideration the causes of the discontents which so generally prevailed, and particularly the late proceedings in the House of Commons touching the incapacity of John Wilkes, Esq., to be elected a member of the present Parliament. The great orator said, "The liberty of the subject is invaded, not only in the provinces, but here at home! The English people are loud in their complaints; they demand redress; and, depend upon it, my lords, that, one way or another, they will have redress." Lord Mansfield spoke, contending that the proposed amendment was an attack upon the privileges of the other House of Parliament. This produced a reply from lord Chatham, in which he eloquently assailed the usurpation of power by the House of Commons, and appealed from that power to Magna Charta, and the Bill of Rights. After Chatham's speech, the lord chancellor, Camden, rose from the woolsack, and proclaimed his entire coincidence "in the opinion expressed by my noble friend—whose presence again reanimates us—respecting this unconstitu-

tional vote of the House of Commons." In the other House the marquis of Granby voted for the amendment which had been proposed in opposition to the government. The Lord Chancellor, and the Commander-in-Chief were thus in open hostility with the other members of the Cabinet. Granby resigned, although he had been earnestly entreated by the king and lord Grafton to retain his command of the army in spite of his vote. Camden's high office was offered to Mr. Charles Yorke, the son of lord chancellor Hardwicke, and, at the king's urgent desire, accepted. Camden was dismissed. Yorke, borne down by agitation of mind, died, as was supposed by his own hand, on the 20th of January. On the 22nd there came on another great debate in the House of Lords, on the State of the Nation, in which Chatham announced his cordial union with the party of Rockingham. It was on this occasion that Chatham recommended a specific plan of Parliamentary Reform. This plan was to counteract the corrupt state of the boroughs, and to infuse new health into the constitution, by permitting every county to elect one member more, in addition to their present representation.

The continued debate on the State of the Nation was deferred till the 2nd of February. On the 28th of January, the duke of Grafton resigned. The king had previously begged lord North to accept the office of First Lord Commissioner of the Treasury.

In 1768 a third Secretary of State had been appointed for the Colonies. This was a position which demanded a rare union of firmness and moderation. The new Secretary, lord Hillsborough, was a member of a Cabinet divided in judgment on the great question of American taxation, and he had to deal with colonial subjects of the British Crown, whose indignation at the Stamp Act had been revived by Charles Townshend's fatal measure for granting duties in America on glass, red and white lead, painter's colours, paper, and tea. These duties were not to be collected until the 20th of November, 1767. That day passed over in quiet in Boston; but the inhabitants had previously assembled, and had entered into resolutions to forbear the use of many articles of British produce or manufacture. In February, 1768, the Assembly of Massachusetts addressed a circular letter to the other provinces, inviting them to unite in opposing the Act for raising a revenue in the colonies. On the 1st of July the Assembly was dissolved by order of the Secretary of State, on its refusal, by a very large majority, to rescind this resolution. The governors of the other colonies were ordered to pursue a similar course, if the assemblies gave any countenance to the "seditious paper" of Massachusetts. At that time there was a great ferment in Boston, occasioned by the seizure of a sloop laden with wine from Madeira, which had been attempted to be landed without paying duty. When troops were ordered to be sent from Halifax to Boston, some of the more violent inhabitants proposed to arm; others requested the governor to call together another Assembly. He refused to do so. The bold step was then taken by the popular leaders of summoning a Convention to meet at Boston. The Convention sat only six days. Delegates from ninety-five towns protested against taxation of the Colonies by the British Parliament, and against a standing army. They addressed a petition to the king. They recommended to all the preservation of good

order. On the 28th of September, a squadron arrived from Halifax; conveying a large body of troops with artillery. Other troops continued to arrive; and four regiments were encamped near the city, or found their lodging in any public building. It was illegal to quarter them on the inhabitants. There was quiet; but the spirit of resistance was not thus to be extinguished.

The king, on opening Parliament on the 8th of November, 1768, spoke in severe terms of the proceedings in North America. Not a word was uttered of the cause of those proceedings. On the 15th of December, in the House of Lords, the duke of Bedford moved an Address to the king, recommending that the chief authors and instigators of the late disorders in Massachusetts should be brought to condign punishment, and that all offences in the disobedient colonies should be inquired into by a special commission in the mother country. This most arbitrary proposal was carried without a division. In the House of Commons it was strenuously resisted, and feebly defended. On the 19th of April, 1769, Mr. Pownall, a former governor of Massachusetts, moved that the House should go into Committee, to consider the Act passed for granting certain duties on the American colonies. There was a short debate, but the motion was put aside by moving the orders of the day. On the 9th of May, the Parliament was prorogued. On the 1st of May a Cabinet Council had been held to deliberate on the question of America. It was then decided that teas were not to be included in the other trifling objects of taxation, to be repealed on the opening of the next Session. Contrary to the declared opinions of the duke of Grafton, lord Camden, lord Granby, and general Conway, the tea-duties were to be retained upon the principle maintained by the king, that "there must always be one tax, to keep up the right." The Council drew up a minute, to be communicated to the colonial governors, in which Grafton says, were "words as kind and lenient as could be proposed by some of us." Hillsborough, who evidently acted with some authority from a higher quarter, not only garbled the minute, but accompanied it with a circular letter, which Grafton terms "unfortunate and unwarrantable—calculated to do all mischief, when our real minute might have paved the way to some good."

Lord Hillsborough had removed sir Jeffrey Amherst from the post of governor of Virginia, and had appointed in his place lord Boutetort, a faded courtier, who opened the Session of the Legislature of Virginia, at Williamsburg, with royal pomp. The Assembly presented a dutiful address to the governor, followed up by unanimous Resolutions asserting that the right of laying taxes on Virginia was exclusively vested in its own Legislature; and pronouncing that the mode of trial recommended in Parliament upon charges of high treason, was illegal and unconstitutional. The governor, without waiting for an official communication, dissolved the Assembly. On the next day the members assembled at the Raleigh tavern; and eighty-eight of them pledged themselves not to import or purchase certain articles of British merchandise, whilst the Revenue Act was unrepealed, and signed Resolutions to that effect. The example spread. [illegible]vania approved the Resolutions. Delaware adopted them.

[illegible]he Assembly of Massachusetts was at last legally convened in [illegible]ace of assembling was removed to the town of Cambridge, the

members complaining that they could not discuss the public affairs with freedom whilst surrounded with an armed force. The two authorities continued hostile, and the Assembly was prorogued. Sir Francis Bernard was recalled to England; and a lieutenant-governor, Hutchinson, an American, remained in authority. Then commenced a series of outrages on the part of the leaders of the non-importation agreement, which was disgraceful to the cause which would have had far better argument in moderation, and of which even lord Chatham spoke in terms of strong reprehension.

On the 5th of March, 1770, lord North, then First Lord of the Treasury, moved the repeal of such portions of the Act of 1767, as laid duties upon glass and other articles, omitting any mention of tea. There was much discussion upon the particular point in dispute; but the proposition of lord North was finally carried by a majority of sixty-two. On the same day that the British Parliament was voting against the repeal of the tea-duties, the people of Boston were fighting with British soldiers in their streets, on a quarrel which arose between a soldier and some workmen at a rope-walk. Three persons having been killed, and eight wounded, a warrant was issued against captain Preston, the captain of the day, who surrendered himself, and the soldiers were committed to prison. With great good sense, governor Hutchinson and the colonel in command removed all the troops from the town. When Preston was tried for murder a few months afterwards, no counsel dared undertake his defence; till John Adams, a rising advocate, devoted to the popular cause, but more devoted to his duty, accepted a brief; and the jury returned a verdict of Not Guilty. Two of the soldiers were found guilty of manslaughter.

When the repeal of the duties was known in America, the citizens of New York determined by a large majority to resume importations from England; and many orders were despatched in July for every kind of merchandise but tea. Other provinces were indignant with the New Yorkists. Massachusetts maintained a position of sullen defiance.

The parliamentary conflict on the question of the Middlesex election continued to rage. Mr. Sheriff Townsend refused to pay the Land Tax, whilst the lawful representative of the freeholders of Middlesex, Mr. Wilkes, was kept out of the House by force and violence. The declaration of Mr. Townsend was an indication of the prevailing temper of the citizens of London. On the 14th of March, the lord mayor and sheriffs, a few aldermen, and a great number of the common council, presented an address to the king in person, praying for the dissolution of Parliament, and the removal of evil ministers; and declaring that the present House of Commons did not represent the people. In the king's answer he termed the address "disrespectful to me, injurious to my Parliament, and irreconcileable to the principles of the Constitution." A debate took place the next day in the House of Commons, when it was resolved that "to deny the legality of the present Parliament, and to assert that the proceedings thereof are not valid, is highly unwarrantable." On the 23rd of May, the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, presented a second Remonstrance to the king at St. James's. They demanded "a full, free, and unmutilated Parliament." His majesty had no sooner spoken his answer, which con-

veyed no change of opinion on the proceedings of the city, than Beckford, the lord-mayor, desired to say a few words, and then proceeded to deprecate the king's wrath towards his loyal citizens, to defend their conduct, and to denounce whomever had prejudiced his majesty against them. Beckford died within a month after this remarkable impulse of an honest but over-zealous partisanship. The agitations connected with the Middlesex election soon subsided. The term of Wilkes's imprisonment had expired in April; and, in his position of alderman, he became more a city agitator than a demagogue to stir a nation.

In the ensuing Session of Parliament, in 1771, there was a contest between the House of Commons and the Corporation of London which was eventually productive of the highest public benefit. A member, colonel Onslow, complained that two newspapers had printed a motion he had made, and a speech against it; and moreover had called him "little Cocking George." Orders were issued for the apprehension of the printers. When Miller of the "London Evening Post," was taken by the officer of the House of Commons, at his house in the city, the lord mayor, supported by Wilkes, and alderman Oliver, decided that the arrest of a citizen without the authority of one of the city magistrates, was a violation of its charters; and ordered Miller to be released, and the officer of the Commons to give bail to answer a charge of assault. The king wrote on the 17th of March to lord North.—"If lord mayor and Oliver be not committed, the authority of the House of Commons is annihilated." Wilkes was considered too dangerous to meddle with. After prolonged debates, during which members were attacked and insulted by the mob on their way to the House, the lord mayor and alderman Oliver were committed to the Tower, where they remained prisoners till the Parliament was prorogued on the 8th of May. A prorogation suspends the power under which the privilege of committal is exercised. The House wisely resolved not to renew the perilous dispute with the City in the ensuing session. With equal wisdom the printers of the debates were no more threatened or arrested. The triumph of the printers of 1771 led the way to the complete establishment of that wonderful system of reporting, which has rendered the newspaper press of this country the clearest mirror of the aggregate thought of a reflecting people.

In 1768 England was within a hair's-breadth of making war with the government of Louis XV. in the matter of Corsica, which was then ceded to France by Genoa. The duke of Grafton did not go to war; but he sent secret supplies of arms and ammunition to Paoli, the heroic Corsican patriot, who resisted the occupation of the island by the French troops. Corsica was subjugated in 1769, and Paoli became an exile from his country, seeking refuge in England. Insurrections continued through 1770 and 1771. The French minister, the duke de Choiseul, who had annexed Corsica, was anxious for a rupture with England, but Louis XV. desired to avoid it. At this time Great Britain became involved in a dispute with Spain. The French had colonised East Falkland, a barren island in the South Atlantic, in 1764, and afterwards ceded it to the Spaniards. The British settled in West Falkland in 1767. The Spaniards, at a period of profound peace, in 1770, sent a force of five frigates, with

sixteen hundred men, from Buenos Ayres, and drove the British from their fort at Port Egmont. Preparations were instantly made for war, which at one time appeared inevitable. But the duke de Choiseul was dismissed from power, and the Spanish court conceded the demands of the British government. The naked rocks and bogs of the Falkland Islands were left to their wild cattle.

The first partition of Poland by Russia, Prussia, and Austria, was made in 1772. After the death of John Sobieski, at the end of the seventeenth century, his successors Augustus II. and Augustus III. were little more than the representatives of the court of Russia. The influence of the Czarina, Catherine, procured the election of Stanislaus Poniatowski. From 1764 to 1772 two factions were struggling about civil and religious privileges, whilst their country was more and more exposed to the danger of an entire loss of its independence. When Russia was about to seize the territories which she coveted, Prussia demanded a share; and to prevent the opposition of the other great neighbour, Austria was propitiated with another share. Thus nearly a third of the Polish territory was divided amongst these powers. To Russia was assigned great part of Lithuania; to Austria, Gallicia, and portions of Podolia and Cracow; to Prussia, Pomerania, and the country of the Vistula. The English government and nation were equally indifferent to what was considered by impartial observers "as the first very great breach in the modern political system of Europe." Intimately connected with the affairs of unhappy Poland was the war between Turkey and Russia, which commenced in October, 1768, under the avowed desire of the Sultan, Mustapha III., to save Poland from the calamity of Russian interference in her domestic troubles. The war was for some time chiefly between the Polish confederates and their allies the Turks, against the Russian troops in Poland. But it soon assumed the more decisive character of a war for an extension of Russian dominion. Eventually the whole country between the Danube and the Dnieper fell into the hands of the Russians, to whom every indirect aid was given by the British government. Peace was concluded in 1774, and Russia then obtained the Great and the Little Kabarda, the fortresses of Azof, Kilbarun, Kertsch, and Yenikale; the country between the Bog and the Dnieper; the free navigation of the Black Sea, and a free passage through the Bosporus and the Dardanelles; the co-protectorship over Moldavia and Wallachia; and the protectorship over all the Greek churches within the Turkish empire. The Khanat of the Crimea was declared independent, but it soon became a prey to Russia.

In 1773, the Society of Jesuits was abolished by Pope Ganganelli, Clement XIV. This was a final measure of the proscription which had been carried on against them, for some years, by the Roman Catholic powers of Europe. The Bourbon courts had real or supposed injuries of the Jesuits to revenge. Clement XIII. strenuously defended the obnoxious order. His successor had been raised to the papal throne by the Bourbon influence. But, however predisposed against the Jesuits, he took several years for inquiry and counsel, before, on the 31st of July, 1773, he pronounced his decision "that the Company of Jesus can no longer render those services, to the end of which it was instituted." These services had

had a wider range than the end to which the society was instituted. The Jesuits had, in spite of their political intrigues, rendered essential aid to the progress of knowledge. Their success as educators had done more for the freedom of the human mind than their notions of papal authority for its enslavement. They had waged unceasing war against Protestantism, and during that conflict the prevailing thoughts of Europe had been advancing, and had left them behind. "They stood in the way of the age, and the age swept them from its path."*

The year 1772 was a period of scarcity. The price of wheat was 35 per cent. above the average. Harvests were deficient throughout Europe. The Parliament of that year proved itself in advance of public opinion, by passing a statute to repeal the laws against engrossing corn, which were declared to be "detrimental to the supply of the labouring and manufacturing poor of this kingdom," it having "been found by experience that the restraints laid by several statutes upon dealing in corn, meal, flour, cattle, and sundry other sorts of victuals, by preventing a free trade in the said commodities, have a tendency to discourage the growth and to enhance the price of the same."

The commencement of the year 1772 brought to George III. an accumulation of family anxieties. On the 29th of January, a courier arrived from Denmark with the intelligence that the queen of Denmark, sister of the king of England, had been sent as a prisoner to the castle of Kronberg. The king of Denmark, Christian VII., who was low in intellect as he was debased in morals, left his consort to transact state affairs in council with his favourite Struensee. This minister was rash and presumptuous, and provoked the hostility of a strong party of the court. A formidable conspiracy was organized against Struensee; and the queen, Caroline Matilda, was destined to be the victim with him, upon an accusation against her of conjugal infidelity. At midnight the king's chamber was suddenly entered; and he was required to sign an order for the arrest of his queen, of Struensee, and of his colleague in the ministry, Brandt. Caroline Matilda was dragged from her chamber, refused access to her husband, and with her infant carried off to the castle of Kronberg. Struensee and Brandt were beheaded, after a pretended trial. Proceedings against the queen were suspended by the interposition of the government of George III.; and, after a captivity of four months, she was received on board a British man-of-war, but was not permitted to take her child with her. In the castle of Zell, in Hanover, she passed the remaining three years of her unhappy life. On her death-bed she protested her innocence of the crime laid to her charge.

When this distressing news arrived in England, the mother of George III. was dangerously ill. On the 8th of February the king wrote this short note to lord North: "My mother is no more." At this time, the two surviving brothers of the king, William, duke of Gloucester, and Henry, duke of Cumberland, were under his serious displeasure. In 1771, the duke of Cumberland had married Mrs. Horton, the daughter of an Irish peer, Simon Luttrell, lord Irnham, and the "sister of the famous colonel Luttrell, the tool thrust by the Court into Wilkes's seat for Middlesex."

* Buckle—"Civilization in England."

The pair were forbidden the Court. Five years previously, the duke of Gloucester had married the widow of the earl of Waldegrave, a lady who was distinguished for her exemplary character. This marriage was kept secret. The Marriage Act of 1753 especially excepted members of the royal family from its operation. On the 20th of February a royal message was brought down to both Houses of Parliament, desiring them to take into their consideration the improvement of that Act. The Royal Marriage Bill was presented next day to the House of Lords. It made provision that no Prince or Princess, descended from George II.—with the exception of the issue of Princesses married abroad—should be capable of contracting matrimony without the previous consent of the king, his heirs or successors. But it also provided that if any such descendant of George II., being above the age of twenty-five, should persist in a resolution to marry, the king's consent being refused, he or she might give notice to the Privy Council, and might at any time within twelve months after such notice contract marriage, unless both Houses of Parliament, before the expiration of twelve months, should expressly declare their disapprobation of such intended marriage. After continued and vehement debate in both Houses, the Bill became law; and it still continues in force. During its progress, the duke of Gloucester's marriage was avowed.

On the 2nd of March, 1773, a petition was presented from the East India Company to the House of Commons, praying for the assistance of a loan of a million and a half sterling. In the previous Session a Select Committee of the House had been appointed to inquire into the affairs of the Company, which had fallen into great disorder. When Clive's strong hand was withdrawn, differences had arisen between the agents of the Company, and Meer Cossein, for whose elevation they had removed the Subahdar whom Clive had raised to power. These differences at last came to an open rupture, and in 1763 war was commenced, for the purpose of deposing Meer Cossein and restoring Meer Jaffier. The Subahdar was finally overthrown, but not before he had taken a horrible vengeance upon the English, by murdering a hundred and fifty prisoners in the fortress of Patna. The tyrant fled to the Nabob of Oude. Their joint forces were subsequently defeated by the English under major Munro. Shah Alum, the Great Mogul, who had been driven from his capital of Delhi by the Mahrattas, now sought the British protection. But in spite of victories, the rule of the stranger was one of oppression for the Bengalees; and the misrule of the Company's servants in India was unchecked by an united central authority in England. The Directors were quarrelling amongst themselves, and divided into knots contending for supremacy. The whole dominion of the English in India would have probably gone to ruin, if Clive had not procured an ascendancy in the Court of Directors, and once more sailed for Calcutta with extensive powers, as Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Bengal. His very name soon operated upon the native princes. His judicious measures set some bounds to the rapacity of the Company's servants. For himself, he now cautiously abstained from adding anything to his large fortune by accepting such gratuities as he had received in the early portion of his career. He returned to England in the beginning of 1767, having laid the foundation of that better government

which eventually made the British dominion a blessing instead of a curse to India. The successes of the Company in Bengal were counterbalanced by defeats in Madras. Hyder Ali, who had deposed the rajah of Mysore in 1761, and was extending his dominions by conquests and seizures, became engaged in a contest with the English. Having plundered and wasted the Carnatic, he appeared with five thousand horsemen before Madras, in 1769; and there concluded a treaty with the terrified Council, in the absence of their troops. The moderate terms of the alliance evinced the sagacity of this extraordinary ruler.

An arrangement was, in 1769, made between the Administration and the East India Directors, that the Company were to hold the territorial revenues of India for five years, paying £400,000 annually into the Exchequer. But in 1770 the resources of India materially failed. In 1772, the Company declared a deficiency of above a million; obtained loans from the Bank of England to a large amount; and at last sent to Parliament for aid. In 1773, an Act was passed, by which £1,400,000 was lent to the Company; the payment of £400,000 per annum was postponed; and the dividend of the proprietors was restricted to 6 per cent., until the loan should be repaid. A Governor-General was appointed, to reside in Bengal, to which presidency the other two were made subordinate. The new Council were also named. The appointments of Parliament were to continue for five years, and then the nomination was to revert to the Court of Directors, subject to the approbation of the Crown.

The transactions of the government with the East India Company were completed by permission being given by Act of Parliament to the Directors, who had in their warehouses seventeen million pounds of tea, for which they wanted a market, to export teas to any of the British plantations in America, with a drawback of the duty payable in England. The colonial tax of threepence in the pound was to be paid in the American ports. This Act was the signal for popular gatherings in Boston. The East Indian Company had appointed its consignees in that town. These persons were required to resign their commission. Not obeying, they were then required not to sell the teas, but to return them to London by the vessels which might bring them. They refused to comply, and were denounced as enemies to their country. Philadelphia had previously compelled the agents of the Company to resign their appointments. Town meetings were held at Boston, when strong resolutions were adopted. In this state of things, on Sunday, the 28th of November, there sailed into Boston harbour the English merchant ship Dartmouth, with the first consignment of tea. A promise was obtained from Rotch, the commander, that his vessel should not be entered till the following Tuesday. On Monday, the Committees of all the neighbouring towns assembled at Boston; and five thousand persons agreed that the tea should be sent back to the place whence it came. The consignees declared that they would not send back the teas, but that they would store them. This proposal was received with scorn; and then the consignees agreed that the teas should not be landed. Two more ships arrived, and anchored by the side of the Dartmouth. The people kept watch night and day to prevent any attempt at landing the teas. If the vessels were not cleared in

twenty days, they were liable to seizure. Thirteen days after the arrival of the Dartmouth, the owner was summoned before the Boston Committee, and told that his vessel and his tea must be taken back to London. It was out of his power to do so, he said. The passages out of the harbour were guarded by two king's ships, to prevent any vessel going to sea without a licence. On the 16th of December, there was a meeting in Boston of seven thousand persons, who resolved that the tea should not be landed. The master of the Dartmouth was ordered to apply to the governor for a pass. The governor refused it, because his ship had not cleared. There was no more hesitation. Forty or fifty men, disguised as Mohawks, went on to the wharf where the three ships lay alongside; took possession of them; and deliberately emptied three hundred and forty chests of tea into the waters of the bay. It was the work of three hours, and then the people of Boston went to their rest, as if no extraordinary event had occurred. On the 27th of January, 1774, the news of this decisive act reached the English government. On the 29th there was a great meeting of the Lords of the Council, to consider a petition from Massachusetts, for the dismissal of Hutchinson, the governor, and Oliver, the lieutenant-governor, on the ground of some opinions expressed in private letters written confidentially some years before, of which Dr. Franklin had obtained possession. The Council reported that the Petition from Massachusetts was "groundless, vexatious, and scandalous." Two days after, Franklin was dismissed from his office of Deputy Postmaster-General. He had ceased to be a mediator between Great Britain and America.

Of the proceedings at Boston, the king wrote to lord North, "All men now feel that the fatal compliance in 1766 has increased the pretensions of the Americans to thorough independence." On the 7th of March, lord North delivered to Parliament a message from his majesty relating to these proceedings, and, on the 14th, he brought in a Bill for removing the Custom House from Boston, and declaring it unlawful, after the 1st of June, to lade or unlade, ship or unship, any goods from any landing-place within the harbour of Boston. There was little opposition to this measure, which was passed in a fortnight, and when sent to the Lords was as quickly adopted. The Boston Port Bill, backed up by military force, was to be followed by other measures of coercion. On the 28th of March, lord North brought in a Bill for regulating the government of Massachusetts Bay. The proposition went, in many important particulars, to annul the Charter granted to the province by William III. This Bill also passed, after ineffectual debate. A third Bill enacted, that, during the next three years, the Governor of Massachusetts might, if it was thought that an impartial trial of any person could not be secured in that colony, send him for trial in another colony; or to Great Britain, if it were thought that no fair trial could be obtained in the Colonies. The object of this Bill was to protect the military power in any future encounters with the people. On the discussion of these Bills, Walpole says, "The doors of both Houses were carefully locked—a symptom of the spirit with which they were dictated." The dangers of the country called forth Chatham from his retirement, to exert his eloquence in favour of the colonists,

who had spurned "with contempt the hand of unconstitutional power, that would snatch from them such dear-bought privileges as they now contend for." Before the men of Massachusetts knew of the severities that were hanging over them, the most violent of their leaders, Samuel Adams, had written to Franklin, that the colonists wished for nothing more than a permanent union with the mother-country upon the condition of equal liberty. "This is all they have been contending for; and nothing short of this will or ought to satisfy them." The same language was held by George Washington. But, although such were the sentiments of some, even of the moderate, in the American Colonies, there was a large party in every province who were avowed Royalists; and who gradually acquired the name of Tories. They were not wanting in encouragement from England. They had the support of a preponderating majority in Parliament, which sanguine persons thought would overawe the malcontents. These differences of opinion in America ought to have retarded the terrible issue that was approaching. But in an unhappy hour, blood was shed; and conciliation then became a word that was uttered to deaf ears in England as in America.

The ministry after passing their coercive Bills, had determined to send out general Gage to supersede Hutchinson as Governor of Massachusetts, and to be Commander-in-Chief in the Colonies. Gage had given the king his opinion of the men he had now to deal with, "They will be lions while we are lambs; but if we take the resolute part, they will undoubtedly prove very meek." Four regiments sent to Boston would, he thought, be sufficient to prevent any disturbance. In an unhappy hour the new Governor arrived at Boston, on the 13th of May, 1774, just as the people were holding a meeting to discuss the Boston Port Bill. There was but one feeling. Resolutions were entered into for the purpose of suspending all commercial intercourse with Great Britain and the West Indies, until the Act was repealed. General Gage was received with decorum, but without the accustomed honours. He gave the Assembly notice that on the 1st of June, according to the provisions of the Act, their place of meeting would be removed to the town of Salem. When the spirit of opposition to his dictates was getting up, the Governor suddenly adjourned the Assembly. He refused to appoint the 1st of June as a day of general prayer and fasting, which was done by the House of Burgesses in Virginia. That Assembly was immediately dissolved. The idea of a General Congress universally spread. Meanwhile general Gage had an encampment of six regiments on a common near Boston, and had begun to fortify the isthmus which connects the town with the adjacent country. The 1st of June came. There was no tumult. Business was at an end; Boston had become a city of the dead.

The first Congress, consisting of fifty-five members, met at Philadelphia on the 4th of September. The place of their meeting was Carpenter's Hall. Peyton Randolph was chosen as their President. Their proceedings were conducted with closed doors. They drew up a Declaration of Rights. They passed Resolutions to suspend all imports from Great Britain or Ireland after the 1st of December, and to discontinue all [illegible] 10th of September in the ensuing year, unless the

grievances of America should be redressed. They published Addresses to the people of Great Britain, and of Canada, and they decided upon a petition to the king. The Congress dissolved themselves on the 26th of October; and resolved that another Congress should be convened on the 10th of May, 1775. General Gage was so wholly deserted by the Council, that the meeting of the Assembly, which was proposed to take place at Salem in October, could not be regularly convened. Members were elected, and assembled in what they styled a Local Congress. A Committee of Safety was appointed. Militia, called "Minute-men," were enrolled under an engagement to appear in arms at a minute's notice. Commanders were appointed, and ammunition provided.

The new Parliament met on the 29th of November, 1774. There was an end of the agitations about Wilkes; for, having been elected for Middlesex, he took his seat without opposition. The king's Speech asserted his determination "to withstand every attempt to weaken or impair the supreme authority of this Legislature over all the dominions of my Crown." In January, 1775, lord Chatham brought forward a motion to withdraw the troops from Boston. On the 1st of February, he presented "a provisional Bill for settling the troubles in America." On the first occasion he had only eighteen peers to vote with him against sixty-eight; on the second occasion he had thirty-two against sixty-one. Chatham's oratory was in vain. The ministry declared they would send out more troops, instead of recalling any. The conciliatory Bill made some impression upon lord North, who proposed a very weak measure, as a Resolution of the House of Commons, that if any of the American provinces, by their legislature, should make some provision for the defence and government of that province, which should be approved by the king and parliament, then it might be proper to forbear imposing any tax. On the 22nd of March, Edmund Burke proposed a series of conciliatory Resolutions, of a less sweeping nature than those of Chatham, and therefore more likely to be acceptable to men of temperate opinions. At this moment a Bill was passing both Houses to prohibit certain Colonies from fishing on the banks of Newfoundland. Great Britain was not ashamed to resort to this petty measure of retaliation against the American non-importation agreements. Burke's speech presented a masterly review of the wonderful growth of the American Colonies,—their successful industry,—their commercial importance to Great Britain; and these statistical facts were illumined by oratory, perhaps unrivalled. But the highest efforts of argument were unavailing to arrest the headlong course of the government. Burke's Resolutions were rejected on a division of two hundred and seventy against seventy-eight. The contrarieties of public opinion in the nation generally upon the American question, were exhibited in petitions from various corporate bodies. There were war-petitions and peace-petitions. As usual in England, the most serious questions had their ludicrous aspect, and caricatures were numerous.

In Massachusetts the people were arming. The Provincial Congress had formed an arsenal at Concord, an inland town. The British troops made no movements during the winter to interfere with these hostile demonstrations, but on the evening of the 18th of April, lieut.-colonel Smith, of the 10th foot, marched, by order of governor Gage, with a body of grena-

diers and light infantry, for Concord, with the purpose of destroying all military stores collected there. Their coming was anticipated, and some cannon and some stores had been carried away. Six light infantry companies were dispatched to seize two bridges on different roads beyond Concord. They found country people drawn up on a green, with arms and accoutrements. The troops advanced. They were fired upon, and fired again. When the detachment reached Concord, there was a more serious skirmish, with a very considerable body of countrymen. On leaving Concord to return to Boston, they were fired on from behind the walls, ditches, trees, &c., for upwards of eighteen miles; and their entire destruction was only averted by the arrival at Lexington of a reinforcement sent out by general Gage. The British continued to retreat before their resolute opponents. They did not reach their quarters till night had fallen—worn out with fatigue, and with a loss of two or three hundred in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The day after the skirmish the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts dispatched a vessel to England, without freight, for the sole purpose of carrying letters detailing this triumph. Walpole says, "The advice was immediately dispersed, whilst the government remained without any intelligence. Stocks immediately fell." At the same time that the American war was commenced by the affair of Lexington, forty volunteers from Connecticut, with others under Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold, had surprised Ticonderoga, a fort on Lake George, and Crown Point, a fort on Lake Champlain. By this bold and successful expedition the invasion of Canada by the American militia would be greatly facilitated.

On the day that Ticonderoga fell into the hands of these American partisans, the General Congress assembled for the second time at Philadelphia.

CHAPTER XLVII.

AT the end of March, 1775, Benjamin Franklin left England, and on the 6th of May he was elected by the Assembly of Pennsylvania one of the deputies to the Continental Congress appointed to meet on the 10th, at Philadelphia. This Congress, composed of deputies from thirteen States, representing various interests, various origins, and various forms of religion, held at first a common agreement only upon one principle,—the determination to resist the claim of the British government to tax the American colonies without their consent. But the mode of resistance, and the probable consequences of resistance, involved great differences of opinion. There were several weeks of indecision; but, gradually, the more timid counsels yielded to the bolder. The local Assemblies were [illegible] their provincial forces. On the news of the 19th of April, [illegible] of militia-men were on the march towards Boston, under [illegible] their ordinary occupations to place themselves at

the head of their neighbours. For a month general Gage, who had exclusive possession of Boston, was blockaded in his stronghold, having only communication by sea. On the 25th of May, reinforcements arrived from England, under the command of generals Burgoyne, Howe, and Clinton; and the force under general Gage now reached ten thousand men. Martial law was proclaimed by the British commander, and a pardon offered to all who would lay down their arms, except John Hancock and Samuel Adams. The Congress at Philadelphia had agreed upon articles of confederation and perpetual union, under the name of "The United Colonies of North America;" with authority to determine on war and peace, and on reconciliation with Great Britain; to raise troops; to appoint all officers civil and military. They had resolved to petition the king; still clinging to hopes of pacification. But, at the same time, they resolved to provide for munitions of war by the issue of a paper-currency, and appointed George Washington Commander-in-chief of the Confederate forces, now to be called the Continental Army. Washington had had no military experience since he was fighting in the British ranks against the French, on the Ohio. For twenty years he had resided upon his estate in Virginia as a plain country gentleman. But by the undeviating exercise of his sound judgment and his rigid integrity, he had acquired a reputation in his own colony which had extended to other States. Washington accepted the trust reposed in him by the Congress, but he would take no pay.

Before the Commander-in-chief arrived at the camp near Boston, the Provincials had shown, as general Gage wrote home, that they were "not the despicable rabble too many have supposed them to be." Boston is built upon a peninsula. Three hills command the town—Bunker's Hill, Breed's Hill, and Dorchester Heights. The British generals had determined to land a force to take possession of the two former acclivities on the 18th of June. This became known to the Massachusetts Committee of Safety. After sunset on the 16th of June, a brigade of a thousand men, under the command of William Prescott, took up their position on Breed's Hill, near Charles Town. The men were armed mostly with fowling-pieces, and carried their powder and ball in horns and pouches. They had an engineer with them, and abundance of intrenching tools. The lines of a redoubt were drawn; and the defences were nearly completed as day dawned. Then the cannon of the Lively sloop commenced a fire upon the earthworks; and a battery was mounted on the Boston side, on a mound called Copp's Hill. The Americans continued to extend their lines, whilst shot and shell were dropping around them. Two thousand soldiers, under the command of major-general Howe, embarked in boats, with field-artillery, and landed under cover of the shipping on the Charles Town peninsula. Prescott and his band waited for their approach. The Americans had their rear protected by a low stone wall, surmounted with posts and rails. The British halted for some time, expecting additional force, which at length arrived, and, between two and three o'clock, troops under the command of general Pigot, advanced up the hill steadily in line, to attack the redoubt. Prescott had commanded his men not to fire till the British were within eight or ten rods. When he gave the word, the first rank of the British was swept away by the skilful marksmen. The

rear ranks advanced to meet another discharge equally fatal. The whole line staggered, and retreated down the hill. From another point Howe led up his men to attack the fence. They were met by a volley, and fell back in confusion. Their officers rallied those who had retreated; and again the columns advanced upon the redoubt. There was the same carnage as before. Officers had fallen in unusual numbers. It was a terrible scene. The town below Breed's Hill was furiously burning. The hill was covered with the dead, "as thick as sheep in a fold." The colonists were ready to meet a third attack, when it was discovered that their ammunition was nearly spent. Cannon were brought up so as to rake the breastwork of the redoubt, against which all the available force was concentrated. The fire from the breastwork gradually ceased. The redoubt was scaled, and the Americans gave way, some retiring in order, but most escaping as they best might. There was little pursuit. The British lost above a thousand killed and wounded, of whom more than eighty were officers. The American loss was represented as less than half that of the royal forces. Within a week after the arrival of Washington at the camp, he had employed all his energies to place his troops in a position of security. The British were now entrenching on Bunker's Hill, where the bulk of their army, commanded by general Howe, were encamped. Under great difficulties, arising from "a want of engineers to construct proper works and direct the men, a want of tools, and a sufficient number of men to man the works in case of attack," Washington was enabled to continue the blockade of Boston through the autumn and winter.

Parliament met on the 26th of October. The terms of the royal Speech showed that conciliation was to be cast to the winds, and his majesty did not hesitate to inform his Parliament that he had condescended to implore the aid of other countries in putting an end to this "rebellious war." As might be expected, the parliamentary majorities in support of the views of the Court were very large. The duke of Grafton voted with the minority, and then resigned his office of Privy Seal, to which Lord Dartmouth succeeded. Lord George Germaine (Sackville) became Secretary of State. General Gage had been previously called home, and the chief command left with general Howe.

On the 8th of July, the Congress assembled at Philadelphia had confided to Richard Penn, governor of Pennsylvania, a petition to the king, to be presented on his arrival in England. This document, denominated the Olive Branch, was delivered to lord Dartmouth on the 1st of September, and in three days, Penn and his companion, Arthur Lee, were informed by letter that no answer would be given to it. This contemptuous rejection of the humble petition of Congress went upon the ground that the body petitioning had no legal existence. The Americans from the time of that rejection of their last humble effort at pacification held that to British councils, and not to American, all the bloodshed and guilt of the war were to be ascribed. In an examination of Mr. Penn before the House of Lords, he [illegible] that the general feeling in America was not for independ[illegible] the defence of their liberties." Mr. Penn's opi[illegible] those held by Washington,

Madison, Franklin, and Jefferson, before the commencement of hostilities. A motion that the petition of Congress afforded grounds for conciliation was rejected by an overwhelming majority. The government carried its measures with a high hand. Chatham was again incapable through sickness of taking part in the debates of this solemn period; but he emphatically manifested the consistency of his opinions by withdrawing his eldest son, lord Pitt, from his post of aide-de-camp to general Carleton, the commander in Canada.

Lord Pitt had brought home news that the Congress had sanctioned an invasion of Canada, under the command of general Montgomery. Ethan Allen was marching to attack Montreal when he fell in with the British troops; was made prisoner; and was sent to England. Benedict Arnold had received a detachment of a thousand men from Washington's army in Massachusetts, and, having surmounted great difficulties in penetrating through a country of woods and rocks, he appeared suddenly before Quebec. Arnold was repulsed by colonel Maclean, who came in time to save the capital of Canada. But Montgomery was approaching with a larger force. Carleton, with energetic resolution, set off from Montreal disguised as a fisherman; and, passing in a whale-boat through the American flotilla on the St. Lawrence, got into Quebec, and took the command. On the 31st of December the united forces of Montgomery and Arnold climbed the heights of Abraham, and attacked the city. They were met by a formidable resistance. Montgomery was killed, and Arnold severely wounded. But the Americans blockaded Quebec throughout the winter. Meanwhile the British army, in camp round Boston, was suffering great privations and miseries. The small-pox had broken out among the troops. The want of fresh provisions and of fuel made sickness and cold more fatal. In March, Washington had taken possession of Dorchester Heights, and, on the 17th, the British army evacuated Boston. General Howe sailed for Halifax to wait for reinforcements. Washington and his army marched for New York.

On the 20th of February, 1776, lord North presented copies of treaties between Great Britain and the duke of Brunswick, the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and the count of Hanau, for the hire of troops. The petty German princes had made a hard bargain with the English government. The measure was supported by a majority of a hundred and fifty-four.

At the beginning of 1776, the Americans had been defeated by general Carleton, and had retired from Quebec. In other engagements they had been equally unsuccessful; and Canada, in the summer of that year, was in the unmolested possession of the king's troops. In June, general Howe had left Halifax, and had landed his forces on Staten Island. In July, admiral lord Howe arrived with reinforcements from England. The two brothers were authorised, as Commissioners, to receive the submission of insurgent colonists, to grant pardons, and inquire into grievances. In the meantime the Congress at Philadelphia had taken a decisive resolution. The delegates from Virginia had been instructed to propose that the Colonies should declare themselves independent of Great Britain. The proposal was submitted to the Congress at the beginning of June, and was debated for some days with slight prospect of unanimity. Nevertheless,

a committee of five was appointed to prepare a manifesto embodying this principle. Jefferson was selected to make the draught of a Declaration of Independence. This was discussed during sittings of three days; and it was finally agreed to by the members present of the twelve States, with the exception of one. The delegates from New York were subsequently empowered to give their assent. The document set forth a long catalogue of "injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny," and declared that "these united Colonies" were therefore "free and independent states," "absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown." The opening paragraphs of this Declaration were very remarkable as an exposition of doctrines based upon the "Social Contract" of Rousseau, and reflecting the popular philosophy then prevalent in the Parisian *salons*.

The first measures of lord Howe, upon his arrival off New York, were of a conciliatory nature, but his attempts at negotiation with Washington were unsuccessful, as was also a conference he held with some members of Congress in September. A large division of the British troops, on the 22nd of August, landed on Long Island. A portion of Washington's army was stationed near Brooklyn, a small town at the western angle of the island. Washington, with the greater number of his troops, remained in New York. The Americans were under the command of general Putnam; the British, and their Hessian auxiliaries, were under sir William Howe. On the 27th, was fought the battle of Brooklyn, in which the Americans were defeated with great loss, and were driven back to their lines. Washington then determined to make no farther attempt to hold Long Island; and with consummate prudence and ability, favoured by a dense fog, embarked his troops in boats, and landed them with the military stores and artillery in safety at New York. Lord Cornwallis, who had sailed from Cork in February, with seven regiments of infantry, was in the action of Brooklyn. Two of the American generals, Sullivan and Stirling, were taken prisoners. On the 15th of September, Washington evacuated New York. When the British entered the town, they were received by a large number of the inhabitants as deliverers from the plunder and oppression of the troops of the Congress. There was a serious skirmish between the two armies on the 28th of October; but Howe was deterred from following up the retiring enemy by the apparent strength of their lines. In reality Washington's army was so disorganised and weakened by desertions that a vigorous attack might have annihilated his remnant of effective men. Fort Washington and Fort Lee, each situated on the bank of the Hudson, were captured by the British in the middle of November. They followed up their success by overrunning Jersey. Washington continued to retreat before Cornwallis. Lee, the general who had been directed to join him, was taken prisoner, through his own imprudence in lodging out of his camp. The British generals now thought they had done enough for the campaign, and Howe directed that the men should go into winter [illegible] cantoning the troops in perfect security [illegible] and men. On the evening of [illegible] forces on the Delaware; and [illegible] impeded by floating ice, and

struggling with snow storms, he landed his men at Trenton at eight o'clock in the morning, surprised the outposts of the Hessians, and made the main body prisoners, with very slight loss on his own side. Cornwallis, who had gone to New York, with the purpose of returning to England, hurried back with fresh troops, and collected those who had been posted on the Delaware. Washington, on the approach of Cornwallis, abandoned Trenton, and established himself in a strong position beyond the river Assanpink. Then, by a rapid and secret night march, he got far away in the rear of the British, and reached Princetown on his road to Brunswick. Here he encountered three British regiments and three troops of light horse marching to join Cornwallis. The 17th regiment cut its way through the American columns; the 40th and 55th were driven back to Brunswick, with the loss of three hundred prisoners. Washington was unable to follow up his advantage, for his men were exhausted by fatigue and hunger. He took up a position on the hills; and his well-timed success brought him large reinforcements, with which he held Jersey, which a month before was in the possession of the British.

At this time Franklin was dispatched to Paris, to join Silas Deane, who had been sent there in March, and these two, with Arthur Lee, were appointed as Commissioners to take charge of the American affairs in Europe, and to endeavour to procure a treaty of alliance with the Court of France. During several years Franklin resided at Passy, a village about three miles from Paris, and was a constant visitor in the highest society. From this period the French government is to be traced in many underhand proceedings, hostile to England. Franklin's coadjutor, Silas Deane, was mixed up, in a manner disgraceful to his character, with a very remarkable series of occurrences in England. In the winter of 1776-7, some incendiary attempts were made upon the docks at Portsmouth, Plymouth, and Bristol. Suspicion at length fell upon a man who was known as John the Painter. His real name was Aitkin; his native place, Edinburgh; he had been in America three years, and had returned from France a short time before these fires broke out. He was apprehended, and in March, was brought to trial at the Winchester Assizes. The evidence against him was conclusive, and John the Painter paid the penalty of his crime. His own confession removed every possible doubt of his guilt, and deeply implicated Silas Deane, who never denied the charges under which he laboured.

Great Britain was ill-prepared for a naval war. Her system of manning the navy by impressment was as inefficient as it was disgraceful to a country calling itself free. In 1770, during five months when press warrants were in execution through the kingdom, only eight thousand persons could be added to the navy, although the refuse of the jails, and the outcasts of every town and hamlet were of the number. And yet when, on the 11th of March, Mr. Temple Luttrell proposed to the House of Commons a plan of registry for seamen, and of bounties for enlistment, the motion was rejected for that plan of brute force which was far more costly, and made the naval service so hateful that not a ship of the line in commission was properly manned. At this time the coast defences were also so neglected as to leave England always exposed to attack.

On the 28th of May, lord Camden acquainted the House of Lords that

the earl of Chatham intended to move the consideration of the American war on the 30th. Two years had elapsed since Chatham had made his appearance in public. Of the sensation he now produced, the duke of Grafton said on that occasion, the space before the bar was filled by gentlemen of all parties; the avenues of the house were so crowded as not to leave room for the peers to come to their seats. Swathed in flannel, and tottering on his crutch, Chatham had passed through this admiring crowd, and not a sound was heard as that melodious voice, a little enfeebled, again charmed every listener. The motion of Chatham was for an humble address to the king, to advise his majesty to take the most speedy and effectual measures for putting a stop to such fatal and such fruitless hostilities. "America has carried you through four wars," he said, "and will now carry you to your death, if you don't take things in time. . . . You may ravage—you can not conquer; it is impossible: you can not conquer the Americans." The motion was lost by a majority of 76 against 26. The king wrote, "Lord Chatham's motion can have no other use but to convey some fresh fuel to the rebels."

After several indecisive encounters, Howe, at the beginning of July, evacuated Jersey; and leaving a part of his force at New York, embarked with a large body of infantry, and two battalions of cavalry, with the intent to reach Philadelphia by sea. Washington marched to oppose him. On the 11th of September lord Cornwallis, with a strong detachment, was sent forward; and on the 13th encountered the American army on the Brandywine, a stream which flows into the Delaware. The Americans were routed with considerable loss; and on the 27th Cornwallis was in the occupation of Philadelphia. There were several smaller actions before the winter set in; but Washington could not be brought to a general engagement. He went into winter quarters, with an army not exceeding four thousand men, who were wretchedly lodged. In the comfortable quarters of Philadelphia the British indulged in excesses by which all discipline was relaxed, and the sober inhabitants so disgusted that the feelings of loyalty which many cherished were quickly destroyed.

It had been determined to invade the United States from Canada, with an army of seven thousand troops, British and German, under general Burgoyne. Indians were engaged as auxiliaries; and a co-operation with general Clinton's forces from New York was expected. At the end of June Burgoyne marched. His first exploit was the re-capture of Ticonderoga. He next secured Fort Edward, which the Americans abandoned on his approach. The Indians who had joined Burgoyne committed atrocities without rendering any effectual aid; and their employment by the British provoked a determined resistance in the New England States. A large irregular army was speedily collected, of which the command was given to general Gates, and to general Arnold. Burgoyne too soon found the enormous difficulties of his enterprise. "In all parts," he wrote home, "the industry and management in driving cattle, and removing corn, are indefatigable and certain." He could obtain no intelligence of general Howe. For thirty days, he crossed the Hudson to Saratoga. The army encamped on a range of hills called Behmus's Heights. On battle was fought, in which the victory of the

British secured no real advantage, for the Americans retired to their lines The two armies continued in front of each other till the 7th of October. The stores of Burgoyne were rapidly diminishing; and on that day he sent out a detachment of fifteen hundred men for the purpose of covering a foraging party. Arnold attacked them, and compelled a retreat, with a loss of six cannon. He then assaulted Burgoyne's lines; and was repulsed where the British occupied them, but succeeded in forcing the entrenchments defended by a German reserve. The next day Burgoyne saw the necessity of retreating to Saratoga, leaving his sick and wounded behind him. Three thousand five hundred men were all that remained. His provisions were nearly exhausted. It was determined to treat with the enemy. General Gates required the army to surrender as prisoners of war. The unanimous resolve in the British camp was to reject the terms. It was finally agreed that the army should march out of the camp with the honours of war, and pile their arms at the command of their own officers; that a free passage should be granted to Great Britain, upon the condition that the troops should not serve again in North America during the war. The conduct of the American army towards the vanquished was marked by the utmost delicacy and consideration. Not so the conduct of the Congress, who detained Burgoyne and his men under various pretences.

The Session of Parliament was opened on the 18th of November. There was no change in the tone of the royal Speech. Chatham, greatly restored in health, moved an amendment upon the Address. The great orator, in a wonderful display of his powers, set forth the encouragement which France was giving to the ministers and ambassadors of those who are called rebels. He foreshadowed the fatal event of Saratoga. He reiterated his conviction of the impossibility of conquest. Though the orator was indignant at the manner in which the war was carried on—with the aid of foreign mercenaries and the Indian scalping-knife,—the statesman did not give his approval to the independent views of America. Lord Sandwich replied to Chatham, and was succeeded by lord Suffolk, one of the Secretaries of State, who defended the employment of Indians in general Burgoyne's army, being, as he said, "clearly of opinion that we are fully justified in using every means that God and Nature has put into our hands." Chatham replied "with a degree of indignation that added to the force of the sudden and unexampled burst of eloquence" with which he denounced the horrible notion of attributing the sanction of God and Nature to the massacres of the Indian scalping-knife. He called "upon the Bishops to interpose the unsullied sanctity of their lawn; upon the learned Judges to interpose the purity of their ermine, to save the country from this pollution. I call upon the honour of your lordships, to reverence the dignity of your ancestors, and to maintain your own. I call upon the spirit and humanity of my country, to vindicate the national character. I invoke the genius of the Constitution." When the disastrous intelligence concerning general Burgoyne and his troops became public, the indignation against the ministry was furious.

Washington's position in his winter quarters of Valley Forge was such as to demand the utmost exercise of his energy and fortitude. His commissariat department was in a frightful state of incapacity. At this period

there arrived in Washington's camp Von Steuben, a former aide-de-camp to Frederick of Prussia, who had been persuaded by the French government to cross the Atlantic as a volunteer. La Fayette and Kosciusko engaged the same year in the American cause. Steuben found the military administration at Valley Forge entrusted to departments having separate powers. In the condition of the troops he found disorder and confusion supreme. The men were only engaged for three, six, or nine months, so that it was impossible to have a regiment or a company complete. The arms were in a horrible condition. The men were literally naked. The Prussian officer set about bringing this irregular force into something like military order, with the sanction of Washington. He drafted a hundred and twenty men from the line, as a guard for the chief-in-command. He drilled them himself twice a day, and he soon made the colonels of regiments not ashamed of instructing their recruits. In the course of instruction he departed altogether from the general rule; reversing the whole system of eternal manual and platoon exercises, and commencing with manœuvres.

The Houses met in January, 1778. On the 17th of February lord North brought in two Bills,—the first of which was a complete and utter renunciation of the right of Great Britain to impose any tax upon the American Colonies, except only such duties as it might be expedient to impose for the regulation of commerce, the net produce of which was always to be applied to the use of the Colony in which the duties were levied. The second Bill was to enable the king to appoint commissioners with ample powers to treat upon the means of quieting the disorders in America; and they were authorised to treat and agree with any body or bodies politic; or any person or persons whatsoever, thus acknowledging the Congress as a legal body. On the 13th of March, a communication was made to the British Secretary of State by the French ambassador in London, "that a treaty of amity and commerce had been signed between the court of France and" the American Commissioners. In consequence of this offensive communication the king sent orders to his ambassador to withdraw from the French court. Lord North earnestly requested the king to accept his resignation, and to send for lord Chatham, of whom it was said at this time, "Every rank looks up to him, with the only gleam of hope that remains." The king declared "that no advantage to my country, nor personal danger to myself, can make me address myself to lord Chatham, or to any other branch of opposition." Lord North at length consented to go on as the head of a ministry till the Session of Parliament was closed. A few official changes were made, the most important of which was the appointment of the Attorney-General, Thurlow, to be Lord Chancellor.

The duke of Richmond had given notice in the House of Lords of a motion which he intended to make on the 7th of April, "for an address to the king upon the state of the nation." Chatham was slowly recovering from a fit of the gout; but he determined to take his place in Parliament. The duke of Richmond made his motion for an Address, which viscount Weymouth opposed. The earl of Chatham then "rose from his seat with slowness and difficulty, leaning on his crutches, and supported under each arm by his two friends [his son and his son-in-law]. He took one hand

from his crutch, and raised it," thanking Heaven that he was still able to lift up his voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy. When Chatham had spoken, in words which lord Camden describes as "shreds of unconnected eloquence, and flashes of the same fire which he, Prometheus-like, had stolen from Heaven; and were then returning to the place from whence they were taken," the duke of Richmond replied; and then Chatham made an effort again to address the House. "He fell back upon his seat," writes Camden, and was to all appearance in the agonies of death. The king the next day wrote to lord North, "May not the political exit of lord Chatham incline you to continue at the head of affairs?" The political exit was quickly followed by the close of the "last scene of all." Chatham died at Hayes on the 11th of May. On the day after his decease, the House of Commons unanimously resolved to honour his memory by a public funeral and a public monument. The king wrote to lord North, "This compliment, if paid to his general conduct, is rather an offensive measure to me personally." The funeral in Westminster Abbey was attended by few of the party in power.

The pacific measures of the British government produced not the slightest change in the policy of the leaders of the American revolution. When the Commissioners under lord North's bill arrived at Philadelphia, they found the army about to evacuate the town; having received positive orders to that effect from home. Howe had resigned his command, which had been transferred to sir Henry Clinton. The Congress refused to hold a conference with the royal Commissioners unless they should withdraw the naval and military power of Great Britain, or acknowledge the Independence of America in direct terms. The Commissioners determined to return to England; but they first took the somewhat dangerous step of addressing a Manifesto to the American people, remonstrating against the decision of the Congress, and holding out the threat that if peace and union were refused, the war would in future be conducted upon extreme principles.

Clinton had marched through Jersey with Washington following him. A partial battle had been fought on the 28th of June, and the British army was at last established at New York, with a large garrison at Rhode Island. A French fleet from Toulon, under the count d'Estaing, appeared off New York on the 5th of July. It consisted of twelve sail of the line and six frigates, with a large number of troops on board. It was determined to attack the British on Rhode Island, by a combined army of four thousand French and ten thousand Americans. The garrison of five thousand retired within their lines at Newport. D'Estaing was about to land his troops, when the fleet under lord Howe appeared in sight, and the French admiral put to sea to offer battle, abandoning his allies, who were consequently compelled to relinquish their enterprise upon Rhode Island. The fleets were prevented engaging by a violent storm, by which they were both dismantled. Each went into port to refit; the British to New York, the French to Boston. The French admiral finally sailed to pursue his own plans of attacking the British West Indian Islands, or defending those of France. The island of St. Lucia was taken by the British, and Dominica by the French.

To the credit of the ministry, to whose policy he was opposed, admiral

Keppel, an experienced seaman, and very popular with the navy, was appointed to the command of the Channel fleet. He found only six ships of the line fit for service; but before the middle of June the number was increased to twenty. He sailed from St. Helen's on the 17th of June. Two French frigates, reconnoitring, were attacked by his squadron; one of which was captured and the other driven on shore on the coast of France. Amongst the papers of the captured vessel he discovered that anchorage was ordered at Brest for an immense fleet, with which he thought his own unable to contend. He sailed back to Portsmouth. The Admiralty made great exertions; and Keppel, on the 9th of July, again put to sea with a reinforcement of ten ships. The French fleet, consisting of thirty-two sail of the line, and a considerable number of frigates, had come out from Brest, under the command of count d'Orvilliers. After four days' manœuvring, an engagement took place off Ushant, which had no decisive result. Night was coming on with a heavy squall. Keppel signalled to the second in command, sir Hugh Palliser, to come up to renew the fight; but that admiral was unable to obey the order, from the damage which his ship had sustained. The French admiral got back to Brest, and Keppel sailed to Plymouth. The conduct of the two admirals became the subject of warm debates when the Parliament met in November, and, finally, upon charges made by Palliser against Keppel for misconduct and incapacity, a court-martial was ordered. The trial lasted thirty-two days, and ended in a unanimous verdict of the Court, that Keppel had acted with bravery and judgment, and that the charges were ill-founded and malicious. The popular enthusiasm in favour of Keppel was immense. Palliser demanded a court-martial upon himself, and received an acquittal of a very qualified character. General Burgoyne returned to England in the spring of 1778, on parole to the Congress. He was treated coldly by our government, and refused admission to the royal presence. As a member of Parliament, he had an opportunity of vindicating the Convention of Saratoga, and deprecating the blame he had incurred for the employment of Indians. An event occurred in this year, in which the barbarities of the Indians were fully displayed. Wyoming, on the Susquehanna, consisting of eight townships, was a new settlement, comparatively defenceless; although four forts had been constructed to resist the inroads of the savages. A minority amongst the settlers were bitterly opposed to those who resisted the British government, and were consequently exposed to rigorous treatment. Many of these loyalists had abandoned the settlement. At the beginning of July, a body of armed men, amounting to sixteen hundred, appeared on the Susquehanna. One fourth of these were Indians. The whole force was commanded by a partisan known as colonel Butler. The forts were taken by storm, and the men massacred. Then commenced a wholesale destruction of houses, corn-ricks, and standing corn. The sufferings of those who fled from the scenes of devastation, to endure all the miseries of inhospitable woods, were almost as great as those of the victims of the Indian tomahawk. Other such scenes of havoc took place in back settlements.

On the 16th of June the king sent a message to Parliament announcing that the Spanish minister had delivered a state-paper which amounted to a declaration of war. Invasion was expected; and a proclamation was

issued, charging all civil and military authorities to remove horses, cattle, and provisions from the coast in case of a descent. The Standing Orders were suspended, to do away with all exemptions from impressment into the royal navy. An encampment of large bodies of militia was formed on Cox Heath. The spirit of the country was again roused, as when Spain threatened England in days of yore. The united Spanish and French fleet, consisting of sixty-six sail of the line, with a large number of frigates and smaller vessels, rode in the Channel. Sir Charles Hardy left Portsmouth with thirty-eight ships, but he could not venture on an action with a force so superior. He did good service however by leading the enemy to pursue him; and thus diverting their object of landing an invading army. The stormy season was approaching whilst time was thus gained. The ships of both the hostile nations were in bad condition, and a malignant disease having broken out amongst their crowded sailors and troops, the two admirals returned to their own ports.

In May, 1779, Benjamin Franklin was accredited by the Congress as the sole representative of the United States at the court of France—their Minister Plenipotentiary. The abilities of the shrewd old man were constantly directed to the difficult task of raising money upon American credit; and of employing it to organize attacks upon the coasts of Britain. He proposed an expedition, in which the sea forces should be commanded by Paul Jones, a native of Scotland, who had settled in Virginia, and had received a commission from Congress on the breaking out of the war. The land forces were to be commanded by La Fayette. The French government hesitated about this joint adventure; and finally Paul Jones sailed with three ships and a brigantine, and did surprising feats which justified his selection as a bold captain and a skilful seaman.

The military operations in the Northern States of America, during 1779, were not of much importance with reference to the superiority of either army. Washington was doing everything that a prudent commander could accomplish in the face of great difficulties. He complains of speculation, peculation, engrossing, which afford too glaring instances of its being the interest and desire of some to continue the war. He laments the depreciation of the currency which had now gone beyond any example of European history in which the promises to pay of a government were treated as little better than waste-paper. Towards the end of 1778, sir Henry Clinton dispatched an expedition by sea to Georgia. Savannah was taken; and the province was reduced to submission.

On the 8th of February, 1780, sir George Savile, the respected member for Yorkshire, presented to the House of Commons the Petition of a great meeting of the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of his county, which was signed by eight thousand persons. The petition set forth, as the consequences of a most expensive and unfortunate war, a large addition to the national debt, heavy accumulation of taxes, a rapid decline of the trade, manufactures, and land-rents of the kingdom. It then came to the chief grievance,—the great amount of public money squandered on sinecure places, and unmerited pensions, and the consequent increasing influence of the Crown. Twenty-three counties adopted similar petitions, and appointed their corresponding committees. On the 11th of February, Burke brought

forward a measure of Economical Reform, in a speech which is amongst the master-pieces of English composition,—unsurpassed in lucidness of detail, force of reasoning, historical research, and gleams of wit and poetry, by any example of parliamentary rhetoric. The reforms proposed were so temperate, and so incapable of being refuted by argument, that lord North offered no opposition to the reception of the first Bill which was founded upon them. Sir George Savile, on the 15th of February, moved for an account of all places for life or lives, whether held by patent or otherwise; and also for an account of all subsisting pensions, granted by the Crown. Lord North proposed an amendment, limiting the account to pensions payable at the Exchequer. The whole amount payable under the name of pensions, he said, did not exceed £50,000. The Amendment was carried only by a majority of two in a full house. Burke's Bill encountered every obstruction in its progress through Committee; and the Session was concluded without any practical result of the great statesman's incontrovertible exposition of abuses which agitated the minds of a whole people. On the 6th of April the Order of the Day was for taking into consideration the petitions of the people of England. Charles Fox harangued the petitioners of Westminster in the Hall; and resolutions were carried for annual Parliaments, and an addition of a hundred knights of the shire to the representation. In a Committee of the whole House, Mr. Dunning moved, "That it is the opinion of this Committee that the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." The resistance offered to the motion was feeble and indirect. It was carried by 233 against 215. Another motion, that it is competent to the House to examine into and correct abuses in the expenditure of the Civil List, as well as in every other branch of the public revenue, was agreed to without a division. A third motion, that it was the duty of the House to provide a remedy for the abuses complained of in the petitions, was also agreed to. Contrary to the ordinary usage, the resolutions were reported before the House adjourned. Only nine county members voted with the government. On the 18th of April, Dunning made another motion, that it is incompatible with the independence of Parliament that persons holding certain offices about the Court should sit in Parliament. This was carried only by a majority of 215 to 213. The minority rapidly gained strength, and soon became a large majority. Abstract propositions had been carried. The practical measures which were to render them of effect were rejected. On the 18th of May, the most important clauses in Burke's Bill were lost in Committee, to the king's great triumph.

In 1778, upon the motion of Savile, seconded by Dunning, some obsolete penalties against English Roman Catholics were repealed, with the approbation of men of all parties. It was subsequently contemplated to repeal a similar statute of the Scottish Parliament. These proceedings stirred up the fanaticism of Edinburgh and Glasgow at the beginning of 1779. Riots took place in Edinburgh. Houses of reputed Roman Catholics were assailed and damaged. A house where Catholics assembled for worship was set on fire. A Protestant Association and Committee was set up in Scotland; and a silly nobleman, lord George Gordon, was chosen as its President. The Protestant Associations of Scotland multiplied in

England. On the 29th of May, lord George Gordon called a public meeting at Coachmakers' Hall; where he harangued a great audience about the dangers of Popery; and proposed a Resolution that the whole body of the Protestant Association should meet in St. George's Fields on the following Friday, to accompany him to the House of Commons to deliver their Petition. On Friday, the 2nd of June, a vast assemblage was gathered together in St. George's Fields—fifty or sixty thousand persons according to most accounts. Their leader marshalled them in three columns,—one to march over London Bridge, another over Blackfriars Bridge, and a third over Westminster Bridge, headed by himself. At half-past two this formidable body was assembled in Palace Yard, and intercepted all the avenues of Parliament. They filled the lobbies; and twice attempted to force the doors of each House. The fanatic rose in his place, and presented the petition, praying for a repeal of the Act passed in favour of Roman Catholics. He moved that the petition be referred to a Committee of the whole House. This necessarily produced a debate, during which the terror in the House of Lords was kept up by the constant arrival of Peers announcing the insults to which some of their body were exposed in the streets, and exhibiting the outrages which had been inflicted upon themselves. A party of horse-guards at length arrived, with a magistrate at their head; and eventually the lobby was cleared, and the rabble went home. The House then divided, six for the petition, and a hundred and ninety-two against it. The Houses adjourned without further violence. But the spirit of bigotry took another direction. The chapels of the ministers of Sardinia and Bavaria were set on fire, and their fittings plundered and destroyed. Thirteen of the rioters were apprehended, upon the arrival of the military, and were taken to Newgate.

Saturday, the 3rd, was a day of comparative tranquillity. But busy agents of mischief were at work; and on Sunday afternoon, Catholic chapels in Moorfields were beset, and their altars and pulpits were torn down and burnt. On the Monday, the supineness of the magistrates, and the want of any efficient system of police, encouraged the No-Popery fanatics—joined by the idlers, the drunkards, and the thieves that congregate in a great city—to renewed attacks upon religious edifices and private houses. The tumult went on throughout Tuesday, when the two Houses again met. About six o'clock on that summer evening a fierce multitude appeared in front of Newgate, and demanded of Mr. Akerman, the keeper of the prison, the release of the rioters who had been committed for the destruction of the chapels of the foreign ambassadors. Their demand was firmly refused; and Mr. Akerman's private house was set on fire. The furious mob then assailed the old prison,—thundering at the entrances with sledge hammers and pickaxes; and dragging out the furniture of the keeper's house, to pile the tables and chairs against the prison-doors and set them on fire. The whole building was quickly in a blaze. The felons without rushed through the flames to release the felons within; and that night there were three hundred criminals loose in the streets. The prison of Clerkenwell was also broken open, and the prisoners released. The houses of three metropolitan magistrates were then sacked. At midnight the house of the Chief Justice was broken into, and valuables

destroyed, many of them far beyond any money estimate. The mansion itself became a ruin in this fiery havoc. A detachment of guards was at hand; but the officer did not dare to act without the orders of a magistrate; and the magistrates had all run away. On Wednesday, the first great operation of the morning was to attack the Bank of England. Two attempts were made to force an entrance; but the building was well guarded by parties of soldiers, and the assailants retreated upon the first volley. The shops were shut, and "No-Popery" chalked on the shutters. London and the neighbourhood were full of soldiers, who had been sent for from distant parts. But there was hesitation about their employment, verdicts having been found against officers and soldiers who had put down riots with the loss of life. The king himself called a Council on Wednesday; and submitted the question to them as to the construction of the Riot Act. Wedderburn satisfied the doubts of the Council, and a Proclamation was immediately issued, announcing that the king's officers were now authorized to repress the riots by an immediate exercise of force. On that evening London was on fire in thirty-six different places. In Holborn, the distillery of Mr. Langdale, a Roman Catholic, was set on fire; and wretched crowds of men, women, and children, perished in helpless drunkenness amidst liquid fire or falling timbers. The military poured into every street where there was tumult. If the command of the officer to disperse was not obeyed, they fired at once. The next morning all was quiet. Nothing remained to do but to bury the dead, to attend the wounded, and to fill the remaining gaols with miserable prisoners. A hundred and thirty-five of the rioters were tried in Middlesex and Surrey, of whom about half were convicted, and twenty-one were executed. Lord George Gordon was committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason, but on his trial he was so successfully defended by Erskine, that the jury returned a verdict of acquittal.

The war with America appeared to drag on without any decisive results. Gibraltar was invested by the Spaniards. On the 16th of January, sir George Rodney engaged the Spanish admiral off Cape St. Vincent, and obtained a complete victory, having captured four ships of the line, and destroyed four others. He then proceeded to the relief of Gibraltar. Sailing to the West Indies, he encountered a combined French and Spanish fleet, but was unable to bring them to a general engagement. A powerful Spanish squadron intercepted our East India and West India fleets off the Azores, with a convoy of only two ships of war, and carried sixty sail, laden with valuable merchandize, as prizes into Cadiz. The Dutch and English governments were beginning to squabble about violations of neutrality. The maritime claims of England produced also an "Armed Neutrality" between Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, which threatened danger.

In April, 1779, general Clinton invested Charleston, in South Carolina. The siege was pursued with great vigour and ability, under the direction of Clinton, whilst lord Cornwallis, with a large force, cut off the communication between the garrison and the interior. An assault was contemplated; but on the 12th of May, the commander Lincoln capitulated. The surrender of six thousand men, with four hundred pieces of cannon,

and large magazines, was an important triumph for the British commanders, and gave a renewed spirit to the war. General Clinton in June returned to New York, leaving lord Cornwallis in command. An American army was approaching Charleston, under the command of general Gates. The vanguards of the two armies became engaged at Camden on the 16th of August, when the Americans sustained a complete defeat. Some of the prisoners taken in this battle were hanged, they having manifested their change of opinion by having British protections on their persons. Death was denounced against all militia-men who, having served in the British armies, had joined the revolutionists. Estates were threatened to be sequestered of those who had opposed the British interests in the province. American citizens of Charleston were forcibly removed on board ship to St. Augustine in Florida. During the war in the Southern States, the severities practised by both parties were a proof that embittered feelings on both sides would endure far too long for the restoration of a cordial amity, whatever might be the issue of the war. After various encounters, each of the Southern armies went into winter quarters.

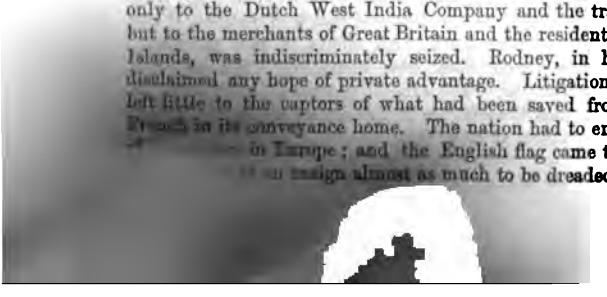
Until the summer of 1780, the British and American armies in the Central States were comparatively inactive. In July, a French armament, of six thousand men, under the command of the comte de Rochambeau, arrived off Rhode-Island, and was placed under the orders of Washington. A considerable addition to the fleet under admiral Arbuthnot having arrived from England, the French troops were effectually blockaded in their position at Newport, and their purpose of combined operations with Washington was prevented. The two generals, however, arranged a meeting at Hartford, in Connecticut; Greene having the command of the American army during the temporary absence of Washington. Benedict Arnold was stationed at West Point, in August. Being dissatisfied with Congress, and with the French alliance, he had long previously opened a secret correspondence with sir Henry Clinton, in which he proposed to join the royal army, and give possession of the forts and garrisons under his orders. The treacherous overture was accepted, and all honour and advantage promised to the traitor. The correspondence was conducted on the part of Clinton by major John André, the adjutant-general of the army. A meeting between the correspondents took place during the time when Washington had gone to confer with Rochambeau, André venturing within the American lines. Returning in plain clothes, with papers from Arnold in his possession, he was taken prisoner. On the return of Washington to his camp, André's case was immediately referred to a court of general officers, fourteen in number, amongst whom were La Fayette and Steuben. Their verdict was that major André ought to be considered as a spy from the enemy; and that, agreeably to the law and usage of nations, it was their opinion he ought to suffer death. All efforts to save the brave, accomplished, enthusiastic young officer were unavailing. His execution took place on the 2nd of October. The critical posture of affairs may be fairly held to have justified Washington in this strong measure. Arnold escaped to the British quarters at New York.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

When the new Parliament assembled on the 1st of November, 1780, the ministry had acquired a firmer position. The elections were generally favourable to the Court. The riots of London had spread terror through the country. Opposition to the measures of the government was regarded by many as encouragement to the outrages of ignorant multitudes. Edmund Burke was rejected by Bristol, after having served that flourishing emporium of trade for six years, on account of his advocacy of liberal measures. He was subsequently returned for the borough of Malton. Among the hundred and thirteen new members, there were several young men whose names afterwards became famous. Wilberforce was returned for Hull, by a corrupt expenditure of eight or nine thousand pounds. William Pitt sat for the close borough of Appleby. Sheridan was elected for Stafford. On the 25th of January a royal message announced a rupture with Holland, the reasons of which were set forth in a manifesto. An amendment to the Address in support of the war was rejected by large majorities in both houses. Burke brought forward his motion for the regulation of the Civil List. It met with the same fate as in the previous Session. Pitt made his first speech on this occasion, in support of the Bill.

At the beginning of 1781, the French made a desperate effort to secure Jersey. On the night of the 5th of January, the baron de Rullecourt landed eight hundred men about three miles from St. Helier; and before daybreak was in possession of that town. The lieutenant-governor and the magistrates being seized, Rullecourt terrified them into signing a capitulation. The officers in Elizabeth Castle refused to surrender the fortress. Meanwhile a spirited young officer, Major Pierson, had collected the militia of the island, with some other troops, which he led into the town; drove the enemy from street to street; and finally compelled the whole body to surrender in the market-place. The gallant Englishman was shot through the heart at the moment of his triumph; and the French invader was mortally wounded.

The first signal event of the war with Holland was the capture of St. Eustatius, one of the Leeward islands, by admiral Rodney, on the 3rd of February, 1781. The riches in merchandise obtained by this success were beyond all previous conception. In the bay two hundred and fifty trading vessels were captured. All the valuable property belonging, not only to the Dutch West India Company and the traders of Amsterdam, but to the merchants of Great Britain and the residents of our West Indian Islands, was indiscriminately seized. Rodney, in his official dispatch, disclaimed any hope of private advantage. Litigation in the courts of law left little to the captors of what had been saved from recapture by the French in its conveyance home. The nation had to endure a great amount of [illegible] in Europe; and the English flag came to be regarded in the [illegible] almost as much to be dreaded as the black flag of

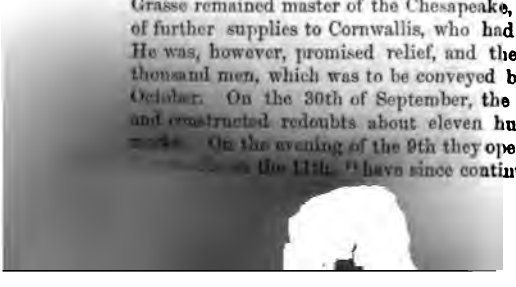


the pirate. The piratical flag was really raised by a squadron of privateers from Bristol, who set sail upon hearing of the rupture with Holland, without waiting for those letters of marque and reprisal under which their acts would have been legalised. Whilst sir George Rodney was busy, it was said, about the captured merchandise, the French fleet was reinforced, and Tobago was taken. Rodney had sent sir Samuel Hood to oppose the armament under De Grasse that had sailed from France. But Hood's force was not adequate; for five ships came out of Port Royal harbour to join the French admiral; and although there was a partial action, the English operations were wholly inefficient. There was an engagement at this time off the Dogger Bank, between a squadron under admiral Hyde Parker and a Dutch squadron, with no result but mutual destruction and prolonged animosity.

The Congress, at the end of 1780, transmitted a letter to Franklin, addressed to the king of France, urgently requesting arms, ammunition, clothing, and a loan of money. The government of Louis XVI. granted six millions of livres to America as a free gift, the king of France not being in a position to injure his own credit by being associated with an American loan. To add to the gloom of the republican leaders, on new year's day thirteen hundred of the troops raised by Pennsylvania mutinied for redress of grievances to which Congress had given no heed. They marched away from their encampment at Morristown, and were reduced to obedience with great difficulty, but without severities. A similar mutiny in the brigade of New Jersey was quelled by a superior force, and by military executions.

On the 7th of January, lord Cornwallis began his march for North Carolina. He sent forward lieut.-colonel Tarleton, with seven hundred infantry, and three hundred and fifty cavalry, "to endeavour to strike a blow at general Morgan." On the 17th Tarleton came up with Morgan, and the battle of Cowpens resulted in the total defeat of the British. More than one half of the royalist forces were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners, by an enemy not superior in numbers. Morgan, after his victory, was enabled, though closely pursued by Cornwallis, to unite his forces with those of Nathaniel Greene, who had been appointed to succeed Gates as the commander of the American army in North and South Carolina. General Greene avoided a battle with the superior force of Cornwallis, and entered Virginia. Jefferson was the governor of that State. At the beginning of January, Arnold, who was now in full activity in the British service, landed about nine hundred men at James Town. They burnt all the public property at Richmond and other places, and having marched more than thirty miles into the interior, regained their vessels. Arnold made a second irruption in April, and again destroyed much property. General Greene had been reinforced with all the available militia from Virginia at the beginning of March; and on the 15th he was approaching Guilford, in North Carolina, with an army of seven thousand men. On that day lord Cornwallis attacked him, and after an action of an hour and a-half routed the American army, and took their cannon. The British sustained a heavy loss, and were unable to pursue the enemy. Greene cut off supplies from the British army, which was compelled to fall back to Wilmington, on the Cape Fear River. "Tired," as he wrote,

"of marching about the country in quest of adventures," Cornwallis resolved, upon his own responsibility, "to take advantage of general Greene's having left the back of Virginia open, and march immediately into that province, to attempt a junction with general Phillips." The opinions of Cornwallis upon the war were not in accord with those of Clinton, his superior officer. Their differences of opinion subsequently became matter of serious controversy, which was taken up in parliamentary debates. Whilst Cornwallis was setting forth on an undertaking which, he says, "sits heavy on my mind," Rawdon, on the 25th of April, won a battle near Camden. He sallied from that post to attack general Greene, whose force doubled his own. The Americans quitted the field; but the victory had no eventual benefit for the British cause. Lord Cornwallis crossed James River, into Virginia, on the 26th of May. General Phillips had died whilst his friend was on his march to join him. Cornwallis was, however, now strengthened by reinforcements, and proposed to dislodge La Fayette from Richmond. But La Fayette moved to the upper country. The legislature of Virginia was sitting at Charlottesville, and colonel Tarleton was very near surprising the whole body. Jefferson himself had a narrow escape, having only quitted his own house at Monticello ten minutes before the British entered it. On the 2nd of August, Cornwallis was in possession of York Town, on the peninsula between the river York, and the river James. For a month he was busily engaged in fortifying his position, and also Gloucester, on the opposite side of the York River. On the 29th, the French West India fleet, under De Grasse, entered the Chesapeake, and landed a large force at James Town. Washington had been anxiously expecting the arrival of the fleet under De Grasse, to make a combined attack upon New York. When he received intelligence of De Grasse's movements, he instantly determined to abandon all idea of attacking New York, and to march for Virginia. On the 21st of August, the troops destined for the South were in motion, Washington having adroitly managed to lead Clinton to believe that the march was a feint, and that he would return to his encampment. He had taken every care that no disorder should ensue from the sudden change in his whole plan of operations, and had urged upon the authorities of the various States to provide the means for prosecuting the siege with rapidity. Before Washington reached the Chesapeake, De Grasse had set sail to encounter the West India fleet of sir Samuel Hood, which had effected a junction with six ships under admiral Graves. On the 5th a general engagement ensued, in which both fleets were damaged, but no vessels on either side were taken or destroyed. The French being reinforced by the squadron from Rhode Island, Graves returned to New York, and De Grasse remained master of the Chesapeake, entirely cutting off any chance of further supplies to Cornwallis, who had provisions for only six weeks. He was, however, promised relief, and the co-operation of a force of five thousand men, which was to be conveyed by the whole fleet on the 5th of October. On the 30th of September, the besieging army broke ground, and constructed redoubts about eleven hundred yards from the British works. On the evening of the 9th they opened their batteries, and, writes [illegible] the 11th, "have since continued firing without intermission



with about forty pieces of cannon, mostly heavy, and sixteen mortars." On the 12th their second parallel was opened. Cornwallis now began to lose hope: "Nothing," he says, "but a direct move to York River, which includes a successful naval action, can save me." On the 15th he apprised Clinton that his two advanced redoubts had been carried by storm; that his situation was very critical; "the safety of the place is therefore so precarious, that I cannot recommend that the fleet and army should run great risk in endeavouring to save us." On the 19th, Cornwallis was forced to give up the posts of York and Gloucester, and to surrender the troops under his command, by capitulation, as prisoners of war to the combined forces of America and France. The garrison, at the time of the surrender, consisted of 363 officers, of whom some were sick; of 4541 non-commissioned officers and rank and file fit for duty; and of 2089 sick and wounded. The Articles of Capitulation did not involve any degrading conditions. The garrisons of York and Gloucester were to march out to an appointed place, with shouldered arms, colours cased, and drums beating a British or German march; then to ground their arms, and return to the place of their encampment. Upon their return to their lines and tents, they enjoyed full liberty. The French are described as behaving very well towards the conquered—altogether kind and obliging. Cornwallis, in his dispatch, makes no complaint of the Americans, but he clearly draws a distinction that seems expressive of no very cordial feeling towards those of the same race with himself. Washington rejected an article of capitulation proposed by Cornwallis, that the Americans who had joined the British army should not be punished on that account, but he allowed an article to stand, by which the Bonetta sloop of war should be left entirely at the disposal of lord Cornwallis, and be permitted to sail to New York without examination, thus allowing any person to pass unmolested. Clinton dispatched the auxiliary force for Cornwallis's relief the very day that he signed this capitulation, which was felt as an irremediable disaster to the British cause.

The Session of Parliament was opened on the 27th of November. The Royal Speech having been prepared before the news of the capitulation of Cornwallis had reached London, and the ministers having had little time to alter it, the inconsistency of the production was manifest. Charles Fox moved an amendment to the Address, in which he spoke in very strong terms against the speech from the throne. George III. treasured up in his memory the strong expressions of Fox, as he had treasured up those of Chatham. Fox, now in his thirty-third year, by the force of his parliamentary abilities, had obtained the highest position in popular estimation. His notorious contempt for some of the decencies of life, his reckless spirit of gambling, could not abate the love and admiration which he commanded by his frank and generous nature, and by his wonderful powers. But his capacity of winning friends was often neutralised by his rashness in making enemies. The amendment was lost. Burke, on this occasion, compared the claim of a right to tax America to a determination to shear a wolf. William Pitt did not speak in support of the amendment of Fox; but the next day, on the motion for bringing up the report of the Address, he made, according to Walpole, "a most brilliant figure,

to the admiration of men of all sides." The son of Chatham, then in his twenty-third year, was a striking contrast to Fox in the rigid decorum of his life.

There were differences in the Cabinet on the question of continuing the war with America, which soon became manifest. When lord North declared that for the future the war in America would be confined to an endeavour to retain certain posts which were necessary even for the conduct of the war against France and Spain, lord George Germaine retired from office, and was created a peer. The naval management of lord Sandwich was vigorously assailed; for he had sent admiral Kempenfeldt to intercept a French fleet sailing from Brest to reinforce their squadrons in the West Indies, and the British admiral was forced to return to England, after taking some transports, finding himself likely to be opposed by a very superior force. St. Eustatius, Demerara, and Essequibo had been retaken by the French, and restored to their original possessors. Our own colonies of St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat, had fallen into the hands of our enemies. To complete the sum of national misfortunes, Minorca was surrendered to the French on the 5th of February, after a long siege and gallant defence. On the 22nd, general Conway moved an Address to the king, praying for the discontinuance of the war with America. Mr. Ellis, the new Secretary of State, resisted the motion; which was finally rejected by a majority only of one, in a House of three hundred and eighty-seven members. On the 27th, general Conway renewed his motion in another form; and the government was then in a minority of nineteen, in a House of four hundred and forty-nine members. On the 9th of March, lord John Cavendish moved a vote of censure on the ministers for the conduct of the war, which was only rejected by a majority of ten. On the 20th of March, lord North announced in Parliament that his ministry was at an end. The king refused to have any personal communication with lord Rockingham until his administration was completed, and he was admitted to an audience as First Lord of the Treasury. Thurlow was continued as chancellor. Shelburne and Charles Fox became Secretaries of State. Burke, Thomas Townshend, and Sheridan held minor offices.

Sir George Rodney, at the beginning of the year, had left England to resume his command on the West India station. He arrived at Barbadoes on the 19th of February, with twelve sail of the line. The united naval force of France and Spain in the West Indies amounted to sixty ships of the line; and it was known that a formidable armament was preparing to attack Jamaica. Fortunately Rodney was enabled to form a junction with the squadron of sir Samuel Hood, whose efforts had been unavailing to prevent the surrender of St. Christopher's. With a reinforcement of three sail of the line from England, Rodney had now thirty-six sail of the line, although several ships were in bad condition. On the 8th of April the French fleet put to sea from Port Royal, with thirty-three sail of the [illegible]odney's fleet, which had been anchored at St. Lucia, was immediately [illegible] weigh, and in pursuit of the enemy. In the French fleet [illegible] of very heavy metal, especially the Ville de Paris, the [illegible]sidered the pride and bulwark of their navy.

In the English fleet there were five ninety-gun ships. The baffling winds for some time prevented a general engagement, which De Grasse was evidently desirous to avoid. But on the evening of the 11th, Rodney found himself in face of the main fleet of De Grasse. The scene of action has been described "as a moderately large bason of water, lying between the islands of Guadaloupe, Dominica, Saintes, and Mariegalante; and bounded both to windward and leeward by very dangerous shores." At seven in the morning of the 12th the battle commenced. It was sunset before it was finished. As the British ships came up, having received the signal for close fighting, they ranged closely along the enemy's line—so close that every shot that was given or received told with fatal effect. The slaughter was tremendous in the French ships that were crowded with troops. It was about noon when Rodney executed the daring manœuvre of breaking the enemy's line, about three ships from the centre, where De Grasse commanded in the Ville de Paris. Rodney was followed by the ships astern of his division; and then wearing round, doubled upon the enemy and completed the separation of their line. The French fleet was thrown into complete confusion by a movement then so wholly unknown in maritime warfare. The engagement terminated in the most signal success. The great triumph of the day was the capture of the Ville de Paris, and of the admiral, De Grasse. Five large ships were taken, and one sunk. Those that escaped fled to various ports, and were not again united for any continuance of the naval warfare. Rodney attempted a pursuit the next morning, but his fleet was becalmed for three days off Guadaloupe. On the 19th of April, Hood came up with five French vessels, in the Mona Passage, and captured two seventy-fours, and two frigates. Jamaica was saved from the joint attack of the French and Spanish; for which vast preparations had been made in the trains of artillery that were found on board the captured vessels.

When, on the 8th of April, the Parliament met after a short recess, the opportunity appeared to have come for carrying those plans of salutary reform which were once so hateful to the Court. But the new administration had the elements of decay and dissolution in its own bosom. On the 12th, a royal message on the subject of Burke's measure for economical reform was discussed in the Cabinet. Thurlow was decidedly opposed to the bill; Fox as resolute that it should be carried. The king's counsellors were wrangling till the 15th, when it was arranged that Fox should that day carry a message to the House of Commons, recommending the consideration of an effectual plan of economy through all the branches of the public expenditure, "towards which important object his majesty has taken into his actual consideration, a reform and regulation in his civil establishment, which he will shortly lay before the House." Burke did not desert the principles which he had advocated in the original introduction of his great scheme of reform; but, like most other reformers, he was compelled to a compromise—to tolerate the continuance of some evil for the sake of securing some portion of a comprehensive good. Nevertheless, a great reform was effected. A number of useless and mischievous offices, usually held by members of Parliament, were abolished; and the pension-list was limited to an annual amount of a very moderate extent.

Burke, who held the office of Paymaster of the Forces, which had been a fountain of monstrous wealth to rapacious politicians, had the honour of proposing a distinct Bill for the regulation of that office, by which no balance could in future accumulate in the hands of the Paymaster. There were two important reforms with reference to the constitution of Parliament which the Rockingham ministry lost no time in carrying. The one was to exclude Contractors from sitting in the House of Commons; the other to prevent Revenue Officers from voting at elections for representatives in Parliament. These measures for limiting the influence of the Crown did not pass without opposition from the Lord Chancellor and from lord Mansfield. A more extensive principle of Parliamentary Reform was at this time advocated by William Pitt, who was speaking the sentiments of a large body of the people, rather than representing the opinions of a party, when, on the 7th of May, he moved for a Committee to inquire into the present state of the Representation of the Commons of Great Britain. The reforms proposed were greatly needed. There were boroughs wholly under the command of the Treasury. There were others which had no actual existence but in the return of members to the House. There were others where the return to Parliament was sold to the best purchaser. Nevertheless, we may well understand how, in his intimate knowledge of parties, Burke might believe that an agitation for Reform would then be dangerous, because it would be useless, and therefore desire to oppose Pitt's motion, which he was with difficulty dissuaded from doing by Fox. The late ministry voted against it in a body. The motion was rejected by a majority of twenty.

Three days after the debate on Mr. Pitt's motion for reform, a discussion came on in the House of Commons as to the expediency of raising battalions or companies of volunteers in each locality, who were not to be moved from their places of abode except in times of actual invasion or rebellion. This plan, proposed by the earl of Shelburne, had the support of the leading men of both parties; but some alarmists apprehended danger from arming the people, and the ministers were called upon to remember what were the consequences of putting arms into the hands of the Irish volunteers. The House manifested great anxiety to stop this line of discussion. There was at that moment a crisis in the affairs of Ireland which called for the greatest forbearance and the most strenuous attempts at conciliation.

Five years before the publication of the "Drapier's Letters," in 1724, a Bill was passed by the English Parliament, denying, in its preamble, the right of the Irish House of Lords to an appellant jurisdiction, and declaring that the King and Parliament of Great Britain had full power to make laws binding on the kingdom of Ireland. In spite of the restrictions upon its commerce, Ireland had continued to improve in wealth, and consequently in a desire for independence. The Protestants were necessarily the sole exponents of this desire, for the Roman Catholics were in complete subjection to those who alone were privileged to sit in Parliament, and who filled every office in the state.

On the 7th of April, 1778, the British House of Commons went into Committee on the Acts relating to the trade and commerce of Ireland,

and three resolutions, removing some of the restrictions on the imports and exports of that country, were carried unanimously. Then commenced a violent opposition from the great trading towns, with the exception of London. The Bills which were brought in were contested in every stage; and finally a very imperfect measure—a mere promise of relief—was obtained in that Session. Towards Ireland, George III. manifested the same exclusive temper which he had constantly manifested towards America. There was a national spirit rising in Ireland, which made it unsafe to dole out fragments of justice. When the inhabitants of Belfast and Carrickfergus applied to the Lord-Lieutenant for forces to protect them from an expected descent upon their coast, and were told that only sixty troopers could be sent from Dublin, the people resolved to defend themselves. On the 11th of May, 1779, the marquis of Rockingham stated in the House of Lords, that the independent corps and companies then in arms in Ireland amounted to ten thousand men, "all acting under illegal powers, under a kind of supposition that all government was at an end."

The Irish Parliament met in October, 1779. In the June of that year a motion of lord Shelburne, to address his majesty on the subject of the trade with Ireland, had been rejected in the British House of Lords by a large majority. At this juncture a leader of the Irish Parliament arose, who, in all the great qualities of eloquence, vigour, and integrity, which sometimes gives to one man the power to speak and act for an entire nation, was especially fitted to be the champion of his country. On the 12th of October, Henry Grattan moved an amendment to the Address, in which the magical words "Free Trade" carried the House with him, the members of the government not even calling for a division. In the same way he carried a vote for a money bill only of six months, instead of the usual period of two years. The government saw the necessity of yielding in the matter of Free Trade, lord North himself proposing, on the 12th of December, 1779, three Bills for the relief of the commerce of Ireland, which were carried without opposition. On the 19th of April, 1780, Grattan moved "that the King's most excellent Majesty, and the Lords and Commons of Ireland, are the only persons competent to make laws to bind Ireland." The motion was then lost, by an amendment that the consideration of the question be adjourned. In the course of the debate in the British Parliament on the Irish Trade Bills, lord North had recommended the Irish Parliament to redress the grievances of the Roman Catholics. A Bill for allowing Roman Catholics to enjoy property, freely to exercise their religion, educate their children, have no impediments to marriage, and retain the means of self-defence, was finally passed in February, 1782. On the 22nd of February, Grattan again brought forward his motion for the freedom of Ireland. It was then rejected by a majority of sixty-nine. But there were eighty-eight thousand men in arms in the four provinces. Their commander-in-chief was the earl of Charlemont; noblemen of wealth and influence were amongst their generals. The delegates of a hundred and forty-three corps had met at Dungannon on the 15th of February, and without a dissentient voice had adopted the Resolution that had been proposed to Parliament by Grattan,—that no power but the King, and the Lords and Commons of Ireland, could bind that kingdom.

On the 27th of March the Rockingham ministry entered upon office. The earl of Carlisle was removed from the Lord-Lieutenancy, with his secretary Mr. Eden. The duke of Portland was appointed to the Vice-Royalty. On the first day that the new ministry took their places in the House of Commons, the late Irish Secretary, after giving a lengthened and alarming narrative of the proceedings of the Volunteers and of the Irish House of Commons, proceeded to move the repeal of the Act of the 6th of George I. Mr. Fox was naturally indignant at such a motion having been made without any consultation with the king's present advisers, and the ex-Secretary, having been severely reproved by many members for the indecency of his proceeding, withdrew the motion. On the next day, Mr. Fox presented a message from his majesty, earnestly recommending the House to take the Irish discontents into their most serious consideration, in order to such a final adjustment as may give a mutual satisfaction to both kingdoms. A similar message was delivered to the Lords by earl Shelburne. On the 16th of April, a similar message was delivered to the Irish House of Commons by Mr. Hutchinson, the new Secretary. Mr. Grattan then considered that the battle was won, and that he had "now to address a free people." Grattan carried an amendment to the Address moved by Mr. Ponsonby, which embraced all the points of the previous Declaration of Rights. On the 17th of May, Mr. Fox presented to the House of Commons the Resolutions of the Lords and Commons of Ireland on the king's message of the 16th of April, and he moved the repeal of that Statute of George I. which asserted the dependence of Ireland. A Bill for this repeal passed both Houses without a division. The Parliament of Ireland was overflowing with gratitude to Mr. Grattan. They desired to vote him a hundred thousand pounds for the purchase of an estate. He at first refused to receive any such public acknowledgment of his services, but eventually accepted half the amount. Ireland responded to England's act of justice by an instant exhibition of cordiality. Her Parliament voted a hundred thousand pounds for the levy of twenty thousand seamen.

On the 22nd of March, 1782, before the Rockingham ministry was settled, Franklin wrote to lord Shelburne to congratulate him on the returning good disposition of England in favour of America. As soon as Shelburne was Secretary of State he adopted the course of sending a confidential friend, Mr. Oswald, to Paris, to assure Franklin that the new ministry wished for peace, and if the Independence of the United States were agreed to, there was nothing to hinder a pacification. Franklin declared that America could only treat in concert with France; and Mr. Oswald had, consequently, an interview with the count de Vergennes. This unofficial negotiator returned to England; and was authorized by a minute of the Cabinet to proceed again to Paris, to acquaint Dr. Franklin that it was agreed to treat for a general peace. A more regular envoy, Mr. Thomas Grenville, was sent very quickly after Oswald, with a letter to Franklin from Mr. Fox. The shrewd old American soon found himself "in some perplexity with regard to these two negotiators." Grenville was annoyed by the interference of Oswald, and wrote bitter complaints to Fox. In the midst of these differances, the head of the ministry, the marquis of Rockingham, died on the 1st of July. The king appointed lord Shelburne First

Lord of the Treasury. Fox and Cavendish resigned; Burke and Sheridan followed their example. William Pitt became Chancellor of the Exchequer; Thomas Townshend and lord Grantham, Secretaries of State. Grenville returned indignantly from his position at Paris, much to the annoyance of his brother, earl Temple, who obtained the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland. When the Session of Parliament was prorogued on the 11th of July, the king, in a wise and moderate speech, promised to make every effort to obtain peace, on fair and reasonable terms. One great struggle remained to be decided.

On the 21st of June, 1779, the communication between Spain and Gibraltar had been closed, by an order from Madrid. The rock of Gibraltar, projecting into the sea from the coast of Spain, could only be approached by that low neck of sandy land called "the Neutral Ground." The isolated fortress was very soon invested by the troops of Spain, and the supplies from the mainland were necessarily cut off. The veteran governor, general Elliott, had not been quite unprepared for the possibility of hostilities. He had a force of artillery and engineers of about five hundred men; four English regiments, and three detachments of Hanoverians,—altogether amounting to upwards of five thousand rank and file. In July, the Enterprise frigate brought a small quantity of fresh provisions from Tangier; and boats occasionally arrived from the African coast with live stock and fruit. But such supplies became very precarious, through the presence of Spanish squadrons in the bay. The apprehensions of famine in January, 1780, were very serious. But when the most frightful extremity of hunger appeared threatening, the fleet of Rodney arrived, after his victory over the Spaniards off Cape St. Vincent. Through the summer the blockade continued unremitting. In the autumn the scurvy broke out among the troops, from the continued use of salt provisions. A Danish vessel, laden with lemons and oranges, was fortunately intercepted; and the sovereign remedy of lemon-juice saved the garrison. The intercourse with Tangier was prohibited by the emperor of Morocco, and want of provisions had again become distressing, when, on the 12th of April, 1781, another well-timed relief arrived. The dread of famine was at an end. But on that day the Spaniards commenced a fierce bombardment from their lines, which continued uninterruptedly through May and June. The town was nearly destroyed; but the loss of life was not considerable. The works which the Spanish had constructed were of the most formidable character; and they incessantly laboured in making additions which became more threatening. At sunset, on the 26th of November, the brave and sagacious Elliott issued his orders for two thousand men, under the command of brigadier Ross, but accompanied by himself, to march out from the fortress, and attack the batteries, which were three quarters of a mile distant. The surprise was complete; the Spaniards, in terror, deserted their works, which were completely destroyed by fire, and their magazines blown up. The ruined works, however, were soon repaired. The duke de Crillon had returned from the conquest of St. Philip, in Minorca, to take the command of the army before Gibraltar. There were thirty-three thousand French and Spanish troops encamped on the Neutral Ground. Their batteries were served by a hundred and seventy heavy pieces

of cannon. Preparations were making for a conjoined attack by sea and land. In the port of Algesiras ten large ships were cut down to serve as the foundations of floating batteries, impregnable and incombustible. The peril of Gibraltar was imminent. In August, lord Howe was ordered to equip his fleet for the important service of the relief of the besieged stronghold. When Howe returned from America, in 1778, he and his brother were received with little cordiality by the members of the government. Until the overthrow of lord North's administration, lord Howe was unemployed, although his value as an officer was universally known. When the new administration was formed in 1782, admiral Keppel was created a viscount, and was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty. Lord Howe was also raised to the peerage, and appointed to the command of a fleet to be employed in the Channel, or wherever else the king's service should require. After doing good service, but without succeeding in bringing the French and Spaniards to a general engagement, Howe returned to Portsmouth on the 5th of August. Before he sailed again, a great calamity occurred, in the sudden capsizing of the Royal George, a ship of a hundred and eight guns, by which catastrophe nine hundred persons perished. The Royal George was the flagship of admiral Kempenfeldt, who was in his cabin, unconscious of any danger. The decks were crowded with women and children, and traders from the shore. The ship was heeled on her larboard side. To accomplish this, the whole of the guns on the larboard side were run out as far as they would go, and those of the starboard side were drawn in amidship. About nine o'clock in the morning, says the narrative of one of the seamen who was saved, "the additional quantity of rum on board the ship, and also the quantity of sea-water which had dashed in through the port-holes, brought the larboard port-holes of the lower gun-deck nearly level with the sea." When the danger was perceived, and the order given "to right ship," it was too late, for the ship was sinking. The court-martial held to inquire into this frightful accident, "was of opinion that some material part of her frame gave way, which can only be accounted for by the general state of decay of her timbers."

On the 11th of September, lord Howe sailed from Spithead with a fleet of thirty-four sail of the line, six frigates, and three fire-ships, having on board two regiments for the reinforcement of the garrison at Gibraltar, and convoying transports with stores for their relief. On the 12th of September, forty-seven sail of the line, with ten battering-ships, and innumerable small craft, were assembled in the bay of Gibraltar, to co-operate with an army of forty thousand men in one grand attack upon the fortress, which was defended by seven thousand tried veterans. On the morning of the 13th the ten battering-ships moored within ten or twelve hundred yards of the bastions of Gibraltar. General Elliott had distributed furnaces through the works for the purpose of making balls red-hot, and when the first ship dropped her anchors, the firing commenced from the fortress. Before ten o'clock on that eventful morning four hundred pieces of artillery were playing at the same moment. The heaviest shells rebounded from the tops of the formidable battering-ships; and the thirty-two pound shot seemed incapable of making any impression upon their hulls. But the persevering fire from the British works at last took effect. "The floating battery com-

manded by the prince of Nassau (on board of which was also the engineer who had invented the machinery) began to smoke on the side exposed to the garrison, and it was apprehended she had taken fire. . . . . At seven o'clock all our hopes vanished. . . . . Nothing now was thought of but saving the crews, and the boats of the combined fleet were immediately sent on that service. A little after midnight the floating battery which had been the first to show symptoms of conflagration, burst out into flames, upon which the fire from the rock was increased with terrific vengeance. . . . . During the night one or other of these batteries was discovered to be on fire. . . . . At five A.M., one of them blew up with a very great explosion, and soon after the whole of them, having been abandoned by their crews, were on fire fore and aft, and many of their gallant fellows were indebted to the exertions of the English for their lives."* Lord Howe entered the mouth of the Straits with his fleet on the 11th of October. The combined fleets of France and Spain avoided an engagement, and the object of landing the stores and reinforcements was partially accomplished, when a storm drove the British fleet, as well as the fleets of France and Spain, into the Mediterranean. Howe drew up in line of battle; but the enemy declined to engage, and the British admiral returned to Gibraltar, and completed the work for which he was sent. The French and Spaniards continuing to refuse a general action, Howe returned to England. The siege was languidly continued during the winter. On the 6th of February, 1783, the duc de Crillon informed general Elliott that the preliminaries of peace had been signed at Paris on the 20th of January, and that Gibraltar was to remain in the possession of Great Britain. From the commencement of the blockade to the cessation of arms, the siege had endured three years, seven months, and twelve days. The total loss of the garrison was twelve hundred, of whom only four hundred and seventy were killed, or died of their wounds, or were disabled.

The summer and part of the autumn were employed by the British envoy at Paris, and by Dr. Franklin, in discussions upon points that were essential to be settled before the basis of a treaty of peace with America could be established. Three other Commissioners were finally associated with Franklin, Mr. Jay, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Laurens. At length, on the 30th of November, preliminary articles were signed between the Commissioner of Great Britain and the Commissioners of the United States. The count de Vergennes was naturally offended at what he considered the infraction of a mutual promise not to sign articles of pacification except with the joint consent of France and the United States.

The Parliament was opened by the king on the 5th of December, the Houses having met on the previous 26th of November, and were then adjourned in the expectation of some definite result from the negotiations. His majesty declared that, adopting with decision what he collected to be the sense of his Parliament and his people, he had directed all his measures to an entire and cordial reconciliation with the colonies of North America.

* Narrative of an Italian officer on board the combined fleet, quoted in Barrow's "Life of Lord Howe."

He had not hesitated to go the full length of the powers vested in him, and had offered to declare them free and independent States by an article to be inserted in the treaty of peace. The king then said, "In thus admitting their separation from the crown of these kingdoms, I have sacrificed every consideration of my own to the wishes and opinions of my people."

On the 20th of January, 1783, the Preliminaries of Peace were signed between Great Britain and France and Spain. By the treaty with France, England ceded St. Lucia and Tobago, and gained back Granada, St. Vincent's, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat. The French recovered some possessions in Africa, and in the East Indies. The old stipulations for the demolition of Dunkirk were given up. To Spain, Great Britain ceded Minorca and the Floridas. With Holland there was a suspension of arms; and the Preliminaries of Peace were not signed till the 2nd of September. The principle of the final treaty was on the basis of mutual restitution. On the 17th of February, the two Houses took into consideration the Preliminaries of Peace with France, Spain, and America. In the House of Lords the ministers carried the Address of Thanks to the Crown by a majority of thirteen. In the House of Commons they were defeated by a majority of sixteen. On the 21st of February, lord John Cavendish moved Resolutions of Censure on the terms of the Peace, which were carried by a majority of seventeen. A combination of parties had been entered into for the purpose of removing lord Shelburne and his ministry. Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt were on this occasion brought into immediate conflict. On the 24th of February, lord Shelburne resigned. The fallen minister's opinions upon a liberal system of commerce were before his time. They were entirely opposed to the existing ignorance of the commercial public, and they would necessarily have failed. John Adams was the first minister of the United States accredited to Great Britain. In June, 1785, he was presented to the king, who assured him that as he "was the last to conform to the separation," the separation having been made, he "would be the first to meet the friendship of the United States as an independent power."

On the 4th of December, 1782, Washington bade farewell to the principal officers of his army, and on the 20th he resigned his commission to a deputation from Congress.

CHAPTER XLIX.

In 1784, marshal Conway wrote to his brother, "the sums spent in losing America are a blow we shall never recover." The statesmen and economists who predicted absolute ruin from any increase of the public debt beyond a certain maximum—seventy-five millions, or a hundred millions—never appear to have adequately contemplated the possibility of the productive power of the country keeping pace with the additional load of taxation. From the accession of George I. to the war with the North

American Colonies—a period of sixty years—the country had been steadily progressing in a course of improvement; in partial inclosures of cultivable waste land, in better methods of husbandry, in extension of manufactures, in more complete means of internal communication. The shutting up of one portion of British commerce by the war with America had no permanent effect upon the development of the general prosperity of the country; although we are in no condition to judge how far that development might have been impeded by the waste of capital in war. The common notions of the decline of England that prevailed during the first and second decades of the reign of George III. were associated with the vehement assertion that her population was decreasing. A comparison of the excess of baptisms over burials shows that from 1751 to 1781 the population increased nearly a million and a-quarter. There was a still larger increase, of more than a million and a-half, in the twenty years from 1781 to 1801. Comparing an estimate made by Arthur Young in 1770 with the census of 1851, the farmers would appear to have doubled in eighty years; the labourers to have almost trebled. In 1770, whilst one man was cultivating the land, two men were engaged in other occupations. In 1851, whilst one man was cultivating the land, three men were engaged in other occupations. The ascendancy of scientific theory over traditional practice has produced this striking change; and that ascendancy has been called forth more and more by the certainty of the profitable application of capital to agricultural enterprise. This application of capital, in the first twenty years of the reign of George III., may be in some degree indicated by the circumstance that the Inclosure Bills passed from 1760 to 1779 were more than a thousand in number. Improved methods of husbandry were concurrent with this extension of the area of cultivation.

Norfolk, and its neighbour Suffolk, were the nurseries of what was termed "the new husbandry." Mr. Coke, a gentleman of large fortune and high connections, who came into his estate at Holkham in 1776, "converted West Norfolk from a rye-growing to a corn-growing district." But he did something even better. Unable to let his estate, even at five shillings an acre, he determined to become a farmer himself. He gathered about him all the practical agriculturists of his district, who came once a year to partake his hospitality, and to communicate their experience to the spirited young man who wanted to learn. He very soon was enabled to become an instructor himself. His example pointed the way to that continued course of improvement which has effected such marvels since the British agriculturist became self-reliant, and saw that his prosperity needed no protective laws to maintain a supply of food quite commensurate with the rapid multiplication of the people. The agriculture of many parts of Suffolk is described by Arthur Young as emphatically "true husbandry." Sir John Cullum, in 1784, describes the drainage of the arable lands as the great improvement that had fertilized spots that before produced but little. The farmer knew nothing of draining-tiles; but he cut drains two feet deep, and wedge-shaped, filling them with bushes, and with haulm over the bushes. Arthur Young found the husbandry of Buckinghamshire almost as bad as the land is good. The poverty of the crops was chiefly imputed to the want of

draining, and to the open fields, and large tracts of waste. That fertile county has now discovered the value of large dairy farms. It is held that there are 120,000 acres in Buckinghamshire devoted to dairying, on which, with the aid of some arable land, 30,000 cows are kept, producing annually the almost incredible amount of 6,000,000 lbs. of butter, chiefly sent to the London market by railway. Arthur Young laments that, "if a person, the least skilled in agriculture, looks around for implements that deserve to be called complete, how few will he meet with." Norfolk and Suffolk are now the principal seats of the manufacture of those implements which, in 1851, were held to have saved one-half of the outlay of a period only twelve years previous, in the cultivation of a definite amount of crop. The application of machinery and chemical science to the production of food has produced results as important as in any other branch of manufacture, under which term we must now include the modern achievements of the spirited farmer.

In Bedfordshire, Francis, duke of Bedford, laboured at Woburn to accomplish results similar to those which Mr. Coke produced at Holkham. "No one that lived in or near the times of the duke of Bedford, can be ignorant of the efforts which that nobleman put forth to arouse the torpor-stricken agriculturists of his day." The duke did not live to see the triumphs of improved farming; by which, according to a report in the "Royal Agricultural Journal," "there are scores of farms now producing 50 per cent. more corn than in 1794, and supplying the metropolitan markets with a stone of meat for every pound supplied at the former period." To Robert Bakewell, a yeoman of Leicestershire, independently of his merit as the founder of the famous breed of Leicester sheep, is to be ascribed the great impulse which raised the occupation of the grazier into an art. This progress, concurrent with the turnip husbandry, the general improvement in the cultivation of arable land, and the conversion of barren sands and drowned fens into rich corn-bearing districts, has enabled the supply of an improved quality of meat constantly to keep pace with the increase of population. The average weight of the ox and the sheep has been doubled since the beginning of the eighteenth century. The number produced has increased in a greater ratio.

The consumption of animal food in England has always been a matter of surprise to foreigners. An intelligent Frenchman, M. Grosley, who came to this country in 1765, speaks of the large export of grain, under the bounty-system, as exciting his astonishment, being compared with the extent of cultivation. He attributes this to the small consumption of corn by the English, who "live chiefly upon animal food." M. Grosley had not seen the labourers of the South eating their rye-bread with their hard cheese, and rarely tasting animal food; nor those of the North, satisfied with their oat-meal feast of crowdie or parritch. Rye-bread, barley-bread, and oat-cake, supplied the usual food of the rural population. Notwithstanding this limitation of the consumption of wheat, the increasing numbers of the people could not have been adequately fed without an extension of the area of cultivation. The steady as well as rapid conversion of "barrens" into fertile fields, is strikingly illustrated in the agricultural county of Cambridge. It contains about 536,000 acres of land.

In 1794, 112,500 acres were fens, commons, and sheep-walks. In 1806, 63,000 acres of these wastes had been inclosed and cultivated. In 1846 only 10,000 acres of these "barrens" remained uninclosed, and of these, 5000 were mown and fed in the summer. The fen district is that which offers the most remarkable example of improvement. This great morass extended from Cambridge to Lincoln; and was inhabited in the time of Elizabeth by men who walked upon stilts, fishing and fowling, and keeping a little stock upon the hay which they secured out of the fat grass when the streams had retired under the summer drought. In the reign of Elizabeth, and in that of James I., several attempts were made to bring a part of this district under cultivation. In 1630 the undertaking was vigorously set about by Francis earl of Bedford; and a company of adventurers was formed who undertook to drain the land, having ninety-five thousand acres for their recompense. They engaged Cornelius Vermuyden, a Dutch engineer, as the director of the works. They embanked the Welland river, the Nene river, and the Ouse. They made deep cuts, of sufficient length to obtain the name of rivers. The Lincolnshire fens were undertaken to be drained by other companies, about the same period. Various local Acts were passed, and the work went on, more or less prosperously. But Mr. Pusey considers that "though the body of stagnant water was greatly reduced, still it was not subdued, so that the fen land was worth little, even when George III. came to the throne."* Mr. Rennie looked upon the wide waste with the comprehensive glance of science, and saw that the outfall to the sea was not sufficient to carry off both the waters of the low lands, and of the rising slope which surrounded the whole margin of the Fen. He made a separate channel to carry off the upland waters. The great invention of Watt pumped out the water into the artificial rivers, instead of the feeble wind-mills that did the work imperfectly in the eighteenth century, a plan first introduced in the reign of George I. The whole land has been made dry, and bears splendid crops of corn.

In Berkshire, king George III. was setting a good example to the agricultural portion of his subjects, and earning the honourable name of "Farmer George." In the Great Park of Windsor he had his "Flemish Farm," and his "Norfolk Farm." He was a contributor to Young's "Annals of Agriculture," under the signature of "Ralph Robinson." Meanwhile the Forest of Windsor exhibited one of the many examples of a vast tract wholly neglected or imperfectly cultivated. In the small farms scattered about the seventeen parishes of the Forest the agriculture was of a very unscientific character. The manners of the farmers and their in-door labourers were as primitive as their turf-fires. It was not till 1813 that an Act was passed for the inclosure of Windsor Forest. Much of this district has been turned into arable; more has been devoted to the growth of timber, under the direction of the Office of Woods and Forests.

The Western and Northern Counties, including Wales, contained a population of about two millions and a half at the end of the seventeenth century; of four millions and a half at the end of the eighteenth century; and of ten millions and a half at the end of the first half of the nineteenth

* "Journal of Royal Agricultural Society."

century. Such quadrupling of the population in the course of a hundred and fifty years is an evidence of the direction of productive labour to manufacturing and commercial industry, in particular districts having an extraordinary command of raw material. When William Cobbett, in his "Rural Rides," visited the Wiltshire Downs, some thirty years ago, the pastoral district was becoming agricultural. At the present time "the rapid extension of tillage over these high plains threatens before long to leave but little of their original sheep-walks."* The Dorsetshire Downs were not broken up, to any extent, until our own day. Where one shepherd's boy was kept, five men are now employed. From 1734 to 1769, there had been about five thousand acres inclosed; from 1772 to 1800, about seven thousand acres. During the first half of the nineteenth century, more than fifty thousand acres had been inclosed. The condition of the Dorsetshire peasantry, which was a public reproach, made the Dorsetshire gentlemen take shame to themselves in 1843; and many set about remedying the evil, in the conviction that agricultural prosperity and a wretched and demoralized population could not exist together. In some grazing districts of England there has been retrogression instead of improvement in this particular. The land has been let in large quantities to non-resident occupiers, who have pulled down the cottages and farm premises, and only set up a few cow-houses or shelter hovels. The repeal, in 1775, of the Act of Elizabeth against building cottages, which Act the legislators of George III. truly said "laid the industrious poor under great difficulties to procure habitations," was insufficient to remove the rate-payers' jealousy of parochial burthens; and that jealousy has produced an amount of misery and demoralization which cannot be too quickly remedied.

Aubrey says of the agriculture of the middle of the seventeenth century, "the Devonshire men were the earliest improvers." In 1848, it is written, "It cannot be denied that the farming of Devon is at the present time inferior to that of most of the counties of England."

In Warwickshire the system of under-drainage was discovered accidentally by Joseph Ellington, of Princethorpe, in 1764. He rendered his own land fertile; and received a reward of a thousand pounds from Parliament for the improvements consequent upon his discovery.

The great landed proprietors of Yorkshire led the way to a course of improvement which has made that county as remarkable in agriculture as in manufactures. The marquis of Rockingham, the leader of the Whig party, was more successful as a cultivator than as a politician. He showed the agriculturists of the West Riding, in the management of two thousand acres of his own lands, what would be the result of draining, of cultivating turnips properly, of using better implements. In the East Riding there was a great improver at work upon the wild moors in 1770. Sir Digby Legard, who resided at Ganton, on the edge of the Wolds, experimented upon five thousand acres of uninclosed wold-land near his house. About five hundred acres were in tillage. The land was let at a shilling an acre. The annual value of the corn and wool of the five thousand acres was under 1000*l.*, and they maintained a hundred inhabitants. It can be

* "Quarterly Review."

proved that in this district "the produce of wheat has been doubled, that of oats has been increased five-fold, of barley six-fold, and that wherever skill and capital have been applied to these uncultivated hills, rent has been advanced even as much as twenty-fold."* At Swinton, near Masham, where Mr. Danby had a colliery, there was a humble improver upon whom the agricultural tourist, Arthur Young, has conferred a fame as truly deserved as that of the Cokes and Bedfords of that age. James Croft, one of the colliers, thirteen years before Young visited the district, began his husbandry by taking an acre of moor. By indefatigable labour he soon raised oats and barley, and obtained fine grass land. He next took eight acres. When his eulogist saw him he was at work upon eight acres more, attacking the most enormous stones, cutting them in pieces, carrying them away, and then bringing mould to fill the holes up. He had thus brought nine acres into excellent cultivation. He had done everything with his own hands. He had worked in the mine from twelve o'clock at night to the noon of the next day. "From the time of leaving off work in the mine, till that of sleeping, he regularly spent in unremitting labour on his farm."

The agriculture of Scotland—even in the Lothians, now models of farm-excellence,—was in the rudest and almost barbarous state, when George III. came to the throne. East Lothian claims the honour of having led the march of improvement. The changes of Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire during eighty years are more remarkable in manufacture than in agriculture. But here, as throughout all Scotland, morasses have been drained, lochs have been made to bear corn, the domain of unproductive nature has been compelled to supply the necessities of man. Eighty years ago, to speak of the cultivation of the Highlands would be to describe a region in which agriculture was despised; where the mountaineers chiefly confided in the spontaneous bounty of nature, which gave them fish in the streams, and fowl in the heather, and rare patches of pasture for a few black cattle. It is unnecessary to point out the contrast of a period half a century later; especially in the more remote districts of the North of Scotland, in which the country has been made accessible by roads, water communication, and railways, and its cultivation has no longer to struggle with other impediments than those of soil and climate. The climate itself has been ameliorated by judicious planting. It is truly said, with reference to cultivation, "The change which a single century has wrought in Northern Scotland can hardly be exaggerated."†

The natural fertility of Ireland, and her consequent advantages in carrying her agriculture to perfection, are shown by Arthur Young to be very great—a fertility superior to that of England, taking acre for acre. But the capital and skill that had made England what it was, even eighty years ago, were wanting in Ireland, and the tillage and grazing of that country had been long impeded by prohibitory laws. Amongst the greatest evils were the "middlemen," whom Young describes as screwing up the rent to the uttermost farthing, and relentless in the collection of it—the hardest drinkers in Ireland—masters of packs of wretched hounds, with which they

* "Journal of Royal Agricultural Society." † "Westminster Review."

wasted their time and their money. But whether the tenantry of Ireland were miserable cottars, or "the largest graziers and cow-keepers in the world," all were "the most errant slovens." "The recompense for labour is the means of living. In England these are dispensed in money, but in Ireland in land or commodities." Arthur Young could not anticipate what would be the result of that abuse of the right of property in land, which went on for more than half a century, in allowing the landlords to consume the whole produce of the soil—*minus* the potatoes. We now know what was the terrible end of the rude abundance of one species of food, produced upon small holdings, of which, in 1847, 500,000 acres maintained 300,000 families, whilst in England one labourer was employed to about fifteen acres of arable land.

In the last year of the reign of George the Second, and in a few years after the accession of George the Third, there was begun in this country an enormous revolution in the Arts, for accomplishing which Providence raised up very special instruments. During less than half a century the labours of seven men had increased the resources of their country to an extent which chiefly enabled it to sustain the pressure of the most tremendous war in which it ever was engaged; had bestowed upon a population increasing beyond all previous example abundant opportunities of profitable labour; and had opened new and unlimited fields of production, for the multiplication and diffusion of the necessaries of life and of the comforts and refinements of civilization. Whilst Brindley, Arkwright, Crompton, Cartwright, Roebuck, Wedgwood, and greatest of all, Watt, each pursued his one absorbing object, there was a natural harmony in their labours,—no one attempt could have been carried to perfection without the aid of another effort, differing in degree but the same in kind.

In 1758, Francis Egerton, third duke of Bridgewater, was the originator of a bold scheme of public improvement. He had retired to one of his family estates at Worsley, about six or seven miles from Manchester, to devise plans for the improvement of his fortune, by making his encumbered property more productive. The estate of Worsley contained a rich bed of coal, but it was comparatively valueless from the difficulties of land carriage. Could these difficulties be surmounted? Could a canal be constructed from Worsley to Manchester? Might the line not be extended to the Mersey? The duke had made two energetic men the confidential participators in his scheme. One was John Gilbert, a land-agent, who had been engaged in mining speculations; and who was especially useful in raising money to carry on the projected operations. The other was James Brindley, a millwright,—almost without the rudiments of education, and totally deficient in scientific training. This extraordinary man, the greatest civil engineer that had appeared in England before the present century, was by his constructive genius enabled to overcome difficulties which appeared insuperable to other engineers of more technical pretensions. A line was adopted for the duke of Bridgewater's canal which rendered locks unnecessary, which crossed rivers, and cut through hills, like the railway works of our own time. An aqueduct was carried over the Irwell, at Barton, high enough for masted vessels to sail under it. This aqueduct was opened in 1761. All the works, above ground and

under ground, were finished in 1762, and were described as "the greatest artificial curiosity in the world." The subterranean canals in the coal-works at Worsley were as remarkable as the canal itself and its branches. The open works, all of one level, extended thirty-eight miles; the tunnels were originally about a mile and a half in length, although they now extend forty-two miles, of which two-thirds have gone out of use. The immediate effect of the duke of Bridgewater's first great undertaking was sufficiently demonstrative of the public value of canals. The price of coals in Manchester was reduced one half after its completion. The duke and his brother-in-law, the first marquis of Stafford, were the chief promoters of the Grand Trunk Navigation, generally known as the Staffordshire Canal; and Brindley was the engineer. This work brought the iron and pottery districts into easy communication with the Mersey and the Trent; and, with concurrent undertakings which Brindley designed or superintended, connected the Thames, the Humber, the Severn, and the Mersey, and united London, Liverpool, Bristol, and Hull, by water communication, passing through a district unsurpassed in natural resources and productive industry. Aikin, the local historian of Manchester, says, "Nothing but highly flourishing manufactures can repay the vast expense of these designs." Manchester, within a quarter of a century, had become the centre of that manufacture which, from very small beginnings, had grown into proportions then deemed gigantic, however dwarf-like they may appear in comparison with its present development. It is asserted in a pamphlet published in 1788, that "not above twenty years before that time, the whole cotton trade of Great Britain did not return 200,000*l.* to the country for the raw materials, combined with the labour of the people." About 1760, an improvement in the process of weaving had stimulated the mechanical attempts for increasing the quantity of yarn to be woven. In spite of several ingenious inventions, the demand for fine yarn still went on unsupplied until, in 1767, James Hargreaves completed his "Spinning-jenny," which was soon found in every weaver's cottage in Lancashire. But the time was fast approaching when the spinning of cotton would cease to be a domestic manufacture. Richard Arkwright, a barber at Bolton, who had a mechanical genius, became acquainted with John Kay, a clock-maker at Warrington, and the two set their ingenuity to work upon schemes for superseding the spinning-wheel. Arkwright went to Preston, and having expended his last shilling in completing, however imperfectly, a machine of a new construction, it was exhibited, in 1768, in that town. In a lucky hour for Arkwright, murmurs and threats reached his ear. He hastily packed up his apparatus in the dread of mob-law; went to Nottingham; obtained two moneyed partners, of whom Jedediah Strutt was one; and took out his first patent in 1769. The principle of this machine was "to enable rollers to do the work of human fingers, with much greater precision, and incomparably cheaper." The machines of the small factory at Nottingham, which Arkwright was enabled to establish with his partners, were worked by horse-power. In 1771, in the beautiful valley of the Derwent, at Cromford, was erected the first water spinning-mill. The great merit of Arkwright, however disputable his claim as an inventor, was as an organizer of the labour required in a cotton factory. It was five

years before any profit was realised at Cromford. All the difficulties that interpose between the completion of an invention and its commercial value had to be overcome. In October, 1779, a mill which Arkwright had erected in the neighbourhood of Chorley was burned by a mob; who in a similar manner destroyed the cotton-spinning machines at Manchester, Wigan, Blackburn, Bolton, and Preston. But the combinations of rivals, and the violence of mobs, had no power to turn the courageous Arkwright from pursuing the career which had opened to his sanguine view, and this skilful appropriator of other men's ideas died worth half a million sterling.

The second great and permanent principle of the machinery for cotton-spinning was added by a man of a very different character. Samuel Crompton was shy, sensitive, studious, a mathematician, a musician, an inventive artisan. He was spinning with Hargreaves' jenny, in an old mansion called Hall-in-the-Wood, four or five years after Arkwright had produced harder and finer yarn by his water-frame than the jenny could produce, whatever amount it had added to the quantity spun. Crompton saw what was wanting. With a few common tools, and a clasp-knife, he worked for five years before he perfected what was originally called the Hall-in-the-Wood wheel. When the riots broke out by which Arkwright's mill at Chorley was destroyed, this machine was concealed by the young weaver. No yarn comparable for fineness and firmness had ever been produced as that which Crompton carried to the Bolton market, obtaining a proportional price. Manufacturers gathered round, some to buy, others to endeavour to penetrate the secret. Crompton says, "a few months reduced me to the cruel necessity either of destroying my machine altogether, or giving it up to the public. To destroy it I could not think of; to give up that for which I had laboured so long was cruel. I had no patent, nor the means of purchasing one. In preference to destroying it, I gave it to the public." Manufacturers had persuaded him to give up his secret, upon the condition, recited in a formal document, of subscribing sums to be affixed to the name of each "as a reward for his improvement in spinning." The whole sum they subscribed was 67*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* In five years Crompton's "mule" was the machine chiefly employed for fine spinning, not only round Bolton, but in the manufacturing districts of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

The common piracies of Arkwright's water-frame, its more extensive use when the patent expired in 1784, and the general appropriation of Crompton's mule, very soon changed the neighbourhood of which Manchester was the centre, from a country of small farmers into a country of small manufacturers. Children of very tender age, collected from the London workhouses, and other abodes of the friendless, were transported to Manchester and the neighbourhood as apprentices.

Edmund Cartwright, a clergyman, bred at University College, Oxford—a poet and a critic—was at Matlock in 1784, when, in a mixed company in which were some persons from Manchester, the talk was about cotton—how the want of hands to weave would operate against the spinning-mills. Cartwright knew nothing of machines or manufactures; he had never even seen a weaver at work; but he said that if it came to a want of hands, Arkwright must invent a weaving-mill. The Manchester men maintained

that such a notion was impracticable. Cartwright went home, and laboured assiduously to produce a loom that would weave cloth without hands to throw the shuttle. He completed his machine, and took out a patent. Cartwright's power-loom, improved by the inventor by incessant exercises of ingenuity, came very slowly into use. A mill, the first erected for its employment on a large scale, was wilfully set on fire, and five hundred of the power-looms were destroyed. The patent expired, having been to the inventor a constant source of loss and anxiety. The power-loom was first brought into profitable use in Glasgow, in 1801. In 1807, upon a memorial of the principal cotton-spinners, Parliament granted Dr. Cartwright 10,000*l.* for "the good service he had rendered the public by his invention of weaving." This reward did not repay Cartwright's expenses in working out his scheme. There were only 2300 power-looms at work in Great Britain in 1813. In 1833 there were 100,000. The Returns of the Factory Inspectors for 1856 show the employment of 369,205 power-looms, of which 298,847 were for weaving cotton.

Dr. John Roebuck, the man who succeeded in proving, by the commercial results of his processes, that iron could be smelted by pit-coal, everywhere in abundance, instead of by charcoal from woods that were disappearing through the advance of agriculture, was a physician at Birmingham. He was a scientific chemist, as far as the science of chemistry was understood in the middle of the eighteenth century; and he was connected with a chemical manufactory, to which he devoted himself with the ardour of an experimentalist. Having abandoned his practice as a physician, and settled in Scotland, he turned his thoughts to smelting and manufacturing iron. At Carron, in the parish of Tarbert, in Stirlingshire, there were the great requisites for this manufacture. There was abundant coal, and ample command of water-power. Some iron-stone and lime were to be found within a mile; some was to be procured from places ten miles distant. Workmen were brought from Birmingham and Sheffield; and on the banks of a river, renowned in Scottish history, was the famous foundry established in 1759, which sent cheap grates into the homes of England, and cast the guns for Wellington's battery-train.

The year 1763 is considered memorable for the production of a new kind of earthenware, remarkable for fineness and durability. Dr. Campbell, in 1774, makes this statement: "In the space of about sixty years, as I have been well informed, the produce of this ware hath risen from 5000*l.* to 100,000*l.* per annum. These are entered by the thousand pieces for exportation, which is annually about forty thousand." In 1857 there were a hundred million pieces of British earthenware and porcelain exported to every European country (with the exception of France), and to America, the United States being by far the largest importers. The artisan of Burslem, in Staffordshire, who brought about this change, was Josiah Wedgwood, whose ware combined the imitation of the most beautiful forms of ancient art with unequalled cheapness. England, by the discovery of a contemporary of Wedgwood, Mr. Cooksworthy, of Plymouth, was found to possess, in the Cornish clay, a material equal to that of the Sèvres and Dresden manufactories. His patent was transferred to the Staffordshire Potteries in 1777, and from that time we went steadily

forward to the attainment of our present excellence in the production of porcelain, upon a scale commensurate with the general spread of the comforts and refinements of society.

In that same year of 1763, a small model of Newcomen's engine, which required repair, was put into the charge of James Watt, Mathematical-Instrument Maker to the University of Glasgow. The imperfections of that invention, known as "the atmospheric engine," were evident to the ingenious quadrant-maker, and he long laboured unsuccessfully to discover how its defects could be remedied. The radical defect was, that three times as much heat as was necessary for the action of the machine was lost. The experimental philosopher was still working in the dark, when he discovered that water converted into steam would heat about six times its own weight of water at 47° or 48° to 212°. He mentioned this fact to Dr. Black, who then explained to him his doctrine of latent heat, with which Watt had been previously unacquainted. The great preparatory labour of thought was now to produce its results. In a solitary walk, Watt solved the great problem upon which he had been so long intent. The invention was complete in his mind, but to have a model constructed was a work of great difficulty. He had no capital to employ in engaging better workmen than the blacksmiths and tinmen of Glasgow. He struggled against these difficulties till he found a zealous and powerful ally in Dr. Roebuck. It was agreed that a patent should be taken out; and Watt repaired to London to accomplish this business. On his way thither, he had an interview at Birmingham, with Matthew Boulton, who desired to join in the speculation. Their partnership was unfortunately deferred till 1773, for Roebuck would not admit Boulton to a share of the patent, except upon terms to which the prosperous and ingenious proprietor of the works at Soho could not agree. Watt, meanwhile, had to maintain himself by the superintendence of several canals then in course of construction. At length Roebuck, who was engaged in many losing undertakings, agreed to sell his property in the patent to Boulton. It was ten years before the partners derived any profit from the discovery. They had to struggle, in the first instance, against the common prejudice which attaches to every new invention. They had to contend, in actions at law, against unscrupulous pirates. But Parliament, in 1775, had granted an extension of the patent, and the reward to the inventor and his admirable associate would come in time. But before that period, this crowning triumph of an enterprising age was blowing the iron furnaces of Dudley, and hammering steel at Sheffield. It was forging anchors and impelling block-machinery at Portsmouth. It had superseded Newcomen's machines in draining the Cornish tin and copper-mines. It had multiplied cotton-mills in the towns of Lancashire and Scotland. The rotatory steam-engine of Watt was first applied to the textile manufactures of Lancashire in 1787, when one was erected at Warrington. It had been applied in Nottinghamshire in 1785. In 1856, according to the Report of the Factory Commissioners, the steam-engines employed in 5000 factories represented 161,000 horse-power, giving motion to the astounding number of 33,000,000 spindles.

CHAPTER L.

THE intimate connection between the Fine Arts and those exercises of ndustry which have too exclusively been designated as the Useful Arts, has been distinctly recognised in our immediate times. This connection was perceived a century ago, when a society, now more flourishing than ever, founded by a drawing-master, proposed "to promote the arts, manufactures, and commerce of this kingdom, by giving honorary or pecuniary rewards as may be best adapted to the case, for the communication to the Society, and through the Society to the public, of all such useful inventions, discoveries, and improvements, as tend to that purpose."

We have seen that in the reign of George II. English Art was in a very low state. When his successor ascended the throne, it must have been evident to all but the most prejudiced, that an English school of painting was in process of formation. Reynolds was already the acknowledged leader in portraiture; Wilson was strenuously asserting English superiority in landscape painting; and Gainsborough was becoming known as a painter both of landscape and portrait. But what served most to give consistency to the labours of the artists, and to stimulate their efforts by bringing them distinctly before the public eye, was the foundation of the Royal Academy, with its great annual exhibition of works of art. The establishment of an academy of art had long been a cherished purpose with English artists. As early as 1711 a private academy for the study of art was instituted, and was succeeded by others of the same character, amongst which was the famous "Academy in St. Martin's Lane," to which many of the best artists of this period were indebted for no small portion of their skill in drawing. But these academies were rather schools for drawing, than institutions such as we are accustomed to associate with the title of academies of art. Several efforts had been made, however, to establish societies of this more ambitious order. Meanwhile the public interest in art was steadily gaining strength; and on the 21st of April, 1760, was opened in the room belonging to the Society of Arts, the first public exhibition in London of the works of living artists. The works exhibited were few in number, and the greater part of little worth; but the names of Reynolds and Wilson were among the painters; Roubiliac and Wilton among the sculptors; Woollett and Strange among the engravers, who contributed examples of their skill; and the public crowded in such numbers to the novel spectacle, that it was resolved to repeat the experiment next year on a larger scale. The "great room," Spring Gardens, was accordingly hired, and there, in May, 1761, was held the exhibition which was really the progenitor of that which is still held every returning May. The famous Nonsense Club originated a burlesque of this exhibition, to consist of "Original Paintings, Busts, Carved Figures, &c., by the Society of Sign-painters." The Society was, of course, a myth, although sign-painting, at that time, was by no means a contemptible branch of art, and commissions for signs were given to painters of established reputation.

The members of the Spring Gardens Society obtained a charter of incorporation, and the exhibitions went on with increasing success. But differences occurred. Sixteen of the directors were ejected, and the other eight shortly after resigned. They were all men of position and influence, and they felt that they were strong enough to establish a new academy. A draft of a constitution and laws was drawn up by Mr. (afterwards sir William) Chambers, with the assistance of West, Moser, and Cotes, and submitted to the king, who, entering with great zeal into the project, directed that the new institution should be called the Royal Academy, and placed under his immediate protection and patronage. The Society was to consist of "forty academicians chosen from among the most able and respectable artists resident in Great Britain;" twenty associates, from whom future academicians were to be selected; and six associate engravers. Reynolds held aloof from all the preliminary proceedings, and it was not until he was apprised that it was the wish of the king that he should be its first president, and that it was his majesty's intention on his installation into that office to confer upon him the honour of knighthood, that he consented to join the new society. The foundation of the Royal Academy dates from the 10th of December, 1768; its first exhibition was held at the auction room in Pall Mall, in 1769. Of the thirty-three members, whose names are inserted in the first catalogue, eight or nine are foreigners; two are ladies; some are only known as designers and engravers; some were coach and sign-painters. Only seventeen non-members contributed. As soon as Somerset House, erected on the site of one of the royal palaces, was completed, the Royal Academy removed to a suite of rooms which the king had caused to be constructed in the new building expressly for their use, and there the annual exhibitions continued to be held till the Academy was removed to the National Gallery. From the first Exhibition in Somerset House, the Royal Academy stood alone as the visible exponent of British Art, and it has continued in an unbroken career of prosperity down to the present hour—unchanged in its constitution, and without increase in its members, though everything around it has changed, and the number of professional artists has increased fifty-fold since its foundation.

Among the founders of the Royal Academy were indeed men of no common order; and the glory which they shed around it must have done much to ensure its firm establishment. Reynolds, with whom the early years of the Academy are most intimately associated, was a painter who at once raised English portraiture from sheer mindless mimicry to a level with that of the noblest days of art. Gainsborough, if he could not attain the elevation of some of Reynolds's portraits, could more than equal Reynolds in depicting the lighter phases of female beauty. He was, moreover, the first painter of the poetry of homely English scenery, and in his own way he has found no compeer and no successor. But if it be to Gainsborough that we can trace the love of simple unsophisticated English scenery, truth and freshness of colour, and directness of imitation, which have ever since characterised English landscape-painting, it is to Wilson that we are indebted for its preservation in its early stages from vulgarity and commonplace. The other painter, whose name is most closely associated with

these three in the early days of English art, who succeeded Reynolds as President of the Royal Academy, and who must, we fear, be regarded as the founder of English historical painting, was Benjamin West. A native of Pennsylvania, he came to London at the age of five-and-twenty, and was introduced to George III., who at once took the young American into his favour. West received an unlimited commission, and as long as the king retained his faculties, West was duly paid his salary of 1000*l.* a year. The royal patronage would alone have insured the painter success, but the same qualities which delighted the king, delighted a large section of his subjects also; and it was the popular belief that England possessed in West another Raffaelle. That belief has long passed away, and the reaction has been severe. West painted some pictures, however, which ought to save him from oblivion, and he had the merit of being the first who dispensed with that conventional "drapery" which painters were accustomed to substitute for the dress of any particular age or country.

It had now become a favourite project to adorn our churches and public buildings with paintings, after the fashion of those of the continent. It was decided to make the experiment on St. Paul's. The king and the archbishop of Canterbury gave their cordial adhesion to the proposal; but the bishop of London, whose veto was decisive, sternly refused his sanction, and the whole scheme fell to the ground. The Society of Arts then invited the six painters designated by the Royal Academy to execute the paintings in St. Paul's, with four others, to paint around their great room ten large pictures from English history. The painters declined, but Barry proffered to cover the entire room himself with a series of large allegorical paintings illustrative of Human Culture. The Society accepted his offer, and though he had but sixteen shillings in his pocket, he commenced his mighty task, working at odd jobs for the booksellers by night to procure the sustenance necessary to carry on the work of the day. After labouring almost without intermission for nearly seven years, he brought his undertaking to a close. Happily for his own peace of mind, Barry himself never discovered that he missed his aim. Few more efforts were made to achieve success in mural painting. There were many other painters of that day worthy of record. Romney, who for a while divided the town with Reynolds; Fuseli, who imported into England the wildest extravagances of Germany; Paul Sandby, by many regarded as the father of that essentially English art, water-colour painting; Wright of Derby, and many another; to say nothing of those who succeeded them, and handed down the practice and the traditions of their elders to the painters of our own day.

Sir Robert Strange and William Woollett did for English line engraving all that Reynolds and his associates accomplished for painting. Several other English line engravers, of very considerable skill, flourished during the same period, of whom it will be enough to name Major, who wrote himself engraver to the king; Basire, Byrne, Rooker, the able but unhappy Ryland, and the best of all our portrait engravers William Sharp, who together created a school of line engravers which, though not always adequately patronized, has continued with unabated powers to the present day. In mezzotint engraving—a branch of engraving in which

England has always maintained the lead—the first practitioner was James MacArdell. With him, or immediately succeeding him, practised Fisher, Valentine Green, Raphael Smith, W. Dickinson, Earlom, and the Watsons, James, Thomas, and Caroline; whilst Paul Sandby showed the capabilities of the infant art of aquatinta engraving. Along with the admirable native engravers, several distinguished foreigners found ample employment. English engravings had become an important branch of commerce. If we may credit a statement made in the House of Lords by lord Suffolk, "the revenue coming into this country from this source at one time exceeded 200,000*l.* per annum." The principal agent in promoting this traffic, was Boydell, who was able to assert that he had laid out "above 350,000*l.* in promoting the fine arts in this country." On the plates issued by him he employed engravers of the highest standing; and he set the example of publishing illustrated books of a more splendid character than had previously been issued by any English publisher. Boydell's success stimulated other publishers, and some of them produced works scarcely less important than his own.

In the early years of the reign of George III. there was only one English sculptor of any reputation, Joseph Wilton, and his celebrity arose rather from the paucity of competition than from his own ability. Banks, some thirteen years the junior of Wilton, was our first great English sculptor. John Bacon was a more popular, and in a pecuniary point of view far more successful sculptor than Banks; but in all the higher qualities of his art greatly his inferior. Later in date than the sculptors just noticed, came one greater than either. Had his powers of execution been equal to his conception, John Flaxman would have been one of the very greatest sculptors of modern times. His was a fancy which could soar into the highest heaven of invention, yet stoop without discredit to the humblest task-work. Along with our three famous countrymen, lived and laboured a Dutchman, Joseph Nollekens, if not more famous than they, far more the favourite of fortune.

Sir Robert Taylor was the leading architect when George III. ascended the throne. He was a man of taste and industry, but not of much original power. Contemporary with Taylor was Dance, the architect of the Mansion House and of Newgate. The Woods (father and son), of Bath, and the brothers Adam, of Edinburgh and London, call for honourable notice for their efforts to raise the character of our street architecture. But the greatest architect of the time was sir William Chambers, whose fame now rests secure on his one grand work, Somerset House, which, though never completed on the original plan, was the last crowning triumph of the Italian style, introduced by Inigo Jones, and carried on with very unequal success by succeeding architects. The investigations of two painters, James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, as made known in the "Antiquities of Athens," effected an entire change in the received notions of architectural beauty. From that time there was a constantly growing approximation to Greek forms, however much the Greek spirit might be absent, until in our own day it culminated in the works of sir Robert Smirke, and was followed by the inevitable reaction. James Wyatt suddenly became famous by the erection of the Pantheon, Oxford-street (1772),

and during the rest of the century secured a large share of public favour. His ambition in the first instance was to produce an Italianised Greek style; but later he unhappily turned his attention to Gothic, and to him is due the destruction of much, and the disfigurement of more, of the most precious of our mediæval remains. To Labelye, a Swiss, Richard Mylne, and John Gwyn, we owe some bridges of great value and beauty, though unfortunately in the chief instances deficient in the essential quality of stability.

On a rainy day, somewhere about the year 1780, a man of advanced age stood bareheaded in the market of Uttoxeter, making strange contortions of visage whilst he remained for an hour in front of a particular stall. It was Dr. Samuel Johnson, who had gone from Lichfield to this small market town, to subject himself to the penance of rough weather and mocking by-standers, for expiation of an act of filial disobedience which he had committed fifty years before. His father, a bookseller at Lichfield, being on a sick-bed, had requested his son Samuel to attend the book-stall at Uttoxeter. "My pride prevented me from doing my duty, and I gave my father a refusal," said the literary veteran, who is the chief connecting link between the Literature of two periods which appear, at the first glance, to be very widely separated. In many respects Johnson may be regarded as the Representative Man of the Literature of half a century —the Magazine-writer, the Essayist, the Critic, the Poet, the Philologist— the chapman, with many articles of use or ornament in a crowded market.

It is not uncommen to hear the reign of George II. spoken of as an age of dullness. Except by looking accurately at bibliographical dates, we can scarcely form a notion of the literary vigour that was displayed in the last twenty years of that reign. The English poetical succession was honourably continued through the reigns of the foreigners who had succeeded to the throne of the Stuarts; and was handed on to that of their successor, "born and bred a Briton." A new species of literature, that may almost be considered indigenous, is the marked characteristic of the period we are now regarding. In 1740 Samuel Richardson published the first part of his novel of "Pamela." The second part was issued the next year. "Clarissa" followed in 1748; and "Sir Charles Grandison" in 1751. Before the first of these novels appeared, we had translations of French romances, and imitations of French romances, but, with the exception of Defoe, we had no novelist who attempted to invest the ordinary concerns of the life of unheroic men and women with the charm of reality. It was reserved for Richardson to carry on a story with such an implicit reliance upon his power of exciting sympathy without "the improbable and marvellous," that the educated and the uneducated have confided in his fictions as absolute truths. In 1742, Henry Fielding published "The Adventures of Joseph Andrews," intended as a burlesque of Richardson. Gray says: "The incidents are ill-laid and without invention; but the characters have a great deal of nature, which always pleases, even in her lowest shapes. . . . . Throughout he shows himself well read in stage-coaches, country squires, inns, and inns of court." Johnson, who always professed contempt for Fielding in proportion as he admired Richardson, maintained that Fielding's characters were

characters of manners, whilst Richardson's were characters of nature. Before the appearance of Fielding's greatest work, "Tom Jones," in 1749, another novelist, Smollett, came upon the field, with equal readiness of observation, but with a coarser power of delineating what he saw. Another of equal genius—at his outset equally popular—came in the last year of George II. This was Sterne, of whose "Tristram Shandy" Johnson said, with some truth, "Nothing odd will do long." Tristram Shandy did not last. One whose hold upon readers of every class has never been loosened, appeared as a novelist in 1766. Oliver Goldsmith produced, in his "Vicar of Wakefield," a picture of English life which puts us in far better humour with his time than the freer delineations of either of the great masters of fiction who had preceded him.

In the decade immediately preceding the accession of George III., there was something like a revival of that species of literature which Addison and Steele had naturalized amongst us. The period had also its exponent during thirty years in Samuel Foote's caricatures of vice and folly. The literature of the first quarter of a century of the reign of George III. presents us with much indifferent poetry, but some that has survived. For graver literature, this portion of the reign of George III. acquired a lasting distinction. It gave us Burke as the greatest of political philosophers; Adam Smith as an economist; and Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon as historians. More important as a painter of manners even than the Novelists, the Dramatists, or the Essayists, that age bequeathed us Horace Walpole.

This was the transition period from an age in which the decencies of life were very imperfectly observed, to an age in which decorum was beginning to assert an authority which has steadily gone on, to preserve a greater semblance of morality, and therefore, in no inconsiderable degree, to hold fast its substance. A few years after the beginning of the present century, there was to be seen in Piccadilly, on every sunny day, an emaciated old man sitting in a balcony, holding a parasol. As Dr. Johnson was the link between the varying literature of two periods, this old man, the duke of Queensberry, was the link between the changed profligacy of two generations. He had flourished as the earl of March and a lord of the bedchamber in the times when to violate every decency of life was to establish a claim to wit and spirit; and he had lived on, into an age of comparative decorum, which to him was an age of insipidity. Time has removed the veil that hid the Club-life of Queensberry and his set from the gaze of contemporaries. We are now permitted to see the fine gentlemen of the days of Chatham and lord North pursuing their vocation of gambling with the assiduous perseverance of the most money-getting tradesmen. If they were ruined there were two resources against starvation—a place, or a wife. Common men passed away from the gambling clubs, whether to insolvency, or suicide, or death in a duel. There is no scenic representation of the horrors of gambling so truly pathetic as the history of Charles Fox, nor one which conveys more fearful warnings. The precocious son of lord Holland was furnished, by the overweening fondness of his father, with guineas to stake at the gaming-table at Spa, when he was a boy of fifteen. Lord Brougham says: "The dissipated habits of the time drew him, before the age of manhood, into the whirlpool of fashionable excess." This excess,

at that period of his life when his transcendant powers had placed him in the first rank as a party leader, materially diminished the confidence which the nation would otherwise have reposed in him, and not unjustly rendered him obnoxious to his sovereign. Lord Carlisle says of Fox, "I do think it does Charles, or ought to do, great credit, that under all his distresses he never thinks of accepting a place on terms that are in the least degree disreputable." What might Fox not have been, great as he was, had he possessed the firmness of Wilberforce, founded upon a juster sense of honour than Fox possessed. When Wilberforce came up to London, young and rich, in 1780, he belonged to five clubs. At first he joined in play, but being persuaded to keep the bank at a Faro table of one of the clubs, "As the game grew deep," says his son, "he rose the winner of six hundred pounds. Much of this was lost by those who were only heirs to future fortunes, and could not therefore meet such a call without inconvenience. The pain he felt at their annoyance cured him of a taste which seemed but too likely to become predominant." Pitt once displayed intense earnestness in games of chance, but he suddenly abandoned gambling for ever. Cowper holds that it is "in vain to look for conversation, where we might expect to find it in the greatest perfection, among persons of fashion: there it is almost annihilated by universal card-playing; insomuch that I have heard it given as a reason why it is impossible for our present writers to succeed in the dialogue of genteel comedy, that our people of quality scarce ever meet but to game."

Bath was the resort of all the sharpers and dupes in the land, when the London season was over. This city, early in the reign of Anne, had begun to be frequented by people of fashion. A dictator arose in the person of Mr. Richard Nash, who was elected Master of the Ceremonies, and presided over the company who assembled in a booth to dance and game. Every game of chance was here played without restraint, and Nash had his full share of the spoil of the unwary. All went merrily till a cruel legislature passed an Act to declare Basset and Hazard and all other games of chance illegal. The statute was evaded; and an amended law was next year passed, to declare all games with one die or more, or with any instrument with numbers thereon, to be illicit. An instrument with letters thereon would be as effectual, and a game called E. O. was invented, and first set up at Tunbridge, where King Nash had a colony. Nash brought the game to Bath, to be carried on snugly in private houses, until another statute effectually put down all gaming-houses, and gaming-tables, as far as law could accomplish their suppression. There was no resource for the persecuted people of quality but in private clubs.

From the monotonous gambling of the fashionables of St. James's-street, it is almost pleasant to turn to the rougher amusements of the Country House. There was a considerable change in provincial manners during the last half of the reign of George III. But even in 1761, a writer in a periodical work called "The Genius," attributes to "the intercourse between the town and the country, of late so much more frequent," a great improvement in the "behaviour of the ladies and gentlemen of the country." The class represented by Fielding's Allworthy—benevolent, placable, not learned, but a competent judge of literature, improved by much

conversation with men of eminence—was rapidly superseding that class of whom Squire Western was the type—coarse, passionate, violent in his politics, a roaring drinking fox-hunter.

In the immediate vicinity of the Country Squire was the Country Parson. The permanent resident in the parish was almost invariably the Curate. The incumbent was a pluralist, who passed much of his time in London, or Bath, or Tunbridge, or in the nobleman's establishment as chaplain. From the Revolution to the Rebellion of 1745, the orthodox clergyman had a decided tendency to Jacobitism. After that period he gradually became less earnest in politics, and resolutely applied himself to uphold government and oppose innovation. He had his own peculiar business in life to perform, which was chiefly to make himself as comfortable as possible. Dr. Knox, the head-master of Tunbridge school, says, "The public have long remarked with indignation, that some of the most distinguished coxcombs, drunkards, debauchees, and gamesters who figure at the watering-places, and all public places of resort, are young men of the sacerdotal order." Arthur Young writes of the French clergy, that they "preserved, what is not always preserved in England, an exterior decency of behaviour. One did not find among them poachers or fox-hunters, who, having spent the morning in scampering after hounds, dedicate the evening to the bottle, and reel from inebriety to the pulpit." The apathy of the Clergy at this period was as injurious as their indecorum. Their eloquence was of the tamest character. Goldsmith has hit upon the true cause of this. "Men of real sense and understanding prefer a prudent mediocrity to a precarious popularity; and fearing to out-do their duty, leave it half done." The fear of being called Methodists was one of the causes that made too many of the clergy careless in their lives and indifferent in their vocation. The observant Frenchman to whom we have several times referred, M. Grosley, says, of "the sect of the Methodists,"—"this establishment has borne all the persecutions that it could possibly apprehend in a country as much disposed to persecution as England is the reverse." The light literature of forty years overflows with ridicule of Methodism. The preachers were pelted by the mob; the converts were held up to execration as fanatics or hypocrites. Yet Methodism held the ground it had gained. It had gone forth to utter the words of truth to men little above the beasts that perish, and it had brought them to regard themselves as akin to humanity. The time would come when its earnestness would awaken the Church itself from its somnolency, and the educated classes would not be ashamed to be religious. There was wild enthusiasm enough in some of the followers of Whitefield and Wesley; but these earnest men left a mark upon their time which can never be effaced. The characters of Whitefield and Wesley were in some respects very different. Whitefield was satisfied with rousing the sinful and the indifferent by his own fervid eloquence, without providing for the systematic continuance of his personal efforts. Wesley, on the other hand instituted and perfected by his incessant labours that remarkable organization known as Wesleyism. The exertions of these two men, each pursuing tracks not essentially diverging, however separate, had produced effects in half a century of which their opponents could have formed no adequate estimate.

Cowper has traced to its source the "deep mischief" in the priesthood of his time. "The sage, called Discipline," had ceased to be reverenced in "colleges and halls." The examination for the Bachelor's degree was the most absurd form, "in which the greatest dunce usually gets his *testimonium* signed with as much ease and credit as the finest genius." "The examiners and the candidates often converse on the last drinking bout, or read the newspaper, or a novel, or divert themselves as well as they can in any manner, till the clock strikes eleven, when all parties descend, and the *testimonium* is signed by the masters." For the degree of Master-of-Arts, "after again taking oaths by wholesale, and paying the fees," the academic issues into the world with an "undeniable passport to carry him through it with credit."* Wilberforce tells us his experience of Cambridge: "I was introduced, on the very first night of my arrival, to as licentious a set of men as can well be conceived. They drank hard, and their conversation was even worse than their lives." He got into better society; he lived much among the Fellows of the College. "But those," he complains, "with whom I was intimate, did not act towards me the part of Christians, or even of honest men. Their object seemed to be, to make and keep me idle." Wilberforce was one of the few who could "escape contagion, and emerge pure from so foul a pool."

It would be absurd to imagine that the professional class, and the trading class, were untainted amidst the corruptions of the time. The Medical Profession was distracted by jealousies and rivalries between its different ranks, and between individuals of the same rank. Quackery was keeping pace with the progress of luxury. The Law was necessarily open to the ridicule which properly attached to the inflated harangues and absurd technicalities of the Courts. Litigation was encouraged by the multiplication of statutes, and by the general ignorance even of the educated of the laws and constitution of their own country. The members of the Mercantile Class were, in London especially, accumulating wealth and losing respectability. The citizen of the beginning of the century had become a hybrid of fashion before its close. After George III. had been ten years on the throne the traders began to desert the city. The capacious mansion in the narrow street was given up for the inconvenient house in the new-built square. Of the lower orders in London, M. Grosley says that the porters, sailors, chairmen, and day-labourers who work in the street, "are as insolent a rabble as can be met with in countries without law or police." Their rudeness to foreigners he especially dwells upon; but he admits that the obliging readiness of the citizens and shopkeepers sufficiently consoles the foreigner for the insolence of the mob. Nevertheless, he affirms that "even amongst those of the lowest rank, the people of London, though haughty and ungovernable, are in themselves good-natured and humane." A singular state of manners is presented in the following record in the Annual Register, of a scene which took place on the 11th of May, 1764. "A great disturbance was created at Ranelagh-house, by the coachmen, footmen, &c., belonging to such of the nobility and gentry as will not suffer their servants to take vails. They began by hissing their masters;

* Knox.

they then broke all the lamps and outside windows with stones; and afterwards, putting out their flambeaux, pelted the company in a most audacious manner with brickbats, whereby several were greatly hurt, so as to render the use of swords necessary." The Police of London in the last ten years of George II., and through the remaining years of the century, was a system that combined the hateful and the ridiculous. The watchmen who guarded the town during the night were "old men chosen from the dregs of the people, who have no other arms but a lanthorn and a pole."* The police-officer of that day was called a "thief-taker,"—he was in no sense of the word a detective or a preventive functionary. He knew the thieves, and the thieves knew him. When he was sure of a capital conviction, he took his man, and obtained forty pounds "blood-money." The horrible state of the Prisons in 1738 has been already shown. The dominion of cruelty, neglect, and extortion had been little diminished at the accession of George III. In 1773, John Howard, in his capacity of High Sheriff of Bedfordshire, had his eyes opened to the disgraceful condition of the prisons of England, and the enormities committed in them. He personally inspected nearly every one of these abodes of vice, and, in 1777, he published his book "On Prisons." He awakened public attention to the evil; and the Legislature adopted some measures for its remedy—mere palliatives, however. The system of the Hulks was commenced in 1776. In nineteen years 7999 convicts were ordered to be punished with hard labour on the Thames, and in Langston and Portsmouth harbours. It was something to have given fewer victims to the devouring maw of the gallows; but it was more than ten years before these offerings to Moloch had been diminished. But the Hulks utterly failed in producing the reformation of offenders. The system of transportation to New South Wales commenced in 1787.

It was not always that energy such as that of Howard could be found in companionship with his practical sense. Thomas Coram, the master of a merchant vessel, had seen in the neighbourhood of Rotherhithe infants exposed in the streets—left to perish by their unnatural mothers. In 1739, he obtained a charter for a Foundling Hospital. This institution had originally very inadequate means, compared with the number of children deposited at the gate. In 1756, the governors obtained a parliamentary grant of 10,000*l.*, and during the subsequent fifteen years had received more than half a million of the public money, to distribute in a manner calculated to produce far greater evils than those which they sought to remedy. In four years from 1756, children to the number of 14,934 were taken under the management of this institution, of which only 4400 lived to be apprenticed. Parliament then interfered, and declared "that the indiscriminate admission of all children under a certain age into the hospital had been attended with many evil consequences, and that it be discontinued." The charity had offered a large premium for vice. Another philanthropist, Jonas Hanway, towards the close of the reign of George II., established two societies, which were incorporated in the subsequent reign. The one was "The Magdalen Asylum,"—the other "the Marine

* Grosley.

Society." At this period hospitals for the reception of the sick and the maimed were freely supported by voluntary contributions. But no benefit to society was greater than that produced by the partial extension of education to the humblest classes of the community. Robert Raikes, the proprietor of the "Gloucester Journal," was struck by the degraded state of the children in the suburbs of his city. He procured a few women to teach some to read on the Sunday; he persuaded them to go to church with clean hands and face and combed hair; he gave them Testaments. Their self-respect was raised; from outcasts they became capable of honest industry. The good example was rapidly followed; and Sunday Schools were established all over the kingdom, after the successful experiment of 1781.

In the days of our early novelists the stage-coach was an institution, and on some roads had arrived at the dignity of being called a "Machine." But this rapid vehicle of four miles an hour was not for common travellers, who were content with the cheaper accommodation of the waggon, which only cost a shilling a-day to a traveller, and in conveying him from York to London did not occupy quite a fortnight. The highwayman was an institution especially connected with the stage-coach. He had been growing into a power for many years. He was in his most high and palmy state when Fielding had ceased to write, and George III. began to reign. In 1761, "the Flying Highwayman engrosses the conversation of most of the towns within twenty miles of London. . . . . He robs upon three different horses, a gray, a sorrel, and a black one. . . . . He has leaped over Colnbrook turnpike a dozen times within this fortnight."* The coach travelling four miles an hour was, in twenty or thirty years, to pass into a vehicle whose rapidity was somewhat dangerous upon roads very unscientifically made. The increased speed of the stage operated no reform in the conveyance of letters by the post. The letter-bags were carried by boys on horseback. If a bag reached its destination in safety, without being rifled, it was more by a happy chance than by any care of the post-office authorities for the prevention of robbery. The post that left London on Monday night reached Worcester, Birmingham, Norwich, Bath, on the Wednesday afternoon. The manager of the Bath theatre proposed a plan for bringing the letter-bags from Bath to London in sixteen or eighteen hours. Mr. Pitt took the project under his care; and in 1784 the first mail-coach left London. There was an end of the robberies of the mail. The letters went safely, and they went at twice or thrice their former speed.

We now rarely find the "Head Inn" of Crabbe's time—of the time when the world travelled in carriages with post-horses; when the ready chaise and smart driver were to be had in five minutes; when the ample yard contained "buildings where order and distinction reign;" when the lordly host bent in his pride to the parting guest; when the lady hostess governed the bar and schooled the kitchen. The hostelries of Fielding and Smollett, more than half a century before Crabbe, are quite obsolete. But there is nothing obsolete in Smollett's description of the little public-

* "Annual Register."

house on the side of the highway, where "The kitchen was the only room for entertainment in the house, paved with red bricks, remarkably clean, furnished with three or four Windsor chairs, adorned with shining plates of pewter and copper saucepans, nicely scoured, that even dazzled the eyes of the beholder." Johnson maintained that "a tavern-chair was the throne of human felicity." The tavern life of Dr. Johnson is as familiar to us as his rusty wig. There were infinite diversities in the Public Refreshment life of London at that period. There was the dinner for threepence half-penny with "hackney-coachmen, chairmen, draymen, and a few foot-men out of place, or on board wages." * There was the "Ordinary," such as Goldsmith frequented, which had more success in the suburbs than in London, where the chop-houses were more popular. The coffee-houses, although frequented by peculiar classes, were open to all men. The fashionable coffee-houses were gradually transformed into exclusive clubs.

Fielding says, "though Ranelagh and Vauxhall, by reason of their price, are not entirely appropriated to the people of fashion, yet they are seldom frequented by any below the middle rank." Ranelagh was opened in 1742: "The prince, princess, duke, and much nobility, and much mob besides, were there," according to Walpole. In two years Ranelagh had "totally beat Vauxhall." The dazzling illumination of the building; the music; the cheap refreshments (half-a-crown entrance included tea, coffee, or punch); the opportunity of looking upon lords with stars and ladies with hoops,—these attractions drew a motley group to Ranelagh, who were either genteel or affected gentility. In 1772, the Pantheon was opened—"a new winter Ranelagh in Oxford Road."

The Stage, at this period, looking to what it had been, may be regarded as, comparatively, a school of purity. Blemishes, of course, there were. But there was no systematic endeavour to make licentiousness the foundation and corner-stone of wit. The Theatre, under the management of Garrick, directed, however imperfectly, the course of public taste. He did, what Betterton had done before him, he gave Shakspere an extended popularity by his wonderful power as an actor. He did also what Tate had done before him. He mangled Shakspere. And he patched the mammock'd plays with tawdry rags, in the "design to adapt them to the present taste of the public." But Garrick unquestionably made the people understand the true and the natural in dramatic art, as opposed to the pomposity and the exaggeration of the actors whom he supplanted.

* "Roderick Random."

CHAPTER LI.

PREVIOUS to the appointment of Hastings, in 1773, as the first Governor-General of India, he had, in his capacity of Governor of Bengal, struck out a line of policy, in which we alternately admire his sagacity, and blush, as his countrymen, for his unscrupulousness. He freed the country from bands of robbers, by appointing local officers to maintain authority. He secured the administration of justice, by instituting local courts of law. Not being able to meet, by just means, the unceasing demands of the Directors of the East India Company for lacs of rupees, he did not wait for direct orders to commit injustice, but secured his own tenure of power by violating the pecuniary engagements which Clive had made. When Clive put an end to the war amongst the native princes, giving the greater part of Oude to the Vizier Sujah Dowlah, he reserved the districts of Corah and Allahabad for the Mogul, Shah Alum, and agreed to pay the fallen potentate twenty-six lacs of rupees annually. In 1773, the Mogul had become dependent upon the Mahrattas, and had been compelled to sign an edict to transfer to them Corah and Allahabad. Hastings promptly occupied those districts with English troops; and resolved to pay no more tribute to the shadow of the sovereignty of Hindustan. The districts which were taken from Shah Alum were sold to Sujah Dowlah, the Vizier of Oude, for half a million sterling. Hastings concluded another bargain with the Vizier, which brought more gold into the treasury of Leadenhall Street. It was agreed that an English army should be hired by Sujah Dowlah to effect the subjugation of the Rohillas—a race of Afghans, who were amongst the bravest and the most civilised of the various populations of Hindustan. The Rohilla country was invaded, and the English gained a victory. The forces of Oude looked on; and then applied themselves to devastate the fertile plains of Rohilcund, and to extirpate, as far as possible, the peaceful and industrious inhabitants.

In October, 1774, three new members of the Council, and the judges of the Supreme Court, appointed under the Regulating Act of 1773, arrived at Calcutta. The three new members of the Council, general Clavering, colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, appear to have entered upon their duties with a concerted determination to oppose the measures of Hastings, and of the other old servant of the Company, Mr. Barwell. Without a day's delay they testified their abhorrence of the Rohilla war, by recalling the English troops. Sujah Dowlah having died, and his son having succeeded him as Vizier, they maintained that the treaties with Oude were at an end upon the father's death. The natives saw, or believed they saw, that the power of Hastings was gone. Charges of corruption were made against him by his enemies, whether natives or Englishmen. An old enemy of Hastings was a Hindoo Brahmin, the Maharajah Nuncomar. The crafty Hindoo put into the hands of Francis a series of charges against Hastings, in which he was accused of setting offices to sale, and of receiving bribes to permit the escape of offenders. Francis brought the papers

before the Council. Hastings instituted proceedings against the old Hindoo, and against others, upon a charge of conspiracy. But the fate of Nuncomar was decided upon a very different accusation. He was imprisoned at the suit of a native merchant, charged with having forged a bond five years before this period; for which alleged offence he had been brought to trial in the mayor's court at Calcutta, and had been dismissed on the interposition of Hastings. The Supreme Court had to take cognizance of such cases of lapsed justice. The new Chief Justice of that court, sir Elijah Impey, was a personal friend of the Governor-General. Nuncomar was tried by a jury of Englishmen, and was found guilty. He was sentenced to be hanged, although in Hindustan the crime of forgery, regarded as very venial, had never been dealt with capitally. The power of reprieve which the Supreme Court possessed was not exercised. The Council had no power to interfere, although the majority remonstrated in the strongest terms against the entire proceedings. The old Brahmin was carried in his palanquin to the common gallows, and he died with the most perfect composure. The punishment of Nuncomar put an end to all troubles and accusations against Hastings by native informers.

The public quarrels and the private immoralities of Hastings and Francis occupy, for several years, the general narratives of Indian affairs. The Council of Calcutta, and its Supreme Court of Justice, were as discordant an administrative body as ever precipitated an empire into ruin. The same course of unworthy and dangerous rivalries prevailed in the subordinate Council of Madras. Lord North, strongly disapproving the Rohilla war, was bent upon the recall of Hastings. But the Governor-General could not be removed during the first five years of his administration, except by an address to the Crown by the Court of East India Proprietors. When the five years expired, just at the commencement of the French war, lord North, not thinking that a fit time to make an alteration in the constitution of our government in India, re-appointed Hastings.

In 1777, a French agent had been negotiating with the Peshwa of the Mahrattas, and an alliance dangerous to the British interests was likely to be formed. When, in the spring of 1778, war between England and France was inevitable, Hastings, in spite of the opposition of two of the Council, sent an army to the Peshwa's country, with injunctions to forward the claims of Ragoba, a pretender to the dignity of Peshwa. In a few weeks arrived the intelligence of hostilities with France. The French settlement of Chandernagore was immediately captured; Pondicherry was invested, and was surrendered after some resistance; and the Mahratta expedition was persevered in. Its results were very unfortunate, necessitating a convention, by which it was agreed that the Mahrattas should recover what the British had gained from them since 1756. Hastings persevered; and other expeditions were more successful. The government at home, on the first outbreak of the war with France, had sent sir Eyre Coote to be the commander of the forces in India, with a seat in the Council. There had been a partial reconciliation in that body between the discordant parties of Hastings and Francis. But the animosities were

only smothered. A duel was fought between the two rivals, in which Francis was shot; and upon his recovery he resigned his office, and returned to England. Hastings and Impey were now bitter opponents.

The Council of Madras had given especial offence to Hyder Ali, the sovereign of the great kingdom of the Mysore. His rival in the Carnatic, the nabob of Arcot, was surrounded by English, who were his creditors, and who are accused of having carried on a continued plot in the divan for the destruction of Hyder Ali. The two principal Hindoo powers—the Peshwa, and the rajah of Berar—and the two principal Mohammedan powers—Hyder Ali and the nizam of the Deccan—renouncing all former enmities against each other, now united in a common confederacy against the English. In 1780 Hyder Ali assembled an army computed to consist of ninety thousand men. These forces had been partly disciplined by French officers. "Whilst the authors of all these evils were idly and stupidly gazing on this menacing meteor, which blackened all their horizon, it suddenly burst, and poured down the whole of its contents on the plains of the Carnatic. Then ensued a scene of woe, the like of which no eye had seen, no heart conceived, and which no tongue can adequately tell. All the horrors of war before known or heard of were mercy to that new havock." * The terrified inhabitants of Madras could trace the progress of the ruthless invader as columns of smoke rose from the burning villages. A force of three thousand men, under colonel Baillie, had been cut to pieces by Hyder. Sir Hector Munro, with five thousand men, retreated towards Mount St. Thomas. Hastings at once abandoned the Mahratta war, and proposed that a treaty of peace and alliance should be concluded. Sir Eyre Coote proceeded with every man that could be shipped from Bengal, to take the command at Madras. On the 1st of July, the English commander, having only a force of nine thousand men to oppose to Hyder's enormous army, brought him to action at Porto Nono, and obtained a signal victory. Another battle, on the 27th of August, was not so decisive. Peace was not concluded with the Mahrattas till early in 1782; and the continued war with Mysore and with Poonah involved so great a cost, that Hastings had to look to extraordinary resources to enable him to carry on the struggle.

The rajah of Benares, Cheyte Sing, had become a tributary to the English, the nabob of Oude having surrendered his rights to them in 1774. Cheyte Sing had regularly transmitted to Calcutta his tribute of a settled sum. Hastings demanded extraordinary aid from the Hindoo prince; and at the beginning of the Mahratta war, evidently determined by excessive demands to drive the unhappy rajah into resistance, which would have ended in the confiscation of his possessions. To accomplish his purpose, the Governor-General proceeded to Benares; required a contribution of half a million sterling; and, although the rajah expressed the most abject devotion, placed him under arrest. The rajah was popular, and the religious and national feelings of the Hindoo population were roused by this outrage upon their native prince. The sepoys who had been appointed to arrest and guard Cheyte Sing were butchered; and the

* Burke—"Speech on the Nabob of Arcot's debts."

prince escaped from his palace-prison. Hastings had to barricade the house in which he had taken up his residence; and, finally, to leave the city by night, with a small band, amidst the hootings of the populace. The rajah at first made offers of submission, to which Hastings did not vouchsafe a reply; but Cheyte Sing, having been followed by a formidable body of insurgents, was able to make a stand with forty thousand undisciplined men. Popham, the victor of Gwalior, was ready to attack the rajah, who was utterly routed, driven from his states, and finally deposed. Hastings had another booty in view. Asaph ul Dowlah, the nabob and vizier of Oude, had obtained from the British government a brigade to defend him against the aggressions of his neighbours. Hastings required heavy payment for his military aid. The nabob wanted money himself. The grandmother and mother of Asaph ul Dowlah, called the begums of Oude, were reputed to be possessed of enormous treasure, which they kept in their palace of Fyzabad. The nabob and the Governor-General met in the fortress of Chunar; and there it was consented to by Asaph ul Dowlah that the begums should be stripped of the domains which they retained by his father's bequest and his own grants, and that their treasure should go to the English in liquidation of the arrears which Hastings demanded. The weak prince afterwards relented, but Hastings sent the most peremptory orders to the English resident at Lucknow to carry out the treaty, even if force were necessary. The gates of the palace of Fyzabad were forced by the Company's troops. The begums would not part with their treasure, though imprisoned, and dreading personal violence. The two eunuchs who presided over the household of Sujah ul Dowlah's widow were put in irons; they were half-starved; they were ordered to be debarred from all food till they yielded. The old men agreed to produce the sum that was then required. But the whole demand was not satisfied. They were removed to Lucknow, and were imprisoned till, after months of terror, the begums had surrendered twelve hundred thousand pounds; and Hastings was content. With the treasures which he extorted from rajahs and begums, he carried on the war in the Carnatic till the death of Hyder Ali in 1782; and finally concluded an honourable peace with Hyder's son and successor, Tippoo, in 1783. His administration ceased in the spring of 1785; and from 1788 to 1795, his trial attracted eager crowds to Westminster Hall, to listen to the greatest masters of oratory of that age—inferior probably to none of any age.

The Coalition of the party headed by lord North, and of the party headed by Mr. Fox, was odious to all men not bound by the trammels of party; and it was not without difficulty that the coalesced chiefs could induce the king to admit them to power. After a considerable delay, the duke of Portland became First Lord of the Treasury, and Fox and North were appointed Secretaries of State. The ministry were strong in their majorities. Pitt vainly opposed the conditions of the loan which they had raised upon very disadvantageous terms. On the 7th of May he, a second time, brought forward the question of Parliamentary Reform. Fox earnestly defended the proposition; North opposed it. Pitt's resolutions were rejected by a majority of 144. The young reformer was more successful in carrying through the House of Commons a Bill for preventing abuses in

the public offices, the chief object of which was to abolish an odious system of perquisites and percentages. In the House of Lords the adherents of the ministry threw out the bill. The Session came to a close on the 16th of July.

The condition of India had for some time occupied the serious attention of British statesmen. Burke and Dundas had especially devoted their most earnest labours to unravel the complicated web of Indian policy, and to devise some remedy for the abuses which from time to time were brought to light. When the Shelburne ministry came to an end, it was imperative upon the Coalition to bring forward some substantial proposal of their own. When the Session of Parliament was opened, on the 11th of November, the question of India was the most important topic of the king's speech. On the 18th of November Mr. Fox brought forward his India Bill. The government had a commanding majority in the House of Commons, and a working majority in the House of Lords. The dislike of the king to his ministers had not abated during their eight months' tenure of office; their unpopularity had not materially diminished. The necessity for a decisive change in the administration of Indian affairs could not be disputed, but the mode in which the change was proposed to be effected raised up a storm of indignation against the authors of the measure. Mr. Fox proposed that the authority of the East India Company should be transferred to Commissioners to be named by Parliament, and not removable at the pleasure of the Crown. The Board was to be held in England; it was to be established for three or five years, to try the experiment. If experience proved the utility of the Board, then the king was to have the future nomination of its members. Mr. Pitt declared his opinion that the whole of the proposed system was nothing more on one side than absolute despotism, and on the other side the most gross corruption. Mr. Jenkinson described the proposed commission as the setting up within the realm of a species of executive government independent of the Crown. Previous to the second reading of the Bill, the corporation of London, in common-council assembled, adopted a petition to the House of Commons that the Bill might not pass into law. The example of the City was followed by many other corporations. Against the ministry all the light artillery of squib and caricature was used unsparingly. Fox triumphed in the House of Commons by large majorities. The second reading of his Bills was carried by a majority of 114; and on the 9th of December they were presented by the minister and a numerous body of members at the bar of the House of Lords. It had been stated to the peers that whoever voted for the India Bill would be considered by the king as his enemy. The effect upon all those who desired to live only in the sunshine of the royal favour was instantaneous. The India Bills were rejected in the Upper House on the 17th of December, by a majority of ninety-five to seventy-six. On the 18th, at midnight, a message was sent by the king to lord North and Mr. Fox, commanding them to give up their seals of office by their under-secretaries, as a personal interview would be disagreeable to his majesty. On the 19th Pitt was appointed First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. Earl Temple, who had received the seals of Secretary of State, was for the immediate dissolution of parliament. Pitt was against

this, and Temple resigned on the 22nd, leaving the young prime minister to sustain, almost alone, the most severe conflict for power recorded in the annals of parliament. In forming his administration Pitt had scarcely a statesman of any reputation to support him, with the exception of Thurlow, as Chancellor, and Dundas, who was not of the Cabinet. His father's friend, Camden, stood by him in the House of Lords, although not originally forming one of the ministry. The real parliamentary battle did not begin till after the Christmas holidays. During the recess the great sinecure of the Clerkship of the Pells became at the disposal of the First Lord of the Treasury. Without any compromise of character Pitt might have taken the place himself. He gave this office to colonel Barré, upon the condition that he should resign the pension he had received from the Rockingham administration. The nation knew that Pitt was very poor. His disinterestedness won him the public esteem, even whilst the people looked with little confidence upon his ability to maintain his perilous position.

On the 12th of January, 1784, Pitt appeared in the House of Commons as the head of the government. Violent were the debates on points of form and questions of principle. The minister was beaten upon two divisions, and five adverse motions were carried against him that night. Regardless of his defeat, Pitt, on the 14th of January, brought forward his own plan for the government and management of the affairs of the East India Company. His Bill was read a first time. In a Committee of the whole House on the State of the Nation, it was moved that "the continuance of the present ministers in trusts of the highest importance and responsibility is contrary to constitutional principles, and injurious to the interests of his majesty and his people." The Resolution was carried by a majority of twenty-one. An adjournment took place for a few days; but still no resignation. On the 23rd of January, Mr. Pitt's India Bill was thrown out; and Mr. Fox reproduced his own Bill. The contest between the two parties was carried on, in various shapes, till the 8th of March. During this fiery struggle of two months there were fourteen motions, upon which the House divided, carried against Mr. Pitt; besides many others, upon which there was no division. The young prime minister, by patience and perseverance, "wearied out a foe who was more ardent than measured in his attacks."* At every successive trial of strength, the numbers of the opposition became reduced. At length, on the 8th of March, an elaborate remonstrance, in the form of an Address to his majesty, which was drawn up by Burke, and moved by Fox, was carried by a majority only of one. The battle was over. The victory remained with Pitt. The Mutiny Bill was passed; the supplies were voted; and on the 24th of March, the king went to the House of Lords, to put an end to the Session. On the 25th Parliament was dissolved. Throughout this extraordinary contest, Mr. Pitt had had the firm support of the king, and the warm approval of the people.

Never did minister of Great Britain appear in so triumphant a position as William Pitt, when he entered the House of Commons, on the 18th of May, to meet the New Parliament. He had been himself returned at the

* "Correspondence of Fox."

head of the poll for the University of Cambridge. His friend Wilberforce, the son of a Hull merchant, had successfully contested the county of York against two Whig candidates of large fortune and high connections. The example presented by this stronghold of independent principles was powerful through the country. The Coalition had lost a hundred and sixty members. Fox took his seat as a Scotch representative; for although second upon the poll for Westminster, a scrutiny was demanded by his opponent, sir Cecil Wray, and the high bailiff would not make a return. The Court had exerted itself in the most undisguised manner to exclude Fox from parliament. The prince of Wales was as openly committed against the interest espoused by his father.

Mr. Pitt commenced his career as a financial minister with more than common boldness. The permanent taxes produced half a million less than the interest of the debt, the civil list, and the charges to which they were appropriated. The annual land-tax and malt-tax fell far short of the naval and military expenditure and that of miscellaneous services. There was a large unfunded debt. The deficit altogether amounted to three millions. The confidence in the national resources was so low that the three per cents were fallen to about 56. Smuggling, especially of tea and spirits, was carried on to an enormous extent. Pitt took the only effectual way to prevent smuggling. He reduced the duty upon tea from 50 per cent. to 12½ per cent.; and he also reduced the duties on foreign spirits. To compensate for the expected deficiency of revenue, he increased the tax upon windows. To meet the large general disproportion between receipt and expenditure, he imposed other taxes, which enabled him to provide for the interest of a new loan, in which a large amount of unfunded debt was absorbed. Pitt carried his proposed taxes without any difficulty. He was equally successful with his India Bills. He relieved the East India Company from its financial embarrassments. He associated with its Directors in the government of India that body of Commissioners, appointed by the Crown, which was long known as the Board of Control.

In the Session of 1785, Mr. Pitt brought forward a subject announced in the king's speech, the Commercial Intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland. He desired to place that intercourse on "a system of equality and fairness, which, without tending to aggrandize the one, or depress the other, should seek the aggregate interests of the empire." These propositions of Mr. Pitt, large and liberal as they were in their general tone, were thoroughly distasteful to the manufacturers of England, and equally opposed to the narrowness of what in Ireland was deemed patriotism. The Resolutions of the minister were carried by considerable majorities in the British Parliament, but being passed by a very small majority in the Irish Parliament, the Bill was withdrawn. Whilst this measure was being debated at Westminster, Mr. Pitt a third time brought forward a Bill for Reform in Parliament. The Bill was not introduced as a Government measure; and it was rejected by a large majority.

At the opening of the Session on the 24th of January, 1786, the king informed the parliament that disputes which appeared to threaten an interruption to the tranquillity of Europe had been brought to an amicable conclusion. The emperor Joseph had been attempting to coerce the States

of Holland, distracted by two contending political parties, into a surrender of the fortresses of the Austrian Netherlands. After four years of disputs and threatened war, the court of Versailles concluded a treaty of commercial league, and close alliance, with Holland, by which the emperor was restrained, but which placed the States very much in the power of France. Great Britain abstained from interference.

Pitt, at this time, was almost exclusively occupied with a great financial scheme, from which, with more than ordinary complacency, he sanguinely expected the most wonderful results. The public income now happily exceeded the expenditure, and it was proposed that the notion of an accumulating fund to be applied to the reduction of the debt, which was partially attempted by sir Robert Walpole, should be engrafted upon the perpetual financial arrangements, that a million should be annually placed in the hands of commissioners, so as to be beyond the power of a minister to withdraw. For years the public had as much confidence in this scheme of the Sinking Fund as its author had. A great authority in finance has very justly said, "No sinking fund can be efficient for the purpose of diminishing the debt, if it be not derived from the excess of the public revenue over the public expenditure."*

On the opening of the Session on the 23rd of January, 1787, the king announced that he had concluded a treaty of navigation and commerce with the king of France. The provisions of this treaty were of the most liberal character. There was to be the most perfect freedom of intercourse allowed between the subjects and inhabitants of the respective dominions of the two sovereigns. Mr. Pitt set forth the advantages of this measure very forcibly. Contrasting the natural fertility of France with the labour and art which had enabled Britain, "not so bountifully gifted by Heaven," to supply "its neighbour with all the necessary embellishments of life in exchange for her natural luxuries," he argued that, "Thus standing with regard to each other, a friendly connection seemed to be pointed out between them, instead of the state of unalterable enmity which was falsely said to be their true political feeling towards each other." "His mind revolted from this position as monstrous and impossible. To suppose that any nation could be unalterably the enemy of another was weak and childish. It had neither its foundation in the experience of nations, nor in the history of man." It is painful to behold Mr. Fox contending "that France was the natural foe of Great Britain, and that she wished by entering into a commercial treaty with us to tie our hands, and prevent our engaging in any alliances with other powers." The treaty was annulled in the frenzy of the Revolution.

To Mr. Pitt belongs the honour, in this, the fourth year of his administration, of simplifying the complicated system of indirect taxation, by consolidating the several duties of customs, excise, and stamps. The complication may be judged from the fact, that three thousand resolutions were required to carry a measure of consolidation into effect. "Thus," says lord John Russell, "in the course of little more than three years from Mr. Pitt's acceptance of office as First Lord of the Treasury, great financial

* "Works of David Ricardo."

and commercial reforms had been effected . . . . The nation, overcoming its difficulties, and rising buoyant from its depression, began rapidly to increase its wealth, to revive its spirit, and renew its strength."

The great Frederick of Prussia had died on the 17th of August, 1786. His nephew and successor, Frederick William III., brother-in-law to the prince of Orange, had espoused the cause of his sister's husband against those States who had stripped the Stadtholder of his power and prerogatives. The princess of Orange was proceeding to the Hague from Nimeguen, to hold a conference with the leaders of the Orange party, when she was stopped by a troop of armed burghers, and placed under arrest. The king of Prussia immediately marched an army into the province of Zealand, and avowed his intention to restore the Stadtholder to his hereditary authority. The party who had usurped the government of Holland applied to the king of France for his assistance, who notified to the king of Great Britain his intention of granting their request. "I did not hesitate," said the king to Parliament, on opening the Session on the 27th of November, "to declare that I could not remain a quiet spectator of the armed interference of France, and I gave immediate orders for augmenting my forces by sea and land." The success of the Prussian troops enabled the Provinces "to deliver themselves from the oppression under which they laboured, and to re-establish their lawful government." An explanation took place between France and Great Britain, and both countries mutually agreed to disarm, and to place their naval establishments upon the same footing as at the beginning of the year.

In 1783, Carlton House had been assigned to the prince of Wales as a residence, and 60,000*l.* had been voted by Parliament to defray the expense of establishing a separate household. The king allowed his son 50,000*l.* a year out of the Civil List, and the annual revenue of the duchy of Cornwall amounted to 12,000*l.* At the Midsummer of 1786 the prince owed 160,000*l.* The king refused to give any assistance; and the heir-apparent dismissed the state officers of his household, sold his horses, and stopped the improvements going forward in his residence. But the debts were very slightly diminished, and the friends of the prince thought it necessary to bring them under the consideration of Parliament. There were serious difficulties in the way of this step. It was believed that the prince of Wales, contrary to the provisions of the Royal Marriage Act, was married to Mrs. Fitzherbert; and that the lady being a Roman Catholic, such marriage, according to the Act of Settlement, had rendered the prince "for ever incapable to inherit, possess, or enjoy the crown of this kingdom." The matter being alluded to in Parliament, Mr. Fox said that he denied the calumny "*in toto*, in point of fact, as well as law. The fact not only never could have happened legally, but never did happen in any way whatsoever." He added, that "he had spoken from direct authority." The next day Mr. Fox was told that he had been misinformed, by a gentleman, who said, "I was present at that marriage." The prince is recorded on the same day to have said to Mrs. Fitzherbert, "Only conceive, Maria, what Fox did yesterday: he went down to the House and denied that you and I were man and wife." More than four months before, the prince had written to Fox, "the world will soon be

convinced that there not only is not, but never was, any ground for these reports, which of late have been so malevolently circulated." Within ten days of the date of this letter, namely, on the 21st of December, Mrs. Fitzherbert was married by a Protestant clergyman to the prince of Wales, in the presence of six witnesses. The matter was hushed up. The prince's debts were paid by Parliament.

On the 24th of October, the king, having been out of health, went to the levee, "with a view of putting an end to the stories that were circulated with much industry." A violent fever ensued; and in a few days the sovereign was decidedly insane. The public were to be kept in ignorance of this alarming event. But the Parliament was to meet on the 20th of November. An adjournment of a fortnight was agreed to. Meanwhile the physicians who had attended his majesty were examined on oath before the Privy Council. All agreed that the king could not attend to public affairs. On the 10th of December, Mr. Fox, from his place in parliament, asserted the right of the prince of Wales to assume the reins of government. Mr. Pitt maintained that, although the claim of the prince was entitled to the most serious consideration, unless by the decision of the two Houses of Parliament, "the prince of Wales had no more right—speaking of strict right—to assume the government, than any other individual in the country." The question of abstract right soon became merged in the more practical question of what powers should be confided to the prince of Wales as Regent. The views of Mr. Fox on this point were extreme. Mr. Pitt, on the other hand, brought forward propositions to prohibit the Regent from creating peers; from disposing of the king's real or personal property; and from granting offices except during pleasure; and that the queen should have the custody of his majesty's person. There was such an evident avidity to seize upon power in the prince and his friends—there was such a distrust of his character, and such a dread of beholding a court polluted with the abominations of gaming and riot—that the national sympathy was almost wholly with Pitt, who laboured all along in the resolution that if his sovereign should be restored, he should not find everything changed. Fox appears to have acted on the conviction that the chance of the king's recovery was very small indeed. The Regency Bill had passed the Commons on the 12th of February. But in the middle of the month it was known that a great amendment had taken place in the king's condition. On the 23rd, Mr. Pitt received a letter, "written in his majesty's own hand, couched in the warmest terms, thanking him for his unshaken attachment to his interests, and desiring to see him the next day." On the 25th, the issue of bulletins by the royal physicians was discontinued. On the 23rd of April, a public thanksgiving was appointed for the king's recovery. His majesty went to St. Paul's, accompanied by both Houses of Parliament, to return his own thanksgivings. The day was observed throughout the kingdom. Illuminations were never so general; joy was never so heartfelt. The minister, still only in his twenty-ninth year, had reached the pinnacle of power and popularity.

On the 6th of September, 1788, Mr. Pitt exultingly wrote to the marquis of Stafford, "The state of France, whatever else it may produce, seems to

promise us more than ever a considerable respite from any dangerous projects." Since the peace of 1783, there had been constant and increasing deficiency of revenue in France. The area of taxation was limited by the manifold exemptions from bearing a due proportion of the public burthens, which Turgot, in 1776, had vainly endeavoured to abolish. He was dismissed, as the result of his attempts to impose taxes upon the noblesse and the clergy. Necker was summoned to fill the great post of Controller-general of Finance. He carried France through the American war by various temporary expedients; but there was still a deficit. He proposed some solid measures, and was dismissed in May, 1781. The war came to an end. Englishmen flocked to Paris in 1782, and were "struck with surprise at the freedom of conversation on general liberty, even within the walls of the king's palace."* "The nobles shared as a pleasant pastime in these discussions, and quietly enjoyed their immunities and privileges whilst they serenely discussed the absurdity of all established customs. . . . . Not the barest notion of a violent revolution ever entered into the minds of the generation which witnessed it."† Other Controllers of Finance succeeded Necker, with indifferent success. In 1783, Calonne took the onerous post. He got on for three years by loan upon loan, the court squandering without stint; the people excited by scandalous stories against the queen, with little foundation; a general ferment in all political circles. Calonne at last resolved upon a convocation of Notables, influential men from all districts of France, to devise new plans of taxation. This body met towards the end of February, 1787. Calonne showed his terrible deficit; he proposed a new land-tax, from which no proprietors,—neither noblesse, nor clergy, nor any other privileged class,—should be exempt. The majority of the Notables was composed of these privileged classes. They would have nothing to do with the scheme of Calonne; and the Controller was dismissed.

At this period Arthur Young visited France. Travelling over various parts of that kingdom, he exclaims, "Heaven grant me patience while I see a country thus neglected, and forgive me the oaths I swear at the absence and ignorance of the possessors." Everywhere the roads were magnificent, but roads almost without traffic. These noble causeways were either constructed by the forced labour of the peasantry, called the *corvée;* or by assessment of the proprietors, under which the lands held by a noble tenure were eased, and those held by a base tenure were proportionably burthened. The king of France, during the administration of Turgot, tried to abolish the system of compulsory labour. In spite of the decree of this benevolent sovereign—who truly said, "I and Turgot are the only friends of the people,"—the system of compulsory labour was re-established in a few months. And yet, with such oppression, the French peasantry were not serfs, as in most of the German states. Many were even small proprietors of land. "All these small landowners were, in reality, ill at ease in the cultivation of their property, and had to bear many charges or easements on the land which they could not shake off."‡

* "Diaries, &c., of George Rose."
† Tocqueville—"France before the Revolution." ‡ Ibid.

The ancient seignorial rights were the most oppressive; but the seigneur was not the local administrator. Neither did he select the parochial officers who exacted the various payments and services connected with the land. All the local officers were under the government and control of the central power. The King's Council was an administrative and legislative power that decided upon all affairs of a public nature, that prepared laws, that fixed taxes, to which every question was referred, the centre from which was derived the movement that set everything in motion. The individuals composing this Council were obscure; its power appeared to be that of the throne. The Controller-general was the head of this Council. Its instruments were the Intendants of provinces; who had under them each a sub-delegate. These men were the real governors of France. The taxes; the militia; all the public works; the *maréchaussée*, or mounted police; the provision for the poor—all were under the regulation of the King's Council. The nobility had ceased to have any political power; they had no concern in maintaining public order or administering justice. Many had sold their land in small patches, and lived only on seignorial rights and rent-charges. The greater number did not dwell among the people who were the means of their support. The middle classes of the towns were equally separated from those termed the common people. The great passion of the burgher was to become a public functionary. He could buy a place connected with some real or pretended duty arising out of the administrative system of Centralization. The holders of places were exempted, wholly or in part, from public burthens. They quarrelled amongst themselves; but they were agreed in one principle—to grind the people below them. To complete the remarkable isolation of the classes, Paris preponderated over the whole kingdom. It was the seat of all mental activity; it was the centre of all political action.

Loménie de Brienne, archbishop of Toulouse, succeeded Calonne as Controller-general. He dismissed the Notables, who were beginning to be troublesome, some uttering strange words about liberty, a national assembly, and other unwonted sounds. But the deficit pressed. New taxes must be imposed by edicts. These, however, must be registered by the *Parlement* of Paris. This ancient institution was originally only a court of justice. The members were formerly appointed by the king, and were removeable at his will. The appointments were afterwards sold, and those who bought the places were considered to hold them for life. The Parlements thus gradually acquired a semblance of independence, and did not always register the royal edicts without inquiry. One of the new taxes proposed by Loménie was a project of raising money by stamps. The Parlement of Paris refused to register the edict, unless the financial accounts were submitted to their examination. At the beginning of August, they came to a resolution that a perpetual tax, such as that required to be registered, could only be imposed by the States-General. According to the old forms of the monarchy, a Bed of Justice was then held at Versailles—a ceremony in which the Parlement met the king face to face, and received his positive commands to register his decrees. The Parlement returned to Paris, and refused to obey the solemn mandate. The members were banished to Troyes. Paris was in a state of furious

excitement. Large bodies of troops were marched into the city to suppress the growing disposition towards violence. At length a compromise was effected. The obnoxious edicts for taxation were withdrawn; and another was proposed and accepted, which recognised equality of taxation without exemptions. The Parlement was now recalled from its exile. On the 19th of November, the king held a royal sitting (*séance royal*), when he carried to the Parlement an edict for a succession of loans for five years, amounting to nineteen millions sterling. He also submitted to them an edict for the relief of the Protestants. Violent discussions ensued, in which the duke of Orleans, the relative of the king, took part against the Court. The king departed, after a contest of nine hours, and the Parlement declared the edicts null and void. The next day the duke was banished to one of his country seats; and two of the most refractory members of the Parlement were arrested by *lettres de cachet*. Loménie proposed to establish a grand Council of State, which should dispense with the Parlements, and yet give a sanction to taxation that might be more satisfactory than the mere exercise of the royal authority. The plan became known, and produced the greatest agitation in the Parlement of Paris. Two of its most violent opponents, M. d'Espremenil and M. de Montsabert, were arrested. The provincial Parlements were now in a state of revolt. The people were furious with excitement. The day after the arrest of the members, the king held another Bed of Justice at Versailles, in which he proposed a number of salutary reforms in six edicts. These reforms, admirable as some were, were rejected.

On the 13th of July, 1788, a tremendous hailstorm destroyed, in many districts, the crops of corn and the vineyards. The ruin was almost total for sixty leagues round Paris. An edict was issued on the 8th of August, that the States-General should be assembled in May of the following year. On the 16th of August, a proclamation was issued declaring that the Treasury payments should henceforth be three-fifths in money, and two-fifths in paper. The alarm was universal. The Court was terrified. Paris was in a state of riot, which was suppressed with some bloodshed. Loménie was dismissed, and Necker recalled, to find himself a financial minister without finances. Offers of loans poured in upon him. The funds rose thirty per cent. The States-General were to assemble on the 4th of May, 1789. An assembly of notables was again convened. They recommended that each of the three Estates, the Clergy, the Noblesse, and the *Tiers État*, should send three hundred members. By the advice of Necker, the king issued an edict that the clergy and the noblesse should each elect three hundred members, and the *Tiers État* six hundred. The elections began in January.

On the morning of Monday, the 4th of May, the streets of Versailles were filled with thousands of people to gaze upon the procession of the Court and the States-General, from the church of St. Louis, where all had assembled, to the church of Notre Dame, where a sermon was to be preached. Two hundred and seventy-five years had passed since a king of France had met the States-General. As if to mark the long interval, the costume of the States-General of 1615 was prescribed. The next day the States-General was opened. A large hall in the avenue of the palace—

the *Salle des Menus*—had been provided for the assembly. There was a platform for the king and his court. Louis read an address, of which the principal subject was that of the finances. When the reading was finished, the king put on his hat, as he took his seat on the throne. The clergy and the nobility also put on their hats. Some of the *Tiers État* also took this mode of asserting their position, and there was great confusion, which the king stopped by taking off his own hat. The keeper of the seals made a speech; and so did Necker, the Controller-General of the Finances. Contrary to the strong opinion that had been expressed by some of the constituencies, the discussions and votes were not to take place in one common assembly. The *Salle des Menus* was occupied by the Third Estate. The Clergy and the Nobles met in their appropriated chambers, and proceeded to the verification of their powers. The Commons refused to proceed to a separate verification; and for five weeks this contest went on, but without any decisive results, of speeches and resolutions. The irregularities of the proceedings in the *Tiers État*, showed the representatives of the people to be without that self-control, in the absence of which a deliberative assembly is only an organized mob. The president, Bailly, was absolutely without the means of keeping order. Without doors tumults were expected. The excessive price of bread had already produced riots in the provinces. Clubs, that afterwards became memorable, stimulated the popular agitation. Pamphlets and orators abounded, and were admired exactly in the proportion in which they attacked Christianity with a sort of rage, without any attempt to substitute any other belief; and proposed to the French people, not that their affairs should be better conducted, but that they should take the conduct of them into their own hands. On the 17th of June it was resolved, on the motion of the Abbé Siéyes, that the *Tiers État* should assume the title of "The National Assembly." The members all took an oath to discharge with zeal and fidelity the duties entrusted to their care. They passed several resolutions on the subject of the taxes and the dearness of provisions. The clergy, on the 19th, determined, by a majority, that the definitive verification of powers should be made in the General Assembly. The nobility voted an address to the king, in which they protested against the assumption of power by the *Tiers État*. On the 20th of June it was proclaimed in the streets of Versailles, that a royal sitting of the States-General would be held on the 22nd; and that in the meantime the meetings of the three Orders were suspended. The members of the *Tiers État* found their hall closed against them by military. They then assembled in a large building, the *Jeu de Paume* (Tennis Court), in the Rue St. François, and each took an oath never to separate from that National Assembly until the constitution of the kingdom was established. On the 22nd it was proclaimed that the royal sitting was adjourned till the following day. On the 23rd the king came to the *Salle des Menus*: and one of the secretaries of state read a declaration to the effect that the distinction of the Three Orders should be maintained in its integrity; but that they might meet to deliberate together with the consent of the king. The resolutions of the *Tiers État*, on the 17th of June, were cancelled. Thirty-five articles were read, detailing the intentions of the king. Some pointed to useful reforms; others contem-

plated a strict adherence to established things, even to abuses. The king left the hall, followed by most of the clergy, and all the nobles, having given his command that each order should meet in its distinct place on the following morning, but that they were now to separate. The Commons refused to stir. Many speeches were made. The Assembly affirmed that they persevered in their former resolutions; and upon the proposition of Mirabeau it was declared that the persons of the deputies were inviolable—that it should be a capital crime to arrest or detain any member, on whose part soever the same be commanded. On the 24th, the majority of the clergy joined the *Tiers État*, for the verification of their powers in common. On the 25th, between forty and fifty of the noblesse united in the same way. On the 27th the king, by letter, invited the whole body of the nobility, and the clergy, to do what he had protested against on the 23rd. On the 30th, the formal union was completed. The States-General were three orders no longer—they were the National Assembly.

On the 10th of July, Mirabeau stated in the National Assembly that there were twenty-five thousand troops between Paris and Versailles, and that twenty thousand more were expected. Amongst these there were regiments of foreign troops. Mirabeau moved an Address to the king that he would cause the troops to be removed. The king replied that the troops were there to maintain order, and secure the freedom of their deliberations. Necker, who had become powerless to advise or to control, begged for permission to resign. On the 11th of July he was dismissed; and was requested to depart secretly from Versailles. On Sunday, the 12th of July, there were movements of troops from the suburbs to the city. Placards were issued in the name of the king inviting the inhabitants to keep their houses. At noon the Palais Royal was filled with eager crowds. A young man, Camille Desmoulins, came out from the Café Foy with sword and pistol in hand, and mounting a table, cried "To Arms." A multitude rushed forth, with green cockades or green boughs in their hats. They seized from an image shop a bust of Necker, and a bust of the duke of Orleans, and, draping them in crape, bore them about in procession. Prince Lambesc, at the head of the Royal German regiment, encountered the procession, and dispersed the people with musket and sabre. There were other fights between the Parisians and the foreign soldiery, the French guards taking part with the populace. The cry "To Arms" went through all the city. The night fell upon a population maddened with rage or fear. In the morning, thousands of fierce men were in the streets, searching for guns and ammunition in every public place. A municipal authority was hastily formed at the Hôtel de Ville. Public criers proclaimed that all men should resort to their districts to be enrolled. In a few hours the National Guard of Paris was constituted, each man wearing a red and blue cockade. By nine o'clock on the morning of the 15th, the Hôtel des Invalides had been ransacked; and twenty-eight thousand firelocks were in the hands of these furious volunteers. "To the Bastille" was now the cry that gave a precise direction to the popular violence.

France had many Bastilles, where, without legal trial or sentence, men might be shut up even to the end of their days, under the authority

of a *lettre de cachet*, through whose mysterious agency they vanished out of society, and were as if dead. The great Bastille of Paris was a fortress built in the fourteenth century—a massive stone structure of nine towers, surrounded by a deep ditch. The governor, De Launay, had expected an attack. He had placed artillery on the tops of the towers. He had a hundred and fourteen men in the fortress, with arms and ammunition, but with scanty store of provisions. By noon a vast multitude was swarming towards the grim towers, along every street and every ally of the Faubourg St. Antoine, which was the residence of a great artisan population. This roaring multitude had resolute men amongst them. Four with axes made their way from the roof of a neighbouring house to the outer wall of the Bastille, jumped down into the court, and began hewing at the chains of the drawbridge. The drawbridge at length fell; and the crowd poured into the exterior court. Another drawbridge impeded their progress. They rushed at it; and were received with a fire of musketry. Large numbers of the French guards came to assist in the attack. De Launay fired upon the crowd from the battlements; the populace fired upon the Swiss and the Invalides who defended the fortress. After five hours of this contest, the garrison had lost only one man, whilst nearly two hundred of the assailants had been killed or wounded. De Launay, in his despair of being able finally to repel a mob of thousands animated by one spirit, wrote a note to the besiegers, to the effect that he had twenty thousand pounds of powder within the magazine, and would blow up the Bastille, and thus destroy its neighbourhood, himself, and his besiegers, if they did not accept a capitulation which would leave him and his garrison to go free. Elie, an officer of the French guards, gave his assurance, in which his men joined, that if the drawbridge were lowered the garrison should receive no harm. It was lowered. The furious crowd rushed in. Only seven prisoners were found in the dungeons. It was determined to take De Launay to the Hôtel de Ville. As he moved along the yells of the multitude grew louder; the efforts to protect the unfortunate man were less and less availing. Hullin, one of the besiegers, even fought against the mob to defend his prisoner. Hullin was struck down, and De Launay was murdered. Major de Losme, one of the officers of the Bastille, was also killed. The officers of the French guard demanded that the Invalides and the Swiss should go free, as the reward of themselves and their men for their aid in this day's work. Another murder, that of Flesselles, a magistrate, was perpetrated that evening. Through the night Paris watched as if a foreign enemy were approaching to sack the city. St. Antoine gave itself up to a frenzy of delight, and the pains of hunger were less keenly felt in the time of triumph and of revenge. The danger which now threatened the throne, and all who surrounded the throne, was manifest.

On the morning of the 15th of July the king suddenly appeared in the midst of the National Assembly, to announce that he had given orders to the troops to withdraw from Paris and Versailles, and that he relied upon the Assembly to restore order and tranquillity. The deputies loudly applauded; as the king returned to the palace the people vociferously shouted. The king, it was held, had authorized the establishment of the National Guard. A commander must be found. La Fayette was elected by acela-

mation. In the same way Bailly was constituted Mayor of Paris, in the place of Flesselles, the Provost of the Merchants, who had been shot the night before. The king announced to the Assembly that he would visit his good city of Paris. He would dismiss his ministers; he would recall Necker. On the morning of the 17th, when the king was on his way to Paris, attended by a large number of the deputies, the count d'Artois (the king's brother), the prince de Condé, and others of royal blood—with several of the recent ministry—were on their way to the frontiers. The most obnoxious of the ministers, Foulon, the Intendant of Marine, was reported to have died; for a sumptuous funeral had proceeded from his house. On the morning of the 22nd of July some peasants led into Paris an old man bound with ropes to the tail of a cart. On his back was a bundle of grass, and a collar of nettles was round his neck. It was Foulon, who had said the poor should eat grass if they could not get bread. He was dragged to the Hôtel de Ville to be judged. La Fayette tried in vain to save the trembling man of seventy-four. The crowd rushed upon their victim; dragged him out of the hall; and in a few minutes he was hanging to a lantern at the corner of the street. His head was cut off; a bundle of hay was stuffed into the mouth; and this trophy of mob vengeance was carried through the city. The same night Berthier, the son-in-law of Foulon—Intendant of Paris, and hated as a tax-levier—was brought in a carriage to the Hôtel de Ville, surrounded by National Guards, sent by the municipals to protect him. The protection availed him not. The lantern had its prey; and another ghastly head, and a bleeding heart, were carried in horrible procession. Bailly and La Fayette indignantly resigned their offices; but they were won back again, when the municipality was re-organized, under the name of La Commune. The doings of Paris were not without successful imitations in the provinces. Châteaux were burnt or plundered, the seigneurs hunted down like wild beasts, their wives and daughters outraged.

The National Assembly, all things being tolerably quiet in Paris, proceeded with its self-appointed work of sweeping away all ancient things, for the purpose of building up a wholly new system for the government of twenty-five millions of people. A work which Dumont says, "would have demanded a year of care and deliberation, was proposed, voted, resolved, by general acclamation. I know not how many laws were decreed: the abolition of feudal rights, the abolition of tithes, and the abolition of the privileges of provinces—three articles which in themselves embrace a whole system of jurisprudence and of policy—were decided, with ten or a dozen others, in less time than a Parliament of England would have taken for the first reading of a Bill of some importance." The barriers that stood between a people long misgoverned and oppressed, and all the ancient restraints of their servitude, being suddenly broken down, their excesses could scarcely be matter of wonder. The scarcity consequent upon a bad harvest was growing more fearful, especially in Paris. "The people," says Dumont, "attributed the scarcity to the aristocracy. The aristocrats had caused the corn to be cut down whilst in the blade; the aristocrats had paid the bakers not to make bread; the aristocrats had thrown the grain into the rivers." A foolish display of loyalty amongst the troops at Ver-

sailles turned the follies of the people into a new channel of rage against the Court. On the morning of the 5th of October, crowds of market women assembled in the streets of Paris, clamouring for "Bread." They soon filled the Hôtel de Ville. In four or five hours they were joined by a body of men, who obtained muskets and two pieces of cannon from the municipal stores. Maillard, an usher of the court, proposed to lead the women away on the road to Versailles, where they wanted to go, that the authorities might have time to collect their forces and stop the tumult. The National Guard, the French Guards, the rough men from the Faubourg St. Antoine—all gathered round La Fayette, demanding to go to Versailles. The Commune deliberated till four o'clock, and then ordered La Fayette to march. Meanwhile, Maillard, with his female host, had reached Versailles about three o'clock. The women demanded to enter the National Assembly. Fifteen were admitted, with a soldier, who had belonged to the French guards. Mounier, the president, could only get rid of the troublesome visitors, upon the condition that he should accompany the deputation to see the king. They were admitted to the presence of Louis, who spoke to them affectionately; and they quitted the kind-hearted king crying "*Vive le Roi.*" The women outside grew more violent, but they were pacified for a time by a written paper, signed by the king, declaring that every care should be taken for the provisioning of Paris. A conflict then appeared imminent between the men of St. Antoine and the king's body-guard. In this night of peril, Mounier pressed upon the king the acceptance of the articles of the constitution, which assent he had not previously given. The king yielded. When Mounier returned to the hall of the Assembly, it was filled with women, who interrupted the proceedings. At midnight, La Fayette, with fifteen thousand of the National Guard, arrived. He had made the men under his command swear fidelity to the law and the king. He received orders to assign to the National Guards the external posts of the palace; the body-guard and the Swiss remaining in the interior. At three in the morning the Assembly separated, and La Fayette went to rest. About six in the morning a mob of the Parisians, mingled with some of Versailles, got over the iron railing of the palace, forced their way into the interior, and directed their furious steps towards the queen's apartments. A faithful guard kept the passage from the hall against many men, whilst the queen jumped from her bed and made her way to the king. The mob were thundering at the door of an apartment called the Œil-de-Bœuf, when a detachment of the French guards arrived, who soon cleared the palace of those who thirsted after blood. Two of the guards had been killed on the staircase; and a ruffian cut off their heads, which were carried about on pikes. La Fayette arrived. The mob outside cried that the king must go to Paris. It was agreed that the king and the royal family should go to Paris; and the Assembly voting that they were inseparable from the king, a hundred deputies were selected to accompany him. At one o'clock, a most unregal procession was in motion—National Guards mingled with shouting and singing men of St. Antoine; cannon, with pikemen astride them; waggon-loads of corn, lent from the stores of Versailles; hackney-coaches; the royal carriage; carriages with deputies; La Fayette on horseback; and, swarming round the king and his family,

vociferous women, crying "We shall no more want bread; we are coming with the baker, the bakeress, and the baker's boy." As the darkness deepened, the multitudinous array reached the barrier. Mayor Bailly harangued the king; and then, at the Hôtel de Ville, there were more harangues. Finally, the king had to be shown to the people from a balcony by torchlight, wearing the tricolor cockade. There was an interval of tranquillity after the royal family arrived in Paris. An Englishman writes, on the 18th of October, "This morning I saw his majesty walking in the Champs Elysées, without guards. He seemed easy and cheerful."

CHAPTER LII.

THE history of the French Revolution is essentially connected with the history of England, almost from the first day of the meeting of the States-General. The momentous events in France so materially affected the state of public opinion amongst the British people, that they gradually exercised upon our external policy and our internal condition even a far greater influence than the American Revolution, which was the precursor of that of France. "The English," says Tocqueville, "taught by their own history, and enlightened by the long practice of political freedom, perceived dimly, as through a thick veil, the approaching spectre of a great revolution. But they were unable to distinguish its real shape; and the influence it was so soon to exercise upon the destinies of the world, and upon their own, was unforeseen." "Between the spring of 1789 and the close of 1792," says Macaulay, "the public mind of England underwent a great change." To young and ardent minds, 1789 was a season of hope and promise. The destruction of the Bastille was the type of the fall of tyranny to many Englishmen. Dumont says that in England, the most free and the most noble of the nations, the destruction of the Bastille had caused a general joy. Samuel Romilly, who had written to this effect to Dumont on the 28th of July, wrote to him in October, "I find the favour with which the popular cause in France is considered here, much less than it was . . . the truth is, that you taught us to expect too much, and that we are disappointed and chagrined at not seeing those expectations fulfilled."

On the 4th of February, 1790, Louis XVI. went to the National Assembly, which held its sitting in the Salle du Manége, near the Tuileries, and addressed the deputies in very remarkable words, indicative not only of his acquiescence in the great changes which the Assembly had decreed, but of his earnest desire to unite with them in building up a solid and enduring fabric of public liberty. "In concert with the queen, who partakes all my sentiments, I will at the proper time prepare the mind and the heart of my son for the new order of things that circumstances have brought about." The most important of these changes was that of a new

territorial division of the kingdom. The old boundaries of provinces, with their various and conflicting systems of administration, were swept away; and France was distributed into eighty-three departments, with each its subdivision of districts and cantons. Throughout France one system of administration, under municipal functionaries to be chosen by the people, was established. Another important reform had been made with regard to the church property, which in France was of enormous amount. On the 2nd of November, it was carried by a large majority that all ecclesiastical property is at the disposal of the nation, but charged with a suitable provision for the expenses of religious worship, for the support of the ministers of religion, and for the relief of the poor. A better income than previously existed was to be provided for the inferior clergy. The religious houses were also suppressed, but provision was to be made for their inmates, whose vows were declared no longer binding. The king's address to the Assembly, expressing his ready adoption of these changes, worked up the excitable Parisians to a fever-fit of constitutional loyalty, manifested in universal oath-taking and illuminations.

The session of the English parliament was opened by George III. on the 21st of January. On the 5th of February, when the army estimates were moved, Mr. Pitt held that it was necessary, on account of the turbulent situation of the greater part of the continent, that we should be prepared for war, though he trusted the system uniformly pursued by ministers would lead to a long continuance of peace. Mr. Fox opposed the estimates on the ground of economy. On the 9th, when the Report on the Army Estimates was brought up, Mr. Burke opposed an increase of our military force. He held that France, in a political light, was to be considered as expunged out of the system of Europe. "The French had shown themselves the ablest architects of ruin that had hitherto existed in the world. . . . They had done their business for us, as rivals, in a way in which twenty Ramilies and Blenheims could never have done. . . . Our present danger, from the example of a people whose character knows no medium, is, with regard to government, a danger from anarchy." He went on to say, that, "in his opinion, the very worst part of the example set is in the late assumption of citizenship by the army,"—an act of which Fox had spoken in terms of commendation. The respect which each of the two great orators felt for the understanding of the other, prevented, at that time, any strong expression of the thoughts that were tearing them asunder. Sheridan elaborately defended the proceedings of the National Assembly, apologized for the excesses of the French populace, and charged Burke with being the advocate of despotism. Burke rose, and declared, as an inevitable necessity, that henceforth his honourable friend and he were separated in politics.

The influence of the French Revolution upon great questions of our domestic policy was very soon manifested in the proceedings of Parliament. In 1789, a bill for the relief of Protestant Dissenters was rejected by a very small majority. On the 2nd of March, 1790, Mr. Fox proposed the abolition of the Corporation and Test Acts. Mr. Pitt opposed the motion. Mr. Burke, in also resisting the claims of the dissenters, declared that had the repeal been moved for ten years before, he should probably have joined

Mr. Fox in supporting it. The motion was rejected by a very large majority. Two days after, a proposition made by Mr. Flood, to amend the representation of the people in parliament, was withdrawn; the minister, who had three times advocated Reform, now holding that the cause of reform might lose ground from being agitated at an improper moment.

There was a warlike episode in May of this year, which indicated, perhaps advantageously to European powers, that Great Britain was not prepared to endure insults to her flag. In the previous year two English vessels had been seized by a Spanish frigate in Nootka Sound, a harbour of Vancouver Island, and the buildings for a settlement on that coast by English traders had been pulled down, by direction of the Spanish government, which claimed all the lands from Cape Horn to the 60th degree of latitude. His Catholic Majesty long refused to make reparation. War was the tone of a royal message to Parliament. A million was voted. But Spain yielded; and Pitt had the merit of obtaining by resolute negotiation, concessions which rendered a future dispute improbable. The possibility of a war between Great Britain and Spain raised the important question in the French Assembly as to the power of making peace or war. It was resolved that war could only be decided on by a decree of the legislative body, passed on the formal proposal of the king, and sanctioned by him. A resolution was carried by acclamation that the French nation renounced for ever all ideas of conquest, and confined itself entirely to defensive war.

The anniversary of the taking of the Bastille was to be honoured by a magnificent festival in the Champ de Mars—a grand Federation to which deputies should come from every one of the eighty-three departments of France. All Paris went forth to dig and to move earth—all classes, men and women, coming in the early morning from their sections, and returning home by torchlight—to prepare for the pompous spectacle of the 14th of July. Mass was celebrated by the bishop of Autun, attended by three hundred priests, at an altar placed in the centre of an immense amphitheatre. La Fayette then ascended to the altar, and swore, in the name of the troops and the federates, to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king. The president of the National Assembly, and each of the deputies, took the same oath. Then Louis, standing in front of his throne, which was erected beneath an awning ornamented with *fleurs de lis*, swore "to maintain the Constitution decreed by the National Assembly, and accepted by me, and to cause the laws to be executed." The queen took the Dauphin in her arms, and presented him to the multitude. The cannon boomed, and one universal shout went up as if to proclaim that France had attained the consummation of its felicity. Whilst Paris presented this semblance of a happy people celebrating the triumphs of liberty and equality, there was the reality of disturbances in the army on the eastern frontier, with much bloodshed at Nanci, and a general resistance amongst the higher clergy to the adhesion required of them to the new order of ecclesiastical affairs.

In January, 1791, Mirabeau was named President of the National Assembly. During the previous year he had pursued a systematic course of opposition to the measures of the extreme democratic party. He main-

tained a complete independence of clubs and mobs. He dreaded the turbulence of those who were becoming a real and a terrible power, as the Club of the Friends of the Constitution (who, from their place of meeting, the Hall of the Jacobins' Convent, came to be known as Jacobins); and of another body, still more violent, the Club of the Cordeliers. There were in Paris, too, somewhat more than a hundred Journals. Mirabeau was himself a journalist, and counselled in this character adherence to constitutional moderation. The king and queen of France began to feel that their safety might depend upon the efforts of this man; and Mirabeau secretly met Marie Antoinette at St. Cloud, to which palace the royal family had removed in the summer of 1790. Louis wrote to Bouillé that he had paid the services of Mirabeau at an enormous price. Dumont believes that Mirabeau thought himself, on receiving payment, an agent who could accomplish salutary ends with adequate means. When he entered upon his functions as President of the National Assembly, he was no longer the impassioned tribune of the people. He was the moderator of a tumultuous body—the impartial supporter of orderly proceedings—the dignified assertor of the respect due to the legislature. But the physical health of this extraordinary man was gone, ruined by intellectual and sensual excess. He survived only three months after his nomination to the Presidency of the Assembly, dying on the 2nd of April. The pomp of his funeral was the tribute of a great nation to the greatest of its citizens. Mirabeau was the first occupant of the Pantheon, the temple set apart by a grateful country as the tomb of its great men. In November, 1793, by a decree of the Convention, his body was disinterred as that of an unworthy aristocrat.

The Sixteenth Parliament of Great Britain, having nearly completed its full term of seven years, was dissolved soon after the prorogation in June, 1790. The new Parliament assembled on the 25th of November, when Mr. Addington was chosen Speaker. Whilst the Royal Speech, and the echoing Addresses, made no allusion to the affairs of France, but dwelt upon a pacification between Austria and the Porte, upon dissensions in the Netherlands, upon peace between Russia and Sweden, and upon war between Russia and the Porte, the national mind was absorbed almost exclusively by conflicting sentiments about the Revolution in France. A few weeks before the meeting of Parliament, Burke had published his famous "Reflections on the Revolution." In proportion as the liberal institutions of our own country were held up to admiration by this remarkable book, so were the attempts of France to build up a new system of government upon the ruins of the old system, described as the acts of men devoted to "every description of tyranny and cruelty employed to bring about and to uphold this revolution." To the argumentative power was added an impassioned eloquence, which roused the feelings into hatred of the anarchists, and directed every sympathy towards a humiliated king, a proscribed nobility, and a plundered church. Probably no literary production ever produced such an exciting effect upon public opinion at the time of its appearance, or maintained so permanent an influence amongst the generation to whose fears it appealed.

Mackintosh, writing in 1791, says, with reference to the furious indig-

nation with which Burke had spoken of some popular atrocities in France: "The massacres of war, and the murders committed by the sword of justice, are disguised by the solemnities which invest them." 'The massacres of war" were never more fearfully exhibited than at this season. On the anniversary of our Saviour's nativity, in 1790, Suwarrow, the Russian general, wrote to his court: "Glory to God and to the Empress, Ismail is ours." This fortress, the key of the Lower Danube, had been stormed; the Turks obstinately resisted till midnight, and then the conquering Russians entered the body of the place. In the morning, when the carnage was put an end to, thirty thousand of the Turkish population, of all ages, sexes, and conditions, had perished.

Six months elapsed between the publication of Burke's "Reflections" and his final separation from his party. On the 15th of April, Mr. Fox had incidentally spoken in somewhat extravagant terms about "the new Constitution of France." In May there were animated debates on a proposition of Mr. Pitt for the government of Canada, which contemplated the establishment of two Houses of Assembly, one for the Upper and one for the Lower Province. In the discussion of this question, general principles of representative government were naturally brought under view. Mr. Burke took occasion to enter upon some recent circumstances in Paris—the interference of the people to prevent the king going to St. Cloud, as he proposed to do. The orator was proceeding in this strain, when he was called to order. Five times he attempted to proceed in explanation of his views on the French Revolution, and five times was he interrupted by members of the Whig party—his old associates. Burke pertinaciously held his ground. At last, in answer to a taunt of Fox, Burke addressed him no longer as "his honourable friend." He said he had differed from Mr. Fox on former occasions; but no difference of opinion had ever before interrupted their friendship. There was no loss of friendship, Fox whispered; Burke instantly exclaimed that he had done his duty at the price of his friend; "their friendship was at an end." This was too much for the kind nature of Fox. He wept, and was for some minutes unable to speak. Then there was mutual explanation; and mutual recrimination. The breach was irrevocable. From that time this country became divided into two hostile bands, opposing exaggerated alarm to mistaken enthusiasm.

In the debate on the proposed Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, on the 2nd of March, 1790, Mr. Burke had given it as his opinion that the leading preachers amongst the Dissenters were avowed enemies of the Church of England. The "Reflections on the Revolution" diffused this alarm more extensively through the country. The clamour was at last got up, that the Church was in danger. Dr. Joseph Priestley, in 1780, had become the minister of the principal Unitarian congregation in Birmingham. He was ardent in his political views, having written an answer to Burke's "Reflections," and he did not hesitate to avow his opposition to the Church, in his zeal to obtain what he deemed the rights of Dissenters. But in his private life he was worthy of all respect, and in his scientific pursuits had attained the most honourable distinction. On the 11th of July, according to a royal proclamation, "a certain scandalous

and seditious paper was printed and published in the town of Birmingham," calling upon the people to celebrate on the 14th the destruction of that high altar and castle of despotism, the Bastille; but not to forget that their own parliament was venal; the ministers hypocritical; the clergy legal oppressors; the reigning family extravagant; the crown too weighty for the head that wears it. William Hutton, a cautious man, says that this paper was fabricated in London, brought to Birmingham, and a few copies privately scattered under a table at an inn. On that 14th of July, about eighty persons assembled at a tavern, known as Dadley's, to commemorate this anniversary; and at the Swan Inn, some magistrates, and persons opposed to the celebrationists, met to drink "Church and King." There was a small mob about Dadley's tavern, who hissed and hooted; and there was another mob around the Swan. After the friends of French liberty had separated, a rabble broke into the tavern in search of Dr. Priestley, who had not dined there. The loyal company at the adjacent Swan huzzaed; and it is affirmed that a gentleman said, "Go to the Meetings." In another hour Priestley's chapel, in New Street, called the New Meeting-House, was on fire. This work accomplished, the Old Meeting-House was also quickly in a blaze. Dr. Priestley lived at Fair Hill, about a mile and a-half from the town. He and his family had fled from mob vengeance; but his house was destroyed, and his books burnt, with his manuscripts and his philosophical instruments. The burnings and plunderings, invariably of the houses of Dissenters, continued till the night of Sunday, the 17th, in Birmingham and the neighbourhood. On the 15th, the house of Mr. Ryland, a friend of Priestley, and emphatically described as "a friend to the whole human race," was burnt down; six or seven of the rioters, who had drunk themselves insensible with the booty of the wine-cellar, perishing in the flames. On the same day, Bordesley Hall, the residence of Mr. Taylor, another dissenter, was burnt. The warehouse of William Hutton was then plundered; and on the next morning his country-house, at Bennett's Hill, was set on fire and consumed. Five other houses of Dissenters, whether Presbyterians, Baptists, or Unitarians, were that day burned or sacked. Justices of the peace sat in conclave; squires made speeches to the mobs, telling them they had done enough. The Birmingham magistrates issued a placard, addressed to "Friends and Brother Churchmen," entreating them to desist; for that the damage, which already amounted to £100,000, would have to be paid by the parishes. On the Sunday there were burnings of chapels and private houses in the neighbourhood of Birmingham; and then three troops of Light Dragoons rode into the town, having come in one day from Nottingham, and this disgraceful exhibition was at an end. Five of the rioters were tried at the assizes at Worcester, for offences committed near Birmingham, but only one was convicted. A larger number were tried at the Warwick Assizes, and four were sentenced to death. Three of the whole number were executed. Every attempt was made to impede the conviction of the rioters. The atrocities were almost justified from the pulpit as "a judgment." There was in Birmingham a hateful spirit of slavishness and ferocity, in the guise of loyalty and religion, which unhappily, to some extent, pervaded the whole kingdom.

Whilst the rabble of Birmingham were shouting "Church and King," the rabble of Paris were clamouring for the deposition of their king, who had attempted to fly from his good people. Louis had been suspected of a plan to escape, hen whe desired to keep Easter at St. Cloud; and a fierce mob, when he was seated with the queen in his carriage, then prevented their departure from the Tuileries, although La Fayette was desirous to make way for them by force. It was known that an Austrian army was gathering on the frontiers; that the royal princes, d'Artois and Condé, were surrounded by emigrants, ready to return in arms. The writings of Marat echoed the denunciations of the Clubs. The National Assembly, and the National Guard, were growing less and less popular with the anarchists. Suspicions of La Fayette were excited in the populace. For some time the whole of the interior of the Tuileries was under the watchfulness of the National Guard; and La Fayette and his officers were constantly about the palace, often till a late hour. The royal family, too, were surrounded by unfaithful menials. A secret correspondence had been maintained between the king and the marquis de Bouillé, the commander of the royalist army in the frontier provinces of Champagne, Lorraine, and Alsace; but the loyalty of a few regiments only could be relied upon. It was arranged between Louis and his faithful general that the king should leave Paris on the night of the 19th of June; and De Bouillé took his measures of placing relays of horses on the road, and detachments to guard the royal family at certain stations through which they were to pass on their way to Montmédy, at which fortress the general had formed a camp where the fugitives would be safe. The count de Fersen, a Swiss, was admitted into the confidence of the king; and he accomplished the business of obtaining a passport for a Russian baroness, travelling home, with a waiting-woman, a valet, and two children; and he had a new coach built, and engaged horses. The Russian baroness was madame de Tourzel, the gouvernante of the two royal children; her waiting-woman was the queen; the valet was the king. The king's sister, Elizabeth, was of the party as travelling companion. Three of the devoted soldiers of the king were to mount behind the carriage as some sort of protection. The arrangements were disturbed by the delay of one day in setting forth; but all at last was ready for a start. The king and queen received at their usual hour, on the evening of the 20th of June, those who were accustomed to wait on them before they retired to rest. When a midnight stillness reigned around, they left the Tuileries, but not all at once; and after some delay, all reached the glass-coach, which was waiting in a street near the palace. Count Fersen was the royal hackney coachman. He drove furiously off, and found the travelling carriage at the Port St. Martin, with a German coachman, who could be trusted. Fersen then left the royal party, to make his own way to Brussels. Another carriage was at Bondy, with boxes and waiting women. Through the summer night, the heavy coach, with six horses, was lumbering on towards Chalons, where it arrived, having found proper relays, about five in the afternoon of the 21st.

Just as the fugitives left the Tuileries, La Fayette had been sent for. He had looked round the palace, but could discover nothing wrong. At six o'clock on the following morning he was roused with the news that the king

and royal family were gone. Paris was alarmed, and was quickly in motion; but there was no riot or outrage. The Assembly met, and declared its sitting permanent. A letter had been found addressed by the king to the National Assembly, in which he said that, finding it impossible for him to effect any good, or to prevent any evil, he had sought to recover his liberty, and to reach a place of safety for himself and his family. The Assembly confirmed an order which had been previously issued by La Fayette, enjoining all functionaries to arrest the fugitives; and they at once assumed the powers of an executive government. The king's route was easily traced. The heavy carriage, called a "Berline," was somewhat remarkable. Escorts of dragoons had been hanging about on the road from early morning; and no one know what they were waiting for. Suspicion was roused. When the lumbering vehicle rolled into the village of Sainte-Ménehould, the master of the post, who had been in Paris, looked hard into the carriage. As soon as it moved on, he and a trusty companion hurried after it upon fleet hackneys. The escort that followed the royal fugitives from Saint Ménehould was impeded by the people at Clermont, who had been roused by Drouet, the vigilant postmaster. At the small town of Varennes, which is divided by the river Aire, relays of horses prepared for the travellers were in the upper town, whilst the couriers were searching for them in the lower town, where the carriage was waiting. In the meantime Drouet arrived. He rode into the town, obtained help, and the bridge over the Aire was soon rendered impassable by an overturned cart. At length the carriage drove up, the post-boys having been induced to proceed with their jaded hacks. Passports were demanded by half-a-dozen National Guards, led by the inexorable Drouet. Resistance was vain; and Louis, his queen, his sister, his children, and the gouvernante were handed into the house of the Procureur of the town, named Sausse, a grocer. Refreshments were asked for by the king; and he relished bread and cheese, and a bottle of Burgundy. The alarm bell was rung: the people hurried out of their beds: the house was surrounded. A squadron of hussars was at hand: but they had received no orders. The night was passed in terrible uncertainty. In the morning the National Guards were assembled in great numbers: and La Fayette's aide-de-camp galloped into Varennes. It was all over. Even Bouillé fled across the frontier. The Berline was turned round; and was seen on the road to Paris, with the unfortunate family within, and the couriers bound with ropes upon the box. Three or four thousand men, armed with pikes and muskets, surrounded the carriage. As the cavalcade slowly went on, the people in the villages uttered reproaches and threats to the king and queen. They bore the insults with that calmness which marked their demeanour through all their subsequent heavy troubles. Two Commissioners from the National Assembly, Petion and Barnave, met them on the road: and their interference probably saved the lives of the unhappy family from the rage of barbarous crowds. At seven o'clock in the evening of Saturday, the captives re-entered the Tuileries. The people of Paris received them in profound silence, and without any of the usual marks of respect. A placard had been everywhere affixed: "Whoever shall applaud the king shall be flogged: whoever shall insult him shall be hanged."

Thomas Paine—a stay-maker of Thetford in Norfolk, afterwards an

exciseman; then a settler in America, who stimulated the revolt of the colonies by his writings, and was employed in France towards the close of the war as an agent of the Congress—fancied that his mission was to establish a republic in France. In June, 1791, he was the guest of Condorcet, the philosophical patrician, who had become an ardent republican. In the week of the flight of Louis, Paine wrote in English a proclamation to the French nation, which, being translated, was affixed to all the walls of Paris. It was an invitation to the people to profit by existing circumstances, and establish a Republic. Many persons of condition, Condorcet amongst the number, were of opinion that the moment when the king had forfeited the confidence of the nation was favourable to the establishment of a republic. In the popular temper the hatred of royalty was displayed during the five days of the king's absence from Paris, by pulling down the signs over the shops that indicated the patronage of the Court. A majority of the Assembly were resolved that the disloyalty which had been increased so fearfully by the king's attempt to leave Paris, if not France, should not interfere with the establishment of the Constitution, which had now, after a long process, been elaborated into a complete digest of all the principles which were held to be necessary for the happy existence of a just and harmonious form of government. Dumont has described this Constitution as in truth a monster:—"It had too much of a republic for a monarchy, and too much of a monarchy for a republic." The populace did not comprehend these refinements; and so, on the 17th of July, the mobs of St. Antoine filled the Champ de Mars, signing petitions for the deposition of the king; and the once popular mayor hoisted the red flag, and dispersed them by sword and bullet. Bailly, La Fayette, and a majority of the Assembly, began to fear the Jacobins more than they feared the royalists. They wished to retrace their steps; but they found that it was easier to destroy than to re-establish. The popularity which they had acquired as destructives was lost when they began to be conservatives. On the 5th of August the anomalous Constitution was presented to the Assembly by a Committee, who had been for many months engaged in classifying and revising the various decrees which had been promulgated. On the 3rd of September it was presented to the king by sixty members of the Assembly; and on the 14th, Louis declared his solemn acceptance of what he considered, and not unjustly, his humiliation. "*Vive le Roi*" was again heard in the streets. The Assembly was to be dissolved on the 30th of September, and a new body of representatives, whose elections had been going on throughout all France, was to meet on the 1st of October, and to be called the Legislative Assembly. Seven hundred and forty-five members were to be chosen by primary assemblies, themselves chosen by every man of twenty-five years of age in every canton, who had paid direct taxes equal to three days' labour. The electors of the deputies were to be the possessors of a certain income, or the renters of a house of a certain value. No member of the first Assembly was eligible to be elected for the second. No member of the Legislative Assembly was allowed to be a functionary of the Executive Government. The sittings of the Assembly were to be permanent, leaving no power to the king to convoke the body, or to prorogue it. The Legislative Assembly

quickly arranged into two defined parties—the right side (*côté droit*) and the left side (*côté gauche*), with a fluctuating body known as the centre. The *côté droit* comprised the supporters of the Constitution, whose opinions were generally those of the middle classes, and were represented in the Club of the Feuillans. The Girondins, or deputies from the department of Gironde, with Brissot and Condorcet, two of the Paris deputies, were the types of the more moderate of the *côté gauche*. The extreme men of this left side were in intimate connection with the Jacobin Club, and the Club of the Cordeliers; and the mobs of Paris were consequently at their command. Robespierre was the presiding spirit of the Jacobins, as Danton was of the Cordeliers. The extreme men of the Assembly were called the Mountain, from their seats on the topmost benches of the *côté gauche*. The Municipality of Paris had more active power, for good or evil, than the Assembly. At the elections of November, Pétion had been chosen Mayor, in preference to La Fayette; and in that common council, where there was much haranguing, Danton was a leading speaker. But the Mother-Society of Friends of the People, sitting in the old Hall of the Jacobins, with all the appliances of a parliament—president, secretaries, a tribune for fiery speakers, and large galleries for excited men and women—this terrible Society, with its branch Societies in every town and village of France, "forms," to use the words of La Fayette, "a distinct corporation in the middle of the French people, whose power it usurps in subjugating its representatives."

When the Legislative Assembly met on the 1st of October, a contest ensued between the Constitutionalists and the Republicans, as to the amount of respect to be paid to the king. Louis felt that it was intended to affront him, and he determined that the Assembly should be opened by his ministers. The republican spirit became moderated, and the constitutionalists became more assured, for the National Guard intimated their resolve that the revolution should go no further. On the 7th of October the king proceeded to the Assembly, and delivered a speech which seemed to give him back the loyalty which he had lost. That night he went with his family to the opera, and they were received with unwonted shouts, and even with the tears of those who were melted at seeing a mother, so long wretched, apparently at ease and happy as her little boy sate on her lap, and looked upon the people without fear.

On the 24th of August, the emperor of Germany and the king of Prussia had met at the Château de Pilnitz, the summer residence of the elector of Saxony, who was their host. The count d'Artois arrived, to urge the intervention of these sovereigns to rescue his brother, the king of France, out of the hands of rebellious subjects; and especially sought to move the emperor in the cause of that emperor's sister, the humiliated queen. Out of these interviews came the famous Declaration of Pilnitz, which appealed to the other European powers to make common cause with the emperor and the king of Prussia, and to employ, conjointly with them, "the most efficacious means, proportioned to their forces, for enabling the king of France to strengthen, with the most perfect liberty, the basis of a monarchical government, equally conformable to the rights of sovereigns and the welfare of the French nation." This Declaration raised a violent

spirit of indignation amongst nearly every class and every party of Frenchmen, against the threat of any interference with their domestic concerns. The German courts were not agreed upon that policy of armed intervention which was timidly threatened. Prussia was reluctant to adopt the warlike views of Austria. Catherine of Russia and Gustavus of Sweden agreed to raise an army, which Spain was to subsidize; and they sent plenipotentiaries to the emigrant princes at Coblenz. Mr. Pitt wisely kept aloof from counsels in which the timid and the rash appeared equally likely to precipitate a war of opinions. He maintained the truly elevated position of the minister of a country enjoying its own constitutional liberty, which could neither sympathize with the regal despotism that would crush all freedom, nor with the popular violence that would overthrow all order.

There can be no doubt that, about the close of 1790, the king of France was in correspondence with foreign courts. But in 1791, after his solemn acceptance of the Constitution, he, apparently with sincerity, earnestly desired the emigrants to disarm. For a short time the Constitution and the Monarchy seemed capable of being worked together; but the delusion soon came to an end. The king had an absolute veto according to the Constitution. On the 9th of November, the Legislative Assembly decreed that all emigrants should be outlawed unless they returned before the following new year's day; that the revenues of the absent French princes should be sequestered; that priests who would not take the oaths should forfeit their pensions, and sustain other penalties. The king to these decrees ought to apply his Veto, said the friends of the monarchy; and the king now felt strong enough to refuse his consent to them in their entirety.

In the winter of 1791-2, M. de Talleyrand visited London, as the agent of the French government, to make his observations upon the temper of British statesmen, and to dispose the ministry to regard the French Constitution without alarm. The British Cabinet had appeared decided not to depart from its neutrality in the event of war, but it manifested no sympathy with the new order of things. Amidst the reserve of the ministry, and the neglect of the court, Talleyrand could expect little success from his irregular mission. He returned to Paris at the beginning of March, when the Girondin party had acceded to power, with Dumouriez as minister for foreign affairs. It was then determined to send an embassy to London. According to the self-denying decree of the National Assembly, Talleyrand was restrained from holding office. M. Chauvelin, a young negotiator, was appointed plenipotentiary, but the real power was with Talleyrand, who formed part of a numerous suite that accompanied the ambassador. The embassy of Chauvelin and Talleyrand was established in London; but it was coldly received by the court, and almost injuriously by the public. Its members were attacked by the ministerial newspapers, and they committed the imprudence of assiduously cultivating the society of the Opposition.

When the Parliament of Great Britain was opened on the 31st of January, 1792, the king's speech was not a speech of alarm, but of unbounded confidence. It declared that the general state of affairs in Europe

appeared to promise to his majesty's subjects a continuance of their present tranquillity; and it also announced "a continual and progressive improvement in the internal situation of the country." On the 17th of February, in a Committee of the whole House, Mr. Pitt brought under consideration a general view of the public income and expenditure. No prospect could be more gratifying than the eloquent minister's survey of the resources of the country; no declaration of policy more statesmanlike. Fox complimented his rival upon his eloquence; upon his philosophical view of the principles of government; upon his true and splendid enumeration of the causes of national prosperity. On the 2nd of April, Wilberforce moved for a Committee of the whole House to consider the African Slave Trade, with a view to a resolution for its immediate abolition. Pitt on this occasion supported his friend in one of the most eloquent speeches on record, of which Wilberforce says, "For the last twenty minutes he really seemed to be inspired." It was decided that night, by a large majority, that the Slave Trade should be gradually abolished. Pitt and Fox contended for the immediate abolition.

In this Session was carried that great improvement of the law known as Mr. Fox's Libel Bill, by which was established the right of juries to give a general verdict of guilty or not guilty upon the whole matter put in issue upon the indictment. This Bill had been lost in the previous Session through the opposition of the Chancellor, lord Thurlow, who was supported by the whole body of the judges. Lord Thurlow had become troublesome in the ministry of Mr. Pitt, occasionally setting up an independent authority, in which pretension he appears to have reckoned upon the support of the king. On the 14th of May he made an unexpected opposition to a ministerial measure in Parliament, and had nearly obtained a majority. The king sent a message to the Chancellor requiring him to give up the office; but leaving the time to his choice. The great seal was then put in commission. Lord Loughborough attempted for some time to bring about a coalition between Pitt and Fox. The attempts failed, not so much from any insuperable difference of principles between the two great Parliamentary leaders at that time, as from the difficulties that were sure to arise out of the conduct and opinions of the extreme men of either party. On the 26th of April, at a general meeting of the Society of "The Friends of the People, associated for the purpose of obtaining a Parliamentary Reform," a Declaration was agreed to be signed by many members of Parliament and other gentlemen; and it was resolved that Mr. Grey and Mr. Erskine be requested to make a motion on the subject in the next Session. On the 30th, Mr. Grey gave notice of his intention. Mr. Pitt at once declared his opinion that "This is not a time to make hazardous experiments. Could we forget what lessons had been given to the world within a few years?" Mr. Fox supported Mr. Grey, but intimated his opinion of the impolicy of joining an Association for Reform. On the 21st of May, a Royal Proclamation was issued against the publication and dispersion of seditious writings. Mr. Grey considered that this proclamation was intended to separate the Whig party. There were, indeed, many signs that a separation of old political friends was inevitable.

The Parliament was prorogued on the 16th of June. In his speech on closing the Session the king said, "I have seen with great concern the commencement of hostilities in several parts of Europe." The war between Turkey and Russia was at an end. The disciplined armies of Austria had scarcely yet come into conflict with the raw levies of France. But the empress of Russia had sent an army into Poland to destroy the new liberties of the country. In 1791 a great change had been effected in the government of Poland. The tyranny of the nobles had been abolished, with the entire concurrence of the king and the people. A new Constitution was established, which provided for an hereditary Crown; a Legislature consisting of two Houses; equality of civil rights; a complete toleration of all religions. When the king of Poland appealed to his ally, the king of Prussia, to send him that aid against Russia which Prussia was bound by treaty to render, the tricky court of Berlin replied that the change in the government of Poland had cancelled the obligation. The crimes of monarchy were at hand to make men careful not to exhaust all their indignation against the crimes of democracy.

On the 18th of June, M. Chauvelin exhorted his Britannic majesty, in the name of the king of the French, to use his influence, "to stop, whilst it is still time, the progress of a confederacy, which equally affects the peace, the liberty, and the happiness of Europe." Lord Grenville, coldly answered, "the same sentiments which have determined the king not to take part in the internal affairs of France, ought equally to induce him to respect the rights and the independence of other sovereigns, and especially those of the allies."

The emperor Leopold had died on the 1st of March. On the 6th of the same month, Gustavus III., king of Sweden, was shot at a masked ball, by Ankerstroem, one of the nobles whose privileges he had abrogated in 1789 to establish his own absolute power. He was succeeded by his son, a boy of thirteen years of age. Leopold was succeeded as king of Hungary and Bohemia by his eldest son, Francis II., who was not yet elected emperor, when France declared war against him on the 20th of April. This declaration was the act of the Girondin ministry. The administration which represented the Feuillans, or party of the Constitution, was broken up by its own differences. On the 15th of March, general Dumouriez was offered the ministry of Foreign Affairs. By the 23rd a new administration was formed. "It was the ministry of writers," says Dumont. Clavière was appointed minister of finance; and Roland de Platière was appointed minister of the interior. Roland's young and beautiful wife, an enthusiastic republican, was admitted to the political meetings of her husband and his party. Brissot, equally active in the Assembly, and in the Jacobin's Club, was the head of a faction sufficiently powerful to make himself feared by the ministry. It was Brissot who forced on the war with Austria, which was opposed by all except Dumouriez. The king was against the war; although he formally proposed to the Legislative Assembly a declaration of hostilities. The Assembly resolved on war the same night. The plan of the campaign was formed by Dumouriez. The first movements were not successful. La Fayette commanded the army of the centre; Rochambeau, the army of the north; two of his officers, Dillon and Biron, were to move

forward with divisions, as a feint, whilst La Fayette made the real advance. The troops under Dillon and Biron were each seized with a panic, at the sight of the Austrian troops. La Fayette, hearing of these misfortunes, suspended his own march.

The Girondin ministry, represented by Roland, were disposed to coerce the king, but not to adopt the extreme opinions of the Jacobins. The king hesitated about his sanction of a decree of the Assembly for the deportation of the priests who had not taken the oath; and of another decree for the formation of a large camp of federates near Paris. Roland, or rather his wife, had drawn up a letter of advice to the king, which he proposed that all the ministers should sign. They declined to do so. Another letter was then addressed by Roland to the king in his own name. It demanded, almost in a tone of menace, that the king should give his sanction to the two decrees about which he was deliberating. Dumouriez, who was not at ease with his formal associate, advised Louis to dismiss Roland and two other of the ministry. Roland went to the Assembly, and read his letter; and it was declared that the three dismissed ministers had the confidence of the country. The king resolved to sanction the decree for a camp near Paris, but not that for the deportation of the priests; and he prepared a letter to that effect to the Assembly, which he asked the remaining ministers to countersign. They refused, and were dismissed. Other ministers were appointed from the party of the Feuillans. They entered upon office on the 17th of June. The 20th of June was the anniversary of the famous day of 1789, when the States-General in the Tennis Court swore never to separate. In the faubourg Saint Antoine, and in the faubourg Saint Marceau, great crowds assembled betimes in the morning. Their purpose ostensibly was to plant a tree of liberty, and to petition the Assembly about certain constitutional grievances. The mob of armed men and armed women, led by Santerre, the brewer, reached the Salle de Manége, to the number of eight thousand. They gained admittance, and a petition was read to the Assembly, the text of which is, that "blood shall flow, unless the tree of liberty which we are going to plant, shall flourish." They defiled through the Hall, singing "*ça ira*," and shouting "Down with the Veto." The crowd had prodigiously increased when the petitioners came out. The tree was planted; and then, the king must be visited in his palace. The Place de Carrousel and the gardens of the Tuileries, were filled with this wild rabble; and at last they were battering the doors of the palace with axes and crowbars. The king went to the Council-chamber, where some of the ministers were assembled. The rabble were in the adjoining room, when Louis ordered the door to be opened. He asked the mob what they wanted. They cried "Remove Veto." "This is not the time to do so, nor is this the way to ask it," said the brave Louis. A petition was then read to him by Legendre, a butcher. For four hours did this extraordinary scene continue. The red cap was handed to the king, and he put it on. A drunken man, with a bottle in his hand, offered the king to drink, and he drank "To the Nation." Pétion, the mayor of Paris, at last arrived, and the king got out of the hands of the rude crowd, vociferous but not ferocious, though many were intoxicated. They marched through the apartments of the palace. They passed before

the queen and her son, who stood behind a table, protected by some grenadiers; they placed a red cap on the little boy's head. The sun had set before the palace was cleared; but no lives had been sacrificed. The firmness of the king had saved him.

General La Fayette, on hearing of the atrocious proceedings of the 20th of June, arrived in Paris from his army, and appeared at the bar of the Legislative Assembly, to urge an inquiry into the cause of these excesses, and to denounce their instigators. La Fayette was received with honour at the Assembly. The Jacobins in their club called for his impeachment. He left Paris in time to preserve his own life; and the Jacobins had only the satisfaction of burning him in effigy. On the 11th of July, it was resolved by the Assembly to proclaim "The Country in Danger." On the 14th of July there was a festival in the Champ de Mars—another feast of the Federation, when the king again takes the National oath. But there were no shouts for the king. The popular idol of the day was the mayor of Paris, Pétion, who had been suspended from his functions by the Directory of the Department, for his suspected connivance in the outrages of the 20th of June. "Pétion, or death," is the shout at the Feast of the Federation. On the 22nd of July, there was a procession to proclaim "The country in danger." Young men of Paris enrolled themselves to go out to do battle against the foreigner. On the 30th, five thousand other young men were marching into Paris from the city of Marseilles, singing the stirring song of the Marseillais. On the same day they were fighting with the National Guards.

The capital of France was in this state of excitement, when there appeared in the journals a proclamation of the duke of Brunswick, dated the 25th of July, in which he announced, in the name of the emperor and the king of Prussia, that they intended to deliver the king and the royal family from their captivity, and to enable him to make such convocations as he shall judge proper, and to labour in security for the welfare of his subjects. The National Guards were called upon to preserve order till the arrival of the troops of the emperor and the king of Prussia; those who fought against these troops should be punished as rebels. The inhabitants of Paris were called upon to submit instantly to their king; —"if the least violence be offered, the least outrage done, to their majesties the king, the queen, and the royal family—if they be not immediately placed in safety, and set at liberty, they [their imperial and royal majesties] will inflict on those who shall deserve it the most exemplary and ever-memorable avenging punishments, by giving up the city of Paris to military execution, and exposing it to total destruction." Louis sent a message to the Assembly disavowing the proclamation of the duke of Brunswick, and expressing doubts of its authenticity. The friends of the king were in serious alarm, and concerted measures for his flight. The decrees of the Assembly were wholly in the power of the Girondins, who desired a republic, and of the Mountain, who would not scruple to destroy the monarchy, whatever amount of butchery the attempt might involve. On the 3rd of August, Pétion appeared at the bar of the Assembly, at the head of a deputation of the Commune, demanding the deposition of the king. There was an insurrectional committee ready to strike a blow

whenever the time came. The faubourg St. Marceau, and the faubourg Saint Antoine, and the Club of the Cordeliers, were their three centres of action. On the evening of the 9th of August, Danton was crying "To arms." The Marseillais were forming their ranks at the entrance of that Club of which Danton was the leading mover. The Sections assembled, and sent their Commissioners to assume the municipal authority at the Hotel de Ville, and to displace the Council. At midnight the tocsin was sounded in every quarter. The streets were illuminated by order of the municipality. The National Guards, who were bound to defend the palace, had assembled very slowly at the beat of the rappel. The protection of the king almost wholly fell upon the Swiss Guards. Mandat, a constitutionalist, then commanding the National Guard, made the best preparations in his power to resist an attack. Mandat was sent for to the Hotel de Ville, as the morning was approaching, and was murdered. There was now no plan of defence for the Tuileries, which, as the sun rose, was surrounded by thousands of insurgents. The king was advised to go into the courts and the gardens of the palace and review the National Guards. He was received with cries of "Down with the Veto." Battalions left their positions, and joined the assailants in the Place du Carrousel. The Assembly had met during the night; and continued their sitting whilst this hurricane of popular violence was raging around them. The king and his family were strongly urged to place themselves under the protection of the Assembly. They at last consented; and when he entered the hall, Louis said, "I am come here to prevent a great crime. I believe myself in safety in the midst of you, gentlemen." It was then about nine o'clock.

The great crime, the murder of the royal family, was averted by their leaving the Tuileries; but a wholesale butchery was to manifest the devotion to liberty and patriotism of the mobs of Paris. All the troops in the courts were received into the interior of the palace. Domestics, male and female; gentlemen of the household; priests; National Guards and Swiss Guards, filled the apartments. The king had told the Assembly that he had given orders to the Swiss not to fire. It was known to the leaders of the insurgents that the king was gone. Some of the most furious of the rabble reached the vestibule. There was a barricade at the foot of the stairs; and when it was attempted to be forced, a combat began. The insurgents were driven back. The Swiss, boldly headed by two officers, marched into the court, and drove out the crowd. They even penetrated to the Carrousel, and the multitude fled before them. An order had been sent by the king that the Swiss should repair to the Assembly. About two hundred marched thither, fired upon by the National Guards. The insurgents returned to the attack; obtained possession of the vestibule; rushed up the staircase which was defended by eighty Swiss against the furious Marseillais and the pikemen of the faubourgs, till not a Swiss on the staircase was left alive. A general massacre of all within the walls, with the exception of the women, then ensued. [redacted] and works of art in the Tuileries were broken [redacted] number of the Swiss and National Guards, [redacted] tempted to make their way to the hall of the

Assembly, but the Swiss were all picked out and murdered. The Assembly sate till one o'clock in the morning, the royal family continuing in the logographe, a small box used by the reporters, all the time. A body of citizens appeared at the bar to demand the deposition of the king. Vergniaud presented the draft of a decree by which a National Convention was to be formed; and the chief of the Executive was suspended until the decision of the Convention. The decree was put and adopted without discussion. A new ministry was appointed. Roland, Clavière, and Servan resumed their offices. Danton was chosen minister of justice. The next morning the royal family were brought back to the Assembly, to listen to other decrees of their masters. It was decided on that day that the king and the royal family should be placed in the Temple—an isolated building surrounded by high walls. On the 13th of August they were removed to this, their prison abode. On the 17th of August, earl Gower, the British ambassador at Paris, was recalled by a letter from Mr. Dundas, in which he was told that his majesty judges it "most conformable to the principles of neutrality which his majesty has hitherto observed, that you should no longer remain at Paris." His excellency was further desired to take every opportunity of expressing that, while his majesty intends strictly to adhere to the principles of neutrality, with respect to the settlement of the internal government of France, he, at the same time, considers it as no deviation from those principles, to manifest, by all the means in his power, his solicitude for the personal situation of their Most Christian Majesties, and their royal family."

La Fayette, with his army, was at Sedan, when the Assembly, after the 10th of August, sent three commissioners to him with their decrees. La Fayette caused them to be arrested; refused to administer to his troops the new oath which the Assembly had sent; and called upon his soldiers to repeat the constitutional oath of obedience to the laws and the king. For this he was declared a traitor by the Assembly, and ordered to be arrested. His troops began to waver; and he thought it prudent to quit his camp with a few of his officers, and pass into the Austrian Netherlands. The Austrians arrested him and his companions as prisoners of war; and for five years he was confined in a castle in Moravia. The Prussian army continued to advance. On the 22nd of August, Longwy was taken by them, after a cannonade of a few hours. They blockaded Thionville; and were advancing towards Verdun. Paris was in great alarm; and it was decreed that thirty thousand men should be immediately raised and equipped, and go forth to meet the invader. The patriotic spirit of the people was honourably excited by the orators of the Assembly. But there were other orators who were preparing the ferocious bands whom they swayed, for deeds of bloodshed surpassing in atrocity any which had gone before. On the 29th of August, by order of the Commune, every citizen was required to be in his house by six o'clock in the evening. The barriers were closed. At one o'clock in the morning, patrols of pikemen were going through the streets, for the purpose of entering every house, under the pretence of searching for arms, but really to carry off every suspected royalist. That night the prisons were filled with hundreds of destined victims.

On the morning of the 2nd of September, it was reported that Verdun

had been betrayed by treachery into the hands of the Prussians. At noon, the people were startled by the firing of cannon, and by the peals of the tocsin. Danton, in the morning sitting of the Assembly, had said, "The tocsin which is about to sound is not a signal of alarm; it is the signal for attacking the enemies of our country." The Assembly sate again in the evening. Throughout that night of horror, the city was polluted by a massacre as frightful as the massacre of St. Bartholomew. In the prison of Des Carmes, once a convent, were those priests who had been sentenced to deportation. They comprised many of the higher clergy. The greater number of the National Guards and gendarmerie, who were posted at this prison, were removed by order in the morning. The crowd of assassins, headed by Cerat, a friend of Danton and of Marat, forced the gates. They immediately commenced shooting down the priests in the garden and the cloisters; stabbed them in their cells; or brought them out of the church, one by one to be murdered. For four hours this terrible work went on, till no victim remained. One hundred and ninety bodies were carried away in carts. At the prison of the Abbaye, after a few murders in the afternoon, a general slaughter took place as night drew on. A tribunal was formed, for the pretended trial of the prisoners. That ceremony performed, the president, Maillard, cried, "To the prison of La Force,"—and whatever man was thus condemned to death by a word, well understood, which sealed his fate, was butchered as he passed to the outer court. Thirty-eight Swiss in the prison were put to death without this ceremony. The functionaries of the municipality presented each of the executioners with twenty-four livres as his reward. The prison of La Force contained the persons belonging to the Court, whose lives were spared on the 10th of August. Amongst the ladies there was the Princesse de Lamballe, the intimate friend of the queen. This beautiful woman was murdered. Her head was placed on a pike; and was borne in horrid procession to the Temple. By the permission of the commissioners of the Commune, the ruffians were allowed to exhibit the head before the windows of the royal apartments. The king saw it; but his presence of mind saved the queen from beholding this terrible spectacle.

Some writers on the French Revolution regard these dreadful transactions as the spontaneous movement of a people infuriated by the approach of a foreign army. "History has no such complaisance," says Lamartine, "the idea belongs to Marat, the acceptance and responsibility to Danton, the execution to the council of surveillance, accompliceship to many, and dastardly tolerance to almost all." . . . The massacres of September produced a signal change in the feelings of the British nation towards the French. Those who had conceived the greatest hopes of the French Revolution—whose confidence in its chief agents had been little diminished by the previous excesses of the mobs of Paris—shrank appalled from the contemplation of the incidents of the 2nd of September. The English ministry were not moved from their safe course of neutrality, even though they had recalled the ambassador to the king of France. But, having a strong conviction how the domination of the Jacobins would end, they resolved that the accustomed English hospitality to political fugitives should not be granted to regicides.

CHAPTER LIII.

THE National Convention held its first sitting on the 22nd of September. It was an assembly not wanting in capacity for judicious legislation, if the violent members had not been certain to overpower the peaceable. The Jacobins were a contemptible minority; but they ruled the Convention through the mobs of Paris. The Girondins shrank with horror from their atrocities, but were afraid to endanger their own popularity by checking the ferocity of the people. The first act of the Convention was to decree the abolition of royalty. The proposition was a surprise to the Girondins, but they accepted it, not to be behind the Jacobins. On the 22nd of September France was declared to be a Republic.

On the same day the Convention received the news of a conflict at Valmy, which had stopped the advance of the invaders who had entered France on the 30th of July. The duke of Brunswick's army was composed of thirty-four thousand Prussians, ten thousand Austrians, and eight thousand French emigrants. Longwy had been taken at the end of August; and Verdun capitulated on the 2nd of September. There was now no fortified place to arrest their advance to the capital. But the wooded ridge of the Argonne Forest would form a strong point of defence. On the 4th of September, Dumouriez, by a rapid movement in the very face of the enemy, occupied the main passes of the forest, and took up a position of great strength at Grandpré. For many days there was a constant struggle to force these passes. The French held their ground. The country was flooded. The invading army was without food, and the peasantry were hostile. At length, on the 19th, Kellermann arrived with fifteen thousand men, and on the 20th fought the battle known as the Cannonade of Valmy. In that conflict, on the side of the revolutionists, was Louis Philippe, the son of the duke of Orleans. The battle lasted twelve hours. On the 30th of September the duke of Brunswick broke up his camp, and commenced a retreat. He had concluded a secret agreement with Dumouriez; by which it was determined that the Prussians, having given up Longwy and Verdun, should retreat unmolested, assurances having been required that the royal family of France should be saved, and an effort be made to restore the constitutional monarchy. The loss of the invaders by disease was very great. Their disgrace was irreparable.

Whilst the armies of the coalition were retreating from the Meuse, the Austrian army, under the archduke Albert, was besieging Lille. The ramparted city was bombarded for a week. There was a garrison of ten thousand ardent republicans; and a population that was not terrified whilst their poor dwellings were in flames. Dumouriez was approaching. The Austrians raised the siege on the 7th of October; and France sang another song of triumph. The French then became the invaders. A hundred thousand men, of whom Dumouriez had the chief command, entered Flanders. On the 6th of November was fought the battle of Jemappes. The Austrians were beaten, although the loss on the side of the French was more severe than that of their enemy. Dumouriez was soon in possession

of all the important fortresses of the Low Countries, the Austrians retreating before him. On the 30th of November he was in Antwerp. The Scheldt was then opened to the ships of all nations, in defiance of the treaty of Munster, by which the navigation of that river was closed against the people of the Low Countries. The French arms were equally successful against the Sardinian government, and Savoy was then annexed to the French republic as the department of Mont Blanc. On the 19th of November, the National Convention, immediately on the excitement produced by the victory of Jemappes, passed a decree, declaring that they would grant succour and fraternity to every people who desired to obtain liberty. When, at the end of November, delegates from the English "Society for Constitutional Information" appeared at the bar of the French Convention, the President expressed his conviction that "the moment without doubt approaches when the French will bring congratulations to the National Convention of Great Britain." M. Chauvelin denied that the French Republic would "favour insurrections, or excite disturbance in any neutral or friendly country whatever." But the acts of the French Convention were opposed to its professions. On the 15th of December, 1792, they issued a decree which required the French generals to proclaim, wherever they marched, the abolition of all existing feudal and manorial rights; to declare the sovereignty of the people, and the suppression of all existing authorities; to convoke the people for the establishment of a provisional government; and to place all public property under the safeguard of the French Republic. Those who would not accept liberty and equality were to be treated according to the rigour of war and conquest. The French armies were then marching into Holland, a country at peace with France. At the opening of the Session of Parliament on the 13th of December, it was stated in the king's speech that the industry employed to excite discontent on various pretexts has appeared to proceed from a design for the subversion of all order and government; "and this design has evidently been pursued in connection and concert with persons in foreign countries." His majesty went on to say that the indications of an intention in France to excite disturbances in other countries, to disregard the rights of neutral nations, and to pursue views of conquest and aggrandizement, had rendered it necessary to look to means of internal defence, and to take steps for augmenting the naval and military forces. There was an animated debate on the Address. Mr. Pitt was not present; having accepted the office of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, he was waiting his re-election. On the 31st of December, lord Grenville wrote to M. Chauvelin a remonstrance against the opening of the Scheldt, and other proofs of a disposition to foreign aggression. On the 29th, Mr. Pitt, in answer to an application from Russia, had stated to that power "the line of conduct to be followed previous to the commencement of hostilities, and with a view if possible to avert them." The answer to Russia was communicated to Prussia. The line of conduct suggested was wholly opposed to a principle of interference, even at this moment of fearful suspense.

Louis XVI. and his family had been close prisoners in the gloomy tower of the Temple from the 13th of August. At first they were not treated very harshly, though they were watched by brutal jailors, and had no com-

munication with the outer world. All the ladies of the court had been dismissed. They had no personal attendants, with the exception of Cléry, a republican, who acted as the king's valet, and who, becoming touched with pity for the sorrows of the captives, was a faithful friend to the unhappy monarch. After the Legislative Assembly was dissolved, the Convention permitted the Commune to make the position of the patient Louis and the proud Marie Antoinette as miserable as vulgar tyranny could render it. At the end of September, six municipal officers entered the tower, and read an order of the Commune which decreed that the king should have no further intercourse with his family. They were separated in an agony of grief. The queen refused all food; declaring that she would perish with hunger if the Commune persisted in separating her from her husband. The order of separation was then partially revoked. Louis and his family were allowed to meet three times a day at their meals; but a municipal guard was always present, and prevented any confidential words from passing between them. Precautions, rendered wholly unnecessary by the religious principles and the calm temper of the king, were taken by the Commune to prevent any attempt at self-destruction. Persecuted as they were, the king showed no impatience under his captivity. On the 6th of November, a report was made to the Convention by an extraordinary Committee, "on the crimes of the late king." The question whether Louis could be tried for these crimes with which he was charged, and by whom he must be tried, was debated through the month of November. It was finally decreed that he should be tried by the National Convention; and on the 6th of December, a Committee was appointed to prepare an act of impeachment against Louis Capet. On the 11th of December the king was brought to the bar of the Convention to hear this document read, and to answer questions which were put to him by the President. These questions, many of them very vague, were answered with precision by the king, though not always with candour. He asked for counsel, and after some debate the request was granted. Louis named two persons—Target and Tronchet. Target had a cowardly dread of accepting the office, and his place was taken by the venerable Malesherbes, who volunteered his services. With Malesherbes and Tronchet, Desèze was associated. There was no impediment offered to their free consultations with the king; and a fortnight was spent in preparations for the defence. On the 15th of December, a decree was passed which had the effect of isolating the poor king from all his family till the final examination. On the 26th of December, the king again appeared at the bar of the Convention. Desèze conducted the defence. His arguments were logical, but he was unequal to the task of moving an assembly that was swayed more by passion and sentiment than by reason. After his counsel had spoken, Louis addressed a few words to the Convention, in which he declared that his greatest grief was that he should have been accused of wishing to shed the blood of his people—"I who have exposed myself in order to avert the shedding of one drop of their blood." For many days there were stormy discussions in the Convention, on propositions made by those who were afraid to declare Louis not guilty, but who wished to save him without compromising themselves. It was at length determined that three questions should be determined by the vote

at the tribune of each member, on the call by name. Upon the first question, put on the 15th of January, "Is Louis Capet guilty of conspiracy against the liberty of the nation, and of attempts against the general security of the state?" six hundred and eighty-three members replied, "Yes, Louis is guilty." On the second question, "Shall the decision of the Convention be submitted to the ratification of the people?" two hundred and eighty-one voted for the appeal; four hundred and twenty-three against it. The third question, "What shall be the sentence?" was to be decided on the morrow. It was eight o'clock in the evening of that day before the voting commenced. The fearful ceremony which every member had to go through in the presence of a blood-thirsty audience in the galleries, and a furious mob without doors, was continued through the night, and was renewed the next day. The greater number of the Girondins, including Vergniaud, joined the Mountain, in voting for the sentence of Death. The duc d'Orléans, who had laid down his title to become a member of the Convention, voted for Death. It was late at night before the votes were counted. Three hundred and eighty-seven were for death without any condition; three hundred and thirty-four were for imprisonment or conditional death. Vergniaud, as President, declared the sentence. On the 19th, the immediate execution of the sentence was decided on by a majority of seventy. When the decision of the Convention was officially communicated to Louis, he requested a delay of three days to appear before his Maker; he requested that he might have a priest, the Abbé Edgeworth; he requested to see his family without witnesses, and that they might be allowed to leave France. The Convention refused the respite. They granted the priest, and the permission to see his family, which permission the brutal Commune refused to have carried out, causing them to be watched through a glass-door. They "authorized the Executive Council to reply to Louis, that the nation, always magnanimous and always just, would consider the situation of his family." The tragedy was completed at ten o'clock of the morning of the 21st of January. In his will, written on the 25th of December, this kind-hearted king says, "I recommend my son, if he has the misfortune to become king, to remember that he owes himself to the happiness of his fellow-citizens; to forget all hatred and resentment, and especially that which relates to the misfortunes and sorrows I now undergo."

On the 20th of December, the feelings of men of all parties in the British Parliament as to the probable issue of the trial of Louis XVI., had been strongly expressed, and no one was more hearty than Fox in "condemning, from the beginning to the end, the proceedings against the unfortunate king of France." In May, lord Loughborough had been ardently labouring to promote an union in administration between Pitt and Fox, in the hope that through this union he might obtain the Great Seal. The intriguing and ambitious lawyer was now labouring, with equal ardour, to reach the same crowning glory of his professional life, by inducing a large number of the Whigs, and other remnants of the Coalition ministry, to separate from Fox, and support the administration of Pitt, assuming that the minister would be induced to depart from his system of non-intervention in the affairs of France, and at once adopt the

war policy which Burke had advocated with such persevering vehemence. This negotiation was more successful than the former one. On the 20th of January, Loughborough had an interview of an hour and a half with Pitt, and he reported to Malmesbury that war was a decided measure; that Pitt saw it was inevitable. Very shortly after this interview lord Loughborough secured the adhesion of the duke of Portland; and the reward was the Great Seal, which the king delivered to him on the 28th of January. The vast majority which Pitt acquired by the accession of the Whigs who seceded from Fox was supported by the greater portion of the higher and middle classes, who had an extravagant dread of the possible progress of French principles, and not a sufficient dread of the certain evils of a contest that would entail the most fearful sacrifices upon the humbler classes, and thus produce real discontent in the place of theoretical disaffection.

The state of public opinion in England, at the period immediately preceding the commencement of the war, may be traced in the proceedings of "Associations in support of the Constitution," and in counter resolutions of Societies which advocated "The Rights of Man" — "Liberty and Equality," &c., and which, insignificant in themselves, were raised into importance by the exaggerated alarm of the "friends of established law and peaceable society," and the inopportune enthusiasm of the advocates of parliamentary reform. At this period of political heat, the trial of Thomas Paine, upon a prosecution for libel in publishing "The Rights of Man," took place on the 18th of December. The eloquent defence of Erskine did not influence the decision of the jury, who returned a verdict of Guilty, even without waiting for the Attorney-General to reply. The clamour against the republican had already condemned his book, in some respects very justly. Paine wrote an insolent letter to the Attorney-General, in which he threatened with the perils of the lamp-post and the guillotine those who were discharging their constitutional functions, and made scurrilous allusions to "Mr. Guelph and his profligate sons." The king was at this time almost universally popular. The mistakes of the early years of his reign, when he sought to govern by secret influence and favouritism, had been forgotten. The example of the court had produced a considerable reformation in the manners of the higher classes. The simple tastes of the king; his domestic piety and decorum; his habitual attention to the best pursuits of a country gentleman in his love of agriculture; his unrestrained intercourse with his subjects on public occasions; even his garrulity and familiar curiosity, made him really an object of affectionate attachment to the great bulk of the people. The nation clung to him as representing the principles most antagonistic to French philosophy.

The Alien Bill, which had been read a third time in the House of Lords, was read a second time in the House of Commons on the 28th of December. After much debate it was passed on the 4th of January. On the 7th of that month, M. Chauvelin, styling himself "minister plenipotentiary from the French Republic," addressed a Note to lord Grenville, remonstrating against this Bill as a violation of the Treaty of Commerce, by which the subjects of the two nations had liberty to come and go freely

and securely without licence or passport. The system of passports was already established in France, and was rigidly applied to British subjects. Lord Grenville returned the Note, stating that M. Chauvelin had therein assumed a character which is not acknowledged; he being in "no otherwise accredited to the king than in the name of his Most Christian Majesty." He, however, stated that "he would not decline receiving non-official communications." On the 13th, M. Chauvelin informed lord Grenville that the Executive Council had "taken the resolution of sending letters of credence to citizen Chauvelin, which would furnish him the means of treating in all the severity of diplomatic forms." On the 17th, the day when a majority of the National Convention had pronounced for the death of the king of France, M. Chauvelin required to be informed whether his Britannic majesty would receive his letters of credence; and on the 20th lord Grenville replied, "I am to inform you, that his majesty does not think fit, under the present circumstances, to receive those letters;" and he added that, "after what has just passed in France," M. Chauvelin must return, as a private person, to the general mass of foreigners in England. On the 24th, three days after the execution of Louis, M. Chauvelin was ordered, by direction of the king in council, to retire from this country within eight days.

On the 28th of January, a message was delivered to Parliament, in which the king stated the indispensable necessity of a further augmentation of forces by sea and land, the correspondence between lord Grenville and M. Chauvelin having been at the same time presented. Mr. Pitt moved an Address of thanks, in which the Parliament offered "his Majesty our heartfelt condolence on the atrocious act lately perpetrated at Paris," and assured him that, looking to "the views of aggrandizement and ambition," openly manifested on the part of France, "we consider a vigorous and effectual opposition to these views as essential to the security of everything which is most dear and valuable to us as a nation, and to the future tranquillity and safety of all other countries."

At this period, when the approaching war with France led the government of Mr. Pitt to look to our colonial possessions, it is desirable to take up the thread of Indian affairs from the close of the administration of Hastings in 1785. In 1786, lord Cornwallis was appointed Governor-General. For the first year and a half of his administration, he was enabled to give his uninterrupted attention to administrative improvements, in matters of finance especially. At the end of 1787, his tranquillity was somewhat disturbed by the great warlike preparations of Tippoo. At this period the Governor-General was not very well prepared for warlike operations. "The Company's European troops," he said, "are such miserable wretches that I am ashamed to acknowledge them for countrymen: out of the six battalions, I do not think that I could complete one that would be fit for service." In 1787, the Board of Control resolved to send out four regiments at the charge of the Company for transport and maintenance; and the Company as stoutly refused to bear the charge. Mr. Pitt, on the 25th of February, 1788, brought in a Bill to provide that the expense of "such troops as may be judged necessary for the security of the British territories and possessions in the East Indies,

should be defrayed out of the revenues arising from the said territories and possessions." This proposition gave rise to animated debates in both Houses. But the Bill was finally passed. On the 29th of December, 1789, Tippoo stormed the lines of our ally, the Rajah of Travancore. To assist in carrying on the contest against this unscrupulous despot, Cornwallis concluded alliances with the Peishwa of the Mahrattas, and the Nizam of the Deccan. General Meadows commanded the British army in the Carnatic, and general Abercrombie the army formed in the presidency of Bengal. Tippoo was compelled to return to his capital of Seringapatam. On the 29th of January, 1791, lord Cornwallis assumed the command of the army, and moved from Vellout towards Vellore, with the intention of penetrating to the heart of Tippoo's dominions. On the 5th of March he invested Bangalore, which was taken by storm on the 21st. The army then moved forward; and on the 13th of May took up a position at Arikera on the banks of the Caveri, within nine miles of Seringapatam. Having crossed the river, Cornwallis attacked Tippoo on the 15th, and obtained a victory, driving the Mysoreans to seek refuge under the guns of their capital. Cornwallis was not strong enough to besiege the city. Abercrombie was at Periapatam, with ample stores of provisions; whilst the army of Cornwallis was suffering severe privations. They could not effect a junction, although Cornwallis, in the hope of doing so, had moved up the Caveri to Caniambaddy. The Governor-General was forced "to relinquish the attack of Seringapatam until the conclusion of the rains." During the autumn, all the lines of communication for another march upon the capital of Tippoo were opened. Reinforcements had been sent out from England. Some of the strong hill forts, especially Severndroog and Octradroog, had been stormed and taken by the troops under general Meadows. On the 25th of January, 1792, Cornwallis, with 22,000 men, had united his force to the troops of the Nizam and the Mahrattas, and commenced his march from Severndroog. On the 5th of February he encamped about six miles northward of Seringapatam. The Mysorean army, amounting to 5000 horse and 40,000 foot, was encamped under its walls. The city was defended by three strong lines of works and redoubts, in which 300 pieces of artillery were planted. At eight o'clock in the evening of the 6th, the British moved in three columns to the attack, one column being led by Cornwallis himself. The moon was shining brilliantly; but the sun of the next day was declining before the firing ceased, and the whole line of forts to the north of Caveri were in possession of the British forces. Tippoo retired within the walls of his capital. Preparations for the siege went vigorously on; but negotiations for peace were at the same time proceeding. The British commander demanded that Tippoo should cede the half of his dominions; should pay a sum amounting to 3,000,000*l.*; should release all his prisoners; and should deliver his two sons as hostages. The sultan found that submission was inevitable. On the 23rd of February the preliminaries of peace were signed; and on the 25th the two sons of Tippoo were surrendered to lord Cornwallis, who treated them with more than paternal kindness. The definitive treaty of peace was signed on the 19th of March. The ceded territories were divided in equal portions between the Com-

pany, the Nizam, and the Mahrattas. The subjection of Tippoo was most opportune. When the war with France broke out, Cornwallis hurried to Madras. But his presence was unnecessary. Pondicherry had already been taken by sir John Brathwaite; and the French had no longer a footing in India.

The West India Islands in the possession of the French since the peace of 1783, were Tobago, a small territory with an unhealthy climate; St. Lucia, even more unhealthy; Martinique, an important possession; and Guadaloupe and its dependencies. The great island of Hispaniola, or San Domingo, partly French and partly Spanish, was not a colony with which any nation would have been glad to meddle in its then disturbed condition. The French planters and Creoles had talked of Liberty and Equality, and put on the tri-coloured cockade. They scorned the Mulattoes, who, in 1790, engaged in a fruitless revolt. The negroes rose against their masters in August, 1791, and this fair country went through scenes of bloody insurrection, and was plunged into a terrible anarchy, which worked itself, in course of time, under the leadership of remarkable men of the despised race, into a Black republic.

The English government felt little solicitude about those vast regions in the Pacific, which the Spaniards and Portuguese had left undiscovered, but on which the standard of England was planted early in the reign of George III. That generation did not understand the value of the great nations they were founding. The discoveries which have been attended with political and social consequences of which it is difficult to speak without apparent exaggeration, were originally impelled by the pure ardour of scientific inquiry. In August, 1768, Lieutenant James Cook was sent out in the ship Endeavour, by order of the British government, and at the request of the Royal Society, to find an appropriate spot in the South Seas, to make observations upon the expected transit of Venus over the sun's disk, in June, 1769. Cook established an observatory on the northern cape of Otaheite, the chief island of the Pacific, which had been discovered by Wallis in 1767, and had been called "King George the Third's Island." Cook, when he left Otaheite, discovered the group which he called "Society Islands," in honour of the learned body at whose instance he was sent out. But in that, his first voyage, he explored the coasts of a country which had been discovered by Tasman, a Dutch navigator, in 1642. From that time to 1769, no one had landed upon those two islands, now so familiar to us as New Zealand. The Dutchmen had discovered New Holland; but they left it unexplored. Cook minutely surveyed the eastern coast, which he called New South Wales. The naturalists of the expedition found many curious plants in an inlet of this coast, which they denominated "Botany Bay." When the American colonies became independent, and even before their independence, they refused to receive those who were convicted of such smaller felonies as were not punished by death. The capital punishment system was growing somewhat odious, and so from 1787 to 1792, about five thousand convicts were sent to New South Wales and Norfolk Island.

Canada was not wholly to be relied upon for loyalty to her conquerors, with her mixed French population; and with her proximity to the United

States. Britain must rely upon herself alone. Her military establishment at this time was not equal to any sudden emergency. The military expenditure of the year 1792 was under two millions. The expected rupture with Spain in 1790, and with Russia in 1791, had occasioned great activity in the English dockyards; and an improved plan of providing imperishable stores in the magazines had enabled ships to be quickly equipped for service. The British fleet, at the commencement of 1793, included 115 ships of the line, carrying 8718 guns. The ships of the French line were 76, carrying 6002 guns. The British navy, at the commencement of 1793, comprised 411 vessels of all rates, of which only 135 were in commission. "At no previous period had France possessed so powerful a navy," says Mr. James.* The English fleet was not so readily manned as the French fleet. The appeals to republican enthusiasm to fit out privateers were more stimulating than the sober addresses to the loyalty of our mercantile classes. On the 31st of December the French Minister of Marine addressed a letter to the friends of liberty in the seaports, promising to fly to the succour of the English republicans. "We will make a descent on the island; we will lodge there fifty thousand caps of liberty; we will plant there the sacred tree; and we will stretch out our arms to our republican brethren. The tyranny of their government shall soon be destroyed." The war was probably inevitable; but the French Convention took the initiative in declaring war, as was announced on the 11th of February by a Message from the king to the two Houses.

The opposition of Mr. Fox to the war with France, supported as he was by only a small band of his friends, was consistent and unremitting. Again and again he advocated negotiations for peace with those, whoever they were, who had the government of France in their hands. He maintained that the accounts received from all parts of the kingdom called for a conclusion to this war. The embarrassments in trade had been so serious, from whatever cause, that Parliament had sanctioned an issue of five millions in exchequer bills, to be advanced by commissioners in loans to commercial firms who could give security for repayment. The passions that were involved in this political war impelled the alarmists to call for such stringent measures of precaution and coercion as Great Britain had not witnessed since the days of the exiled Stuarts. The minister who had never sanctioned any act of the executive, or any proposal of the legislature, of an unconstitutional or arbitrary tendency, was now to become identified with measures such as Englishmen regarded as belonging to past generations of oppression. The minister who had built his reputation upon his financial prudence, was to lay a load of debt upon his country that even now seems fabulous.

Mr. Pitt began this tremendous contest by undervaluing the power of the enemy with whom he had to contend. He sent the king's second son to Holland in March, with two regiments of guards; and with a contingent of Hanoverians and Hessians. The duke of York's military experience had been limited to a field-day in Hyde Park. And yet Mr. Pitt had no doubt that this expedition, and his armaments against the

* "Naval History."

West India Islands, constituted that vigorous prosecution of the war which he promised when he brought forward his budget. "It is a memorable example of the intoxication of men," says Mackintosh, "and of their governors, that at the commencement of this war, the bare idea of the possibility of its failure would have been rejected with indignation and scorn."

Dumouriez had moved with his army on the 17th of February, 1793, to carry the war into Holland. The victor of Jemappes was hated by the party of the Mountain, but they suspended their avowal of hostility till a more convenient season. Dumouriez marched into Holland, and soon obtained possession of Breda, Klundert, and Gertruydenburg. He was brought to a stand at Williamstadt, which was occupied by a Dutch garrison who had not been corrupted, and by the English detachment of Guards. The generals who were second in command to Dumouriez had sustained severe reverses whilst he had marched into Holland. He now marched back to their succour. On the 16th of March the prince of Cobourg, commanding the Imperialists, was in position at Neerwinden; and upon the arrival of Dumouriez the small river of the Geete only separated the two armies. The river was crossed by the French on the 18th. In their attack upon the Austrians they were defeated with a loss of four thousand men; and were compelled to return to their former position. Dumouriez knew that the guillotine was in reserve for him when, on the 2nd of April, six Commissioners arrived in his camp to summon him to the bar of the Convention. He refused to obey, and sent the Commissioners as prisoners to Tournay, to be kept as hostages for the safety of the royal family. Dumouriez had been in secret communication with the Austrian general Mack; and an agreement had been come to, that the French army should evacuate Belgium; that the allied armies should not invade France; but that Dumouriez should march upon Paris, to overthrow the Jacobins, and to restore the constitutional monarchy. Dumouriez's plans failed through the desertion of a large portion of his troops, who marched to general Dampierre at Valenciennes. Dumouriez lived an exile in England till 1823.

On the 10th of March, the Convention passed a decree for the establishment of an extraordinary Criminal Tribunal, without appeal, for the trial of all traitors, conspirators, and counter-revolutionists. This terrible Tribunal was composed of five judges who were to be bound by no forms of procedure, and of a permanent jury. These jurymen were to satisfy themselves as to facts in any way that they could, and to vote audibly in the presence of a Paris mob. A Public Accuser was appointed to direct the proceedings. Fouquier Tinville, who filled this office, had only one remedy for the cure of lukewarmness towards the Republic—Death. He was in so great a hurry to do his work, that identity of person was sometimes unnecessary when an accused stood before him. Over the Revolutionary Tribunal presided the Committee of Public Safety, which was instituted at the end of March. Consisting only of nine members, it had all those appliances of despotism at its command which could not be so well managed by that discordant body the Convention. In every township of France there was a Revolutionary Committee, each consisting of

twelve staunch patriots, chosen by universal suffrage; and of these committees there were forty-four thousand, all busy in making domiciliary visits, arresting and examining the suspected, giving certificates of good citizenship, and filling the prisons with victims for the Moloch of Liberty. The effects of fear will do a great deal. But fear would not give the people food, when the interruption of commercial dealings, by the utter want of confidence between seller and buyer, kept food out of the markets. In 1792, Paris had been provisioned with grain and flour, not in the ordinary course of demand and supply, but by the municipality. The loss to the government upon this year's transaction was enormous. In February, 1793, the Convention granted an extraordinary tax to be levied upon an ascending scale upon property, moveable and immoveable. When the National Assembly and the National Convention had declared the domains of the church and the estates of the emigrants to be public property, they put into circulation a new species of Paper Money, estimated upon the supposed value of that property, denominated *Assignats*, the holders of them being assignees of so much of the property thus represented. These assignats were only convertible into lands and houses. As a necessary consequence the value of this paper money fluctuated according to the belief in the permanency of the Revolution; and in the same way the purchasers of the confiscated property became fewer and fewer when the hope of a constitutional monarchy had passed away. But the more decided was the depreciation of the Assignats the more unlimited was their issue by the Convention. As an inevitable consequence the nominal price of every article of subsistence and household necessity was prodigiously increased. The farmers kept their grain in their barns; the merchants kept their sugar in their warehouses; the soap-boilers made no stock to supply the retailers. The wages of labour remained stationary; for there was a superabundance of labour through the general interruption to production and exchange. The washerwomen of Paris went to the Convention to cry, "We want soap and bread." Commissioners of the Sections superintended the distribution of loaves to those who could pay. Furious women surrounded the grocers' shops, demanding sugar. The terrified grocers rolled their sugar hogsheads into the streets, and the citizenesses weighed it out at twenty-two sous a pound. Some paid; some helped themselves without paying; and the pallid shop-keepers helplessly looked on; for Marat said in his journal of the 25th of February that there would be an end of high prices if a few shops were pillaged, and a few shopkeepers hanged at their own doors. The Convention decreed that whoever exchanged gold or silver for a higher amount in assignats than their nominal value, and whoever stipulated for a different price of commodities if paid in paper or in specie, should be subjected to six years' imprisonment. The final step in this direction was to fix a maximum of price upon all agricultural produce and upon all merchandize. The system was extended from Paris to the departments. Misery fell upon all classes, and especially upon those who depended upon the wages of industry. But every Parisian, rich or poor, trembled and obeyed; and the provinces, for the greater part, did the same, for Paris ruled France. The greater the domestic miseries of France, the readier were its population to turn from peaceful pursuits to the excite-

ment of war. The Convention, on the 10th of March, decreed a forced levy of three hundred thousand men. This decree few dared to disobey, and many submitted to it without reluctance, and even with patriotic ardour.

The Girondins, on whose authority in the Convention rested the only hope of a stable government in France, fell, never to rise again, on the 2nd of June. They had tried to bring the Commune of Paris under the control of a Commission of Twelve appointed by the Convention. They had come into open conflict with the physical force of Paris, hounded on by the Jacobin club, by sending for trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal the idol of the populace, Marat. The sanguinary demagogue was acquitted; and he was carried upon the shoulders of the mob to the hall of the Convention, amidst the cry of "Death to the Girondins." Robespierre denounced the only party who had the confidence of the middle classes, as men who had wished to save the tyrant Louis, and had conspired with the traitor Dumouriez. On the 31st of May the mob declared itself in a state of permanent insurrection—a phrase which indicated that the ordinary operations of justice were suspended. On the 2nd of June, the Convention was surrounded by an armed force, whose decrees were to be pronounced by a hundred pieces of artillery. Resistance was in vain. Twenty-two of the Girondin leaders were conducted to prison. Many of their friends escaped to the provinces. Some who had fled from the guillotine died by their own hands. The political existence of the party was at an end.

For the most odious of the assassins of the anarchical republic there was the vengeance of assassination also in store. Charlotte Corday, a granddaughter of the great tragic poet, Corneille, had derived from some of the proscribed Girondins a hatred of Marat, as the personification of all that was atrocious in the rulers of the populace. Conceiving that if Marat should fall there might be hope for the Republic, she travelled to Paris from Caen, and with some difficulty obtained admission to the mean lodging of Marat. She found him in a bath; and there she slew him on the 13th of July. When examined, she said that she saw civil war ready to devastate France; that she deemed Marat to be the chief cause of the public calamities; and that she sacrificed her life, in taking his, to save her country. Her execution quickly followed. The wretch whom she had murdered was decreed a public funeral in the Pantheon.

The Allied army, under the prince of Cobourg, took no advantage of the alarm produced amongst the French forces by the defection of Dumouriez. There was a month of inactivity whilst a Congress was deliberating at Antwerp upon the plan of a campaign. General Dampierre, who had been appointed to the command of the republican army on the Flemish frontier, had received reinforcements in the entrenched camp of Famars, which covered Valenciennes. He thought himself strong enough on the 8th of May to make an attack on the extended lines of the Allies. On this day, the English Guards, under the duke of York, were first brought into action; and their bravery contributed much to the result of the engagement. The French were driven back to their camp, with a severe loss, and general Dampierre was killed. On the 23rd the camp of Famars was attacked and

carried by the Allies; and the French fell back to the camp of Cæsar, leaving Valenciennes uncovered. The siege of that city commenced on the 14th of June, the besieging forces being commanded by the duke of York. A fierce bombardment went on till the 28th of July, when the garrison capitulated, and were allowed to retire to France, on condition of not again serving against the Allies. Condé also capitulated in July. On the Rhine, the forces of Prussia had defeated the French in several considerable actions. The great success was the surrender of Mayence to the king of Prussia, after a protracted siege, on the 22nd of July; the garrison of twenty thousand men being allowed to retire to France upon the same condition as the garrison of Valenciennes. The king of Prussia, having thus secured the safety of his own frontier, sent the greater part of his army to occupy Dantzic and Thorn, upon which he had seized as his spoil in the new partition of Poland. At the beginning of August, the republicans were driven from their stronghold, the camp of Cæsar, to a position behind the Scarpe, in front of Arras. But there was little vigour amongst the Allies, and there was less union. The combined armies separated. The Austrians, with forty-five thousand men, commenced the siege of Quesnoy, which fortress they took. The British, and their Hanoverian contingents, under the command of the duke of York, marched to attack Dunkirk, and were joined by a detachment of Austrians. This movement was dictated by the ministry of Mr. Pitt, under the miserable traditional desire to maintain our maritime ascendancy by the possession or the destruction of this French naval entrepôt. The duke had thirty-seven thousand men under his command. On the 18th of August an engagement took place at Lincelles, and the brave Guards carried a strong redoubt. Dutch troops also advanced against Dunkirk. Eleven battalions were sent from the Thames, with a bombarding flotilla; but they arrived too late. Whilst the besieging army were preparing for active operations during three weeks, exposed all the time to the fire of the enemy's gun-boats, the French, by the energetic direction of Carnot, who had brought the military affairs of the republic under the control of one powerful will, had rapidly marched from the Moselle, and finally compelled the duke of York to raise the siege. The covering army of the Austrians was defeated on the 8th of September, by the French general Houchard, near Hondscoote. The garrison of Dunkirk made a sally on the besiegers at the same time. The duke of York was placed in a position of imminent danger; and he resolved, on that night of the 8th, to withdraw from his lines, abandoning his heavy artillery and ammunition. The Convention put general Houchard to death because he had not been vigilant enough to prevent the retreat of the English. In the affair of Dunkirk the duke of York manifested a generous forbearance towards those who were chiefly to blame, and desired that his friends would not defend him at the expense of others. Nevertheless, on the first night of the Session (January 21, 1794), Mr. Fox did defend him, and did blame Mr. Pitt.

The failures in the North of France were compensated in the view of the British government by great events in the South. Lyon, Toulon, La Vendée, during that autumn, were the scenes of some of the most stirring and terrible events in modern history. Lyon, the great manu-

facturing city of the Rhone and the Saone, in 1793 contained a population amongst which were to be found all the extreme opinions engendered by the Revolution. The party of the Girondins was the most numerous; that of the Jacobins the most daring. There dwelt in Lyon a Piedmontese, named Chalier, who, upon the breaking out of the Revolution, went to Paris, and became associated with Robespierre. On his return to Lyon he and his brother clubbists sent for a guillotine from Paris; issued lists of the proscribed; and having obtained the control of the municipal authority, enforced their sweeping orders for the arrest and imprisonment of suspected persons. At length the terrorists, with their revolutionary tribunal, roused the citizens of Lyon to resistance. A battle between the partizans of Chalier and the sections of the city took place, which ended in the defeat of the municipal tyranny, and the triumph of the Girondins, at the very time when their leaders had fallen in Paris. Chalier was condemned to death, and died by his own guillotine. The city refused to accept the new Constitution decreed by the Convention; and in August was in open revolt, with republican armies gathering on every side. Kellermann had been ordered to leave the defence of the frontiers to meet this more pressing danger. The leader of the men of Lyon, the count De Précy, was a brave and skilful commander; and so directed the armed resistance of the Lyonnese that for two months they defended the beleaguered city amidst all the horrors of a bombardment. The fiercest assaults of the infuriated besiegers were met by the desperate sallies of the starving besieged. Shelter and sustenance were at an end; when De Précy and three thousand resolute followers went forth to cut their way through the republican lines, leaving Lyon to its fate. The greater number of this band perished. De Précy was one of the few who escaped. On the 8th of October the troops of the Convention entered the town. Kellermann, whose views were too merciful for the Jacobin rulers of France, had been superseded by Dubois-Crancé; and his authority was merged, after the surrender of the city, in the supreme power of Couthon and the other Commissioners of the authorities in Paris. The doom of Lyon, with its hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, was pronounced by Barère, "Let the plough pass over Lyon. Let her name cease to exist. The rebels are conquered; but are they all exterminated? No weakness; no mercy. Let every one be smitten." The Convention issued its decree; Collot d'Herbois and Fouché went forth to execute it. The former of these Pro-consuls wrote to the Convention, "We go on demolishing with the fire of artillery, and with the explosion of mines, as fast as possible. But you must be sensible that, with a population of 150,000, these processes find many obstacles. The popular axe cuts off twenty heads a day, and still the conspirators are not daunted. The prisons are choked with them. We have erected a Commission as prompt in its operations as the conscience of true republicans trying traitors can be. Sixty-four of these were shot yesterday on the spot where they had fired on the patriots. Two hundred and thirty are to fall this day in the ditches, where their execrable works had vomited death on the republican army."

Marseille had preceded Lyon in an insurrection against the Jacobin tyranny. But the revolt had been suppressed by general Carteaux; and

those who had escaped the gaol and the scaffold had fled to Toulon. In that great sea-port there was deep discontent; and a monarchical spirit was rising into avowed hatred of the excesses of the republic. In the middle of August, admiral lord Hood was off Toulon, with twenty-one sail of the line and several frigates and sloops. A Spanish fleet was on its passage from Cadiz to join lord Hood. The French fleet in Toulon consisted of seventeen sail of the line, with frigates and corvettes, besides others fitting and repairing. Its commander, admiral Trogoff, was opposed to the course of the Revolution. On the 23rd of August two Commissioners from Toulon came off to Lord Hood's flag-ship, to propose the surrender of the port and shipping to the British, with a view to the restoration of peace, and the re-establishment of a monarchical government, under the son of Louis XVI. After some delay, occasioned by the opposition of the French admiral St. Julien, a staunch republican, who was supported by the crews of seven ships, the British marines, and the Spanish forces that had now arrived, took possession of the forts of Toulon. The French fleet removed into the inner harbour, and the British and Spanish fleets occupied the outer harbour. St. Julien and his adherents were permitted to leave the ships, and escape into the interior. The besieging army of Lyon was now free to march against the revolted sea-port; general Carteaux moved from the subdued Marseille with his troops; another force advanced from Nice. In a few weeks a great French army was gathered round the walls of Toulon, animated by one spirit and led by daring officers. The garrison of Toulon at the end of October was in number about seventeen thousand, consisting of a mixed force of French royalists, Piedmontese, Neapolitans, and Spaniards, with little more than two thousand British. Horatio Nelson, a post-captain in the British fleet, was dispatched in his swift-sailing ship, the Agamemnon, to procure from Naples the aid of Neapolitan troops; four thousand of whom finally joined the Allied forces under the temporary command of lord Mulgrave.

In the French army was an officer of artillery, Napoleon Bonaparte. He was twenty-four years of age; had been educated at the military school at Paris; had been a lieutenant of artillery in his seventeenth year; early in 1793 had fought for the Convention against Paoli in his native Corsica; had left the island in May of that year; had spent a short time at Marseille, where he had written a pamphlet exhorting the revolted Marseillese to obey the Convention; and in September had attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel of artillery, and had joined the besieging army before Toulon. He had a plan for conducting the attack upon Toulon, which he finally submitted to a Council of War, when general Carteaux had been replaced by a more able commander, Dugommier. This plan had for its basis to attack the outer works which commanded the harbour, instead of making a general assault upon the town. The engineering operations of the French appear not to have at first impressed lord Hood and lord Mulgrave with an adequate sense of their possible consequences. The garrison made an ineffectual sortie, on the 30th of November, with two thousand three hundred troops of various nations, of which three hundred only were British. General O'Hara, the commander of the garrison, was

wounded and taken prisoner. On the 17th of December, after a continued bombardment during twenty-four hours, the French forced the line of defence in two of its most essential points; and now, to use lord Hood's words, "the enemy commanded the town and ships by their shot and shells." In a council of war held the same day it was determined to evacuate the town; and it was also resolved that the French ships which were fitted for sea should sail out with the English fleet, and that those which remained in the harbour, as well as the magazines and arsenal, should be destroyed. Sir Sidney Smith volunteered to conduct the terrible work of destruction. On the evening of the 18th the Vulcan fire-ship was towed into the inner harbour, and placed across the tier of the men-of-war. Preparations had previously been made for burning the arsenal and the storehouses. At ten o'clock a rocket flew up; and then the trains were fired that consigned the stores of this great naval depôt to the flames; and the fireship went amongst the men-of-war and the frigates at their anchorage, and they were quickly burning to the water's edge, amidst the explosion of powder magazines which threatened to involve the destroyers themselves in the general havoc. Many of the more prominent of the monarchical party had been previously received on board the British and Spanish ships which were about to move into the roads off Toulon; but there was a helpless band of fugitives left behind, who crowded the quays of Toulon, earnestly imploring a refuge in the Allied fleet from the dreaded vengeance of the triumphant republicans. Sir Sidney Smith lingered in the harbour—amidst the bewildering glare and smoke, the tempest of scorching ashes, even the fire of the republican batteries upon the fort,—till his own retreat had become difficult, in the endeavour to rescue all who cried to him for succour. Lord Hood, in his despatch of the 20th December, writes, "It is a very comfortable satisfaction to me, that several thousands of the meritorious inhabitants of Toulon were sheltered in his majesty's ships." Those were sedulously cared for who claimed protection as being most compromised. The refugees of Toulon, according to Lamartine, were conveyed to Leghorn, and established themselves in Tuscany. Barère expressed the temper of the French Convention towards Toulon: "The conquest won by the Mountain over the Brissotines must be commemorated by a mark set on the place where Toulon once stood. The national thunder must crush the house of every trader in that town." The Committee of Public Safety had sent thither its commissioners, Barras, Fréron, and the younger Robespierre. On the 24th of December, five days after Toulon had been evacuated by the Allies, Fréron wrote to the Committee in Paris, that he had secured twelve thousand labourers to raze to the ground the buildings of the town; and he added, "Each day I accomplish the fall of two hundred heads; and already eight hundred Toulonese have been shot."

La Vendée,—a tract of about a hundred and fifty miles square, on the southern bank, and at the mouth of the Loire,—was a pastoral district, where the resident proprietors lived without pomp or luxury, keeping up an affectionate intercourse with the peasantry; where the curés and their flocks had no differences of opinion, and the philosophy of the Revolution had not come to disturb the old piety and its traditional superstitions. This

state of tranquillity was interrupted by the harsh measures of the republican authorities before the death of the king. At La Florent in Anjou, the young men made a forcible resistance to the Commissioners who were superintending the ballot for the levy of troops. Jaques Cathelineau, a hawker of woollens, put himself at the head of a band, whose numbers soon amounted to a thousand. After several successful encounters with the republican troops, they suddenly dispersed to keep the festival of Easter, but they were soon again in the field, many under the command of M. de Charette, who became the principal chief of the district of Bas Poitou. Another leader, the most popular of the insurgents, was young Henri de la Rochejaquelein. There were other chiefs who held commands, some of whom had served in the army. But the discipline of the insurgents was very imperfect, and their organization still more loose. After various successes against the republicans, the contest assumed the most formidable dimensions. Cathelineau was appointed to the chief command of the insurgents; but was soon after killed. General Westermann was dispatched by the Convention, with orders to lay waste and burn the whole district. The royalists attacked Westermann at Chatillon; and his defeat was followed by fearful massacres of the republicans in revenge of their vindictive acts. The whole country was in the agonies of an internecine conflict. During the summer the English government offered assistance through an emigrant from Brittany, M. de Tinteniac. The Vendean chiefs proposed a place of landing for a British force, and promised to join with fifty thousand men. For months the Vendeans thought that the promised help would come, but the war went on without any assistance from the ministry of Mr. Pitt. The Convention sent two hundred thousand men into La Vendée, with orders that the whole inhabitants should be exterminated without regard to age or sex, the woods in which they sheltered cut down, the habitations given to the flames. The Vendeans obtained a victory over Kleber, at Chollet, in September; but another battle was fought on the same ground, when the overwhelming forces of the republic drove the insurgents to the low country on the bank of the Loire. The people of Brittany invited the fugitives to come over the Loire, and join their fates to theirs. There were five thousand republican prisoners with the Vendean army. It was proposed to shoot them. De Lescure, one of the most beloved chiefs, interfered, and they were spared. De Lescure had previously been wounded. Almost in his dying hours this devoted royalist heard of the queen's death. He cried out, "Ah! the monsters have killed her! I fought to deliver her! If I live it will be to revenge her. No more quarter." De Lescure died: but his words were not forgotten. Then came a series of battles in which no quarter was given on either side. The harassed fugitives again tried to repass the Loire, reduced in number to ten thousand survivors. The final destruction of the "Catholic army" soon closed the first great struggle of the Vendeans. The brave Henri de la Rochejaquelein was killed. The horrible proceedings of the Jacobin Proconsul Carrier at Nantes—his *noyades*, in which boat-loads of victims were sunk daily by this exulting ruffian,—these formed the climax of the horrors of the royalist war. At the moment when the Vendeans had re-crossed the Loire, unable to

maintain their position in Brittany, an expedition under the command of lord Moira, with eight English battalions and ten thousand Hanoverians and emigrants, was dispatched to their assistance. There was no signal from the shore. The help had come too late.

From her prison in the Temple, where she had been brutally separated from her son, queen Marie Antoinette was removed to the dens of the Conciergerie. After a mock trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal, she was dragged to the scaffold, on the 10th of October—dying with the same mixture of pious fortitude and lofty contempt of her persecutors which she had shown through all her sufferings. Vergniaud, the young and eloquent, and twenty-one other Girondin deputies, were put to death on the 31st of October. The enthusiastic Madame Roland; Bailly, once so venerated as a patriot; and the duke of Orleans, whose fate nobody deplored, were executed early in November. Jourdan drove the prince of Cobourg over the Sambre on the 16th of October. Success threw a veil over the crimes of the Jacobin government.

CHAPTER LIV.

At this season, when Englishmen were hearing and reading of the atrocities of the Reign of Terror, and were seeing obscure corners of London filled with emigrant nobility and clergy, the government chose to fancy that revolutionary principles had an especial attraction for some portion of the people of this country. According to the belief of the great parliamentary majority, the advocates of Reform were the high-priests of anarchy. Thomas Muir, a young advocate at the Scotch bar, and Thomas Fyshe Palmer, an English clergyman, were agitators for Reform in the representation of the people. They were prosecuted under the Scotch law. The lord justice clerk Braxfield summed up violently against Muir, and he was sentenced to fourteen years' transportation. Seven years' transportation was the punishment inflicted upon Palmer. These arbitrary proceedings formed the subject of several debates in the House of Commons; and Mr. Pitt had on this occasion, as in many other instances, to endure the reproach of departing from the principles he once professed, in now sanctioning the execution of the sentences upon these men.

On the 12th of May a Message from the king was delivered to the House of Commons by Mr. Secretary Dundas, in which it was stated that upon information of seditious practices carried on by "The Society for Constitutional Information," and "The London Corresponding Society," their books and papers had been seized; and that his majesty had ordered them to be laid before the House. A Committee of Secresy was appointed by ballot to examine these papers, and on the 16th they presented their first Report. Mr. Pitt then moved the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. This measure was opposed strenuously by the usual small minority, carried through the Commons; and was passed at three

o'clock on Sunday morning, the 18th. On the 23rd it passed the House of Lords. On the 19th, after examinations before the Privy Council, six persons were committed to the Tower, charged with high treason; amongst whom were the Rev. Jeremiah Joyce, private secretary to earl Stanhope, Horne Tooke, and John Thelwall. Five months were employed by the government in preparation for the arraignment of thirteen persons to be charged with "compassing the death of our Lord the King." The Grand Jury of Middlesex having found an indictment against twelve persons for high-treason, and a Special Commission having been appointed for their trials, this memorable proceeding commenced at the Session House in the Old Bailey, on the 28th of October, with the trial of Thomas Hardy. Erskine and Gibbs were assigned as counsel for the prisoner. Sir John Scott, Attorney-General, opened the case for the prosecution in a speech of nine hours, in which he maintained that the evidence would establish the fact of a conspiracy to depose the king. This evidence occupied five days, from an early hour of each morning till midnight. It embraced a vast variety of matters which Erskine, in his reply, described as not the peculiar transactions of the prisoners, but of immense bodies of the king's subjects in various parts of the kingdom, assembled without the smallest reserve. The reply of the great advocate occupied seven hours in the delivery. In the whole compass of forensic eloquence is not to be found a nobler display of impressive reasoning, of constitutional learning, of earnestness in the assertion of the great principles of liberty, of fearlessness in the exposure of the tendencies towards arbitrary government. After nine days' close confinement, the jury returned a verdict of Not Guilty. Tooke and Thelwall were arraigned upon the same charge, and with the same evidence. They were both defended by the same eloquent advocate, and, in each case, the same verdict of Not Guilty was returned.

From the commencement of the war, the spirit of Reform in England was abundantly neutralised by the spirit of Patriotism. The French government at the beginning of 1794 threatened invasion. The English government not only increased the regular forces, but advocated the formation of bodies of Volunteers in every county. This arming of the people was principally confined to corps of yeomanry cavalry. A great naval commander, the earl of Dundonald, says of this period, "The energy of the government kept pace with the patriotism of the nation. That fearful system of naval jobbery,—which unhappily characterized the subsequent progress of the war, crowding the seas with worthless vessels, purchased into the service in exchange for borough influence,—had not as yet begun to thwart the unity of purpose and action." There was no false economy in the supply of means for manning the navy; although the want of men was sensibly felt. The number of 85,000 seamen and marines, voted by Parliament for the year, could only be obtained by the wretched system of impressment. The signal triumphs of the British fleets were the counterbalance to the long series of disasters and mistakes in the employment of the British armies. The earliest in the series of great naval victories was that of earl Howe, on the first of June. This veteran sailed from St. Helen's, on the 2nd of May, and, with twenty-six sail of the line, and five frigates, cruised for many days off Ushant, in foggy weather. At last it

was ascertained that the Brest fleet had put to sea. That fleet was declared by the French journalists to be the most formidable that had ever anchored in Brest harbour. In the number of line-of-battle ships the French were equal to the English; in size, and in the weight of metal and the number of men, they were superior. On the evening of the 28th there was a partial engagement, in which one English, and one French ship were disabled. There was much firing between the English van and the French rear on the following day. On the 30th and 31st, a heavy fog prevented any decisive movement. On the morning of the 1st of June, the sky was bright; and the French were seen under easy sail, in order of battle. Then began one of the most desperate actions in our maritime records. The close fighting lasted little more than an hour; when the French admiral, who had been engaged with Howe's own ship, the Queen Charlotte, crowded off, followed by all who could carry sail, leaving half his dismasted fleet behind him. "Seven ships," says lord Howe in his despatch, "remained in our possession; one of which, however, sank before the adequate assistance could be given to her crew; but many were saved."

Five days before the first of June, the National Convention, upon the motion of Barère, had decreed that no quarter should be given to Englishmen or Hanoverians. Fortunately for the honour of the French soldiers, no respect was paid to the order of the Convention. The system of terror, of the theory of which this odious decree was the exponent, was approaching its termination. But in France it was not a theory as long as Robespierre was the real ruler of the unhappy country. The Notabilities of the Revolution had fallen in quick succession. For republicans and royalists, for rich and poor, for either sex, for bedridden fourscore and for blooming sixteen, the Revolutionary Tribunal had its infallible prescription. In April and May the dread machine did its work upon five hundred and twenty-seven select victims. In the months of June and July fifteen hundred and seven persons were condemned by the Revolutionary Tribunal, and were carted every day to the guillotine—every day, with the exception during these two months of five décadi, the décadi being the public holiday substituted for Sunday. The work went on, although the Convention had deposed the Goddess of Reason and decreed "the existence of the Supreme Being." The festival of this newly discovered Divinity of the Revolution was celebrated by a miserable extravaganza, in which Robespierre officiated as High Priest. Two days after this festival, which was to be the herald of gladness for all the earth, it was decreed in the Convention that the Revolutionary Tribunal should be divided into four Tribunals, so as to do its work more expeditiously. Members of the Committee of Public Safety began to tremble for their own lives. On the 26th of July, the speech which Robespierre delivered from the tribune, calling, in the old terms, for vengeance upon traitors, was received with no applause. The next day in the Convention loud shouts of fury rose against the tyrant and his two ferocious colleagues—Couthon and St. Just. "Decree of Accusation," was roared out on all sides. Robespierre and his brother Augustin, Couthon, St. Just, Lebas, were decreed. The accused were sent off to prison; but the gaolers had orders from the Municipality not to admit any brought in custody. They [illegible] to the town hall. Paris was in tumult through

the afternoon and night. The Convention had decreed Robespierre and his adherents out of law. They had given the command of troops to Barras, who went forth to encounter the troops of the Municipality under Henriot. They stood face to face in the Place de Grève. The armed men of each party united to uphold the decree of the Convention. Henriot rushed into the Hôtel de Ville to say all was lost. Robespierre put a pistol in his mouth, and blew off his under jaw. Henriot and Augustin Robespierre threw themselves out of the window. At four in the afternoon of the 28th of July, Robespierre, his jaw bound up, his mangled brother lying beside him, with Henriot in the same wretched condition, were carried on a tumbril to the guillotine, other tumbrils following with other condemned. The executioner's work was done, and Paris sent forth its universal shout of joy. The vicissitudes of parties in France were no interruption to the success of the French armies. To understand this apparent anomaly, it must not be forgotten that the French army was directed by one prevailing mind, that of Carnot; and that the leaders were men of extraordinary military capacity, who had one purpose—to make the Republic victorious. The armies of the Coalition were distracted by the rivalries and jealousies of sovereigns and generals. The incapacity of the leaders was as notorious as the selfishness of the crowned heads who appointed them. The English government tried in vain to purchase energy and activity by immense subsidies to Prussia and Austria. The duke of York defeated Pichegru on the 10th of May. Charleroi, besieged by the French, had been relieved by the hereditary prince of Orange on the 14th of May, after a severe battle, when the enemy was driven across the Sambre. Jourdan, having given some offence to the Committee of Public Safety, had left the army, and was again a shopkeeper at Limoges. He was summoned from his obscurity to take the command of the army of the Moselle. After defeating the Austrian general at Arlon, he captured Charleroi on the 25th of June; and on the 29th won the battle of Fleurus, which decided the fate of the Netherlands. The duke of York was forced to retreat from Tournay and Oudenarde upon Antwerp. After various disasters to the British army, and a vain attempt to arrange a system of co-operation that might remove the jealousies between the British commander-in-chief and the Austrian generals, Mr. Pitt stated to the king "the necessity of putting an end to the duke of York's command of the army on the continent." His royal highness was on that day requested to return home. The command of the army, now wretchedly reduced in number, was left to a Hanoverian nobleman, count Walmoden. The surrender of Bois-le-duc, Nimeguen, and Maestricht, had left the road into Holland open to the Republicans. The winter had set in with severity. Pichegru crossed the river Waal on the ice in the middle of December. The British troops, 8000 in number, who were commanded by general Dundas under Walmoden, made a desperate attack upon the French, and drove them back over the Waal. But when Pichegru again crossed the Waal with an immense army, there was no chance but that of a speedy retreat to save the remnant of the British. After terrible losses from a pursuing enemy, and from the inclement weather, two or three thousand of our countrymen fought their way to the mouth of the Elbe, and embarked at Bremen for England. Holland was lost.

The national spirit of independence in Poland had not availed against her powerful oppressors. Russia appropriated a large share of the spoil, and chucked a smaller share to Prussia. Poniatowski, Kosciusko, and many others who had fought against Russia, left their country. In 1794 the time appeared favourable for another attempt at independence. In the north of Poland there was an insurrection. An army was quickly organized. Kosciusko returned to Poland, and was appointed the leader of his countrymen. He obtained a signal victory on the 4th of April. The people of Warsaw then rose, and expelled the Russians from their city. Aid from all sides came to the patriotic cause. Kosciusko was advancing to meet the Russian intruders; when Frederick William of Prussia, having received his pay from England for effectual assistance in the war against France, marched into Poland at the head of forty thousand men. He was boldly met by Kosciusko, with a force not one-third of that number. Kosciusko was obliged to retreat towards Warsaw; but he effectually covered that capital for two months. Austria now marched an army into Little Poland. On the 10th of October, in an unsuccessful battle against the Russians under Suwaroff, Kosciusko was wounded. As he fell, he exclaimed, "*Finis Polonia.*" The struggle was continued for a little while, and then Warsaw capitulated; after Suwaroff had put to the sword twenty thousand wretched inhabitants of the suburb of Praga.

In concert with Paoli, who had organized a revolt against the French authorities in Corsica, lord Hood determined to besiege the republican occupiers of Fiorenzo. Horatio Nelson, one of lord Hood's captains, effected for his admiral the reduction of the strong post of Bastia, taking the command of the soldiers, seamen, and marines. Four thousand troops capitulated to a force not exceeding twelve hundred men. Corsica, for a short period, was annexed to Great Britain.

In the royal speech at the meeting of the English Parliament, on the 30th of December, disappointments and reverses were acknowledged, but security, it was said, was only to be found in firmness and perseverance. Forces were to be augmented; large additional burdens were to be imposed; and operations for another campaign were to be concerted with such of the powers of Europe as were impressed with the same sense of the necessity for vigour and exertion. In the House of Commons, George Canning, who had taken his seat in the previous session, seconded the motion for the Address. His uncompromising speech for a vigorous continuance of the war called up Wilberforce to move an Amendment to the Address—Wilberforce, the warmest and most disinterested friend of Pitt. The conscientious man had become convinced that his duty lay in recommending an attempt to negotiate with the French republic for peace on equitable terms. Pitt felt this difference very acutely, although he showed no resentment. Wilberforce subsequently brought forward a specific motion to recommend overtures for peace, which, of course, was rejected by a large majority. During this session the resistance to the policy of the government was very ineffectual. The Habeas Corpus Suspension Act was continued. A loan of four millions to the emperor was voted. [illegible] of Warren Hastings, which had dragged on for seven [illegible] at last, the Lord Chancellor declaring him

upon the votes of the peers, to be acquitted of all the charges of impeachment brought against him.

The great domestic event of the year was the marriage of the prince of Wales. Lord Malmesbury was commanded by George III. to proceed to Brunswick, to demand the princess Caroline in marriage for the heir-apparent. The sagacious ambassador very soon perceived the danger of the intended alliance. He regretted the apparent facility of the princess's character—her want of reflection and *substance*—"with a steady man she would do vastly well, but with one of a different description there were great risks." Malmesbury did his duty in offering her advice, and sometimes remonstrance—especially "on the toilette, on cleanliness, and on delicacy in speaking." The destined bride and the ambassador set out at last for the court of St. James's. The marriage took place on the 8th of April. Parliament voted a large income, but determined that out of this income the prince's debts should be paid without a separate grant.

A pacification with the Vendean chiefs had been effected by the commissioners of the Convention on the 12th of February, 1795. But the warlike members of the English Cabinet had been led to believe that the whole country could be again roused, if the means were afforded of landing a body of emigrant volunteers, and of supplying arms to the peasantry. A squadron of nine ships of war, under the command of sir John Borlase Warren, convoyed fifty transports, having on board the royalists and their stores. On the 27th of June they landed near Carnac. On the 3rd of July they occupied the peninsula of Quiberon. Charette, Stofflet, and other insurgent chiefs, who had submitted in February, resumed their arms. But Hoche was at hand with fourteen thousand men. He made a night attack upon Fort Penthièvre; poured his thousands into the peninsula; and by day-break he was driving the wretched emigrants into the sea, or taking them prisoners, to be doomed to death as traitors to the Republic.

On the 8th of June, the unhappy son of Louis XVI. died a prisoner in the Temple, in the twelfth year of his age. The poor boy had been subjected to the most shameful treatment, even when the Jacobin reign of terror was at an end. He was confined in a small room; was left without change of linen; was devoured by vermin. The daughter of Louis XVI. was released from her confinement, after the death of her brother. In May, 1795, Fouquier Tinville, and fifteen of the old Revolutionary Tribunal, were brought before a new Revolutionary Tribunal, were condemned to death, and were executed. The struggle against the power of the Convention by the sans-culottes of Paris, crying for bread, and led on by a remnant of the chiefs of the days of terror, now broke out in three insurrections. The first, on April 1st, was put down by Pichegru without bloodshed, by the mere boom of unshotted cannon. The second revolt was on May 20th. The cry now was "Bread and Constitution." Saint Antoine poured out its citizenesses into the hall of the Convention. Its citizens murdered one of th deputies, Férand. Sixty of the old deputies of the *Mountain* retained their seats in the hall, all others having gone away to look for safety. The purged Assembly now decreed whatever sans-culottism demanded. But the Jacobin deputies and their rabble were

soon swept out by charge of bayonet; and the guillotine, suicide, and deportation, left the Convention for a little while in quiet. Sièyes had his plans ready for a new Constitution far less democratic than that of 1793. It was determined to submit this Constitution for the acceptance of the people in their primary assemblies on the 6th of September. It was accepted by a very large majority of the people, and it was declared to be the fundamental law of the State. The Sections of Paris were, however, in a ferment. The Convention saw that a third revolt was at hand. It had five or six thousand troops for its defence, and Menou had their command as general-in-chief of the army of the interior. But Menou proved unequal to the task assigned him, and Barras was appointed in his stead. Napoleon Bonaparte was placed at the head of the troops of the line, as second in command to Barras. Bonaparte at once sent to Sablons for a park of artillery, which had been deposited there during the insurrection of May, and on the morning of the 5th he distributed his cannons and his troops at every point where the Convention was open to attack. Generals were chosen by the Sections. A plan of attack upon the Tuileries was arranged. The members of the Convention took their seats, arms having been provided, which they were themselves to use in case of attack. The day wore on till half-past four, all the streets surrounding the Tuileries being filled with the troops of the Sections. The insurrectionary columns coming where Bonaparte's men were posted, instead of dispersing, as they were summoned to do, discharged their muskets. Bonaparte then opened a heavy fire of grape-shot upon a great body of insurgents, who had taken up a commanding position on the steps leading to the Church of St. Roch. He brought his cannon into the street of St. Honoré, and swept it with his *mitrailles* from one end to the other. The insurgents fled from this quarter; but at other points of the city the same contest was going on between disciplined troops, most skilfully disposed, and a rash multitude without efficient leaders. At six o'clock all was over, and the victorious general of the Convention fired his cannon loaded with powder only, to terrify those who had still a wish to fight.

The Session of Parliament was opened on the 29th of October. On his way to the Houses the king was assailed with cries of "Bread! bread! Peace! peace!" One of the windows of the state carriage was broken by a stone, or by a shot from an air-gun. The king manifested his wonted courage, amidst the groans and hisses of an excited mob. Provisions at this period were excessively dear, and there was a good deal of popular discontent. The government, as was for many years its policy, whenever popular discontent assumed the form of violence and outrage, was ready with its measures of coercion. Two Bills were passed—the one to attach the penalty of treason to certain libels; the other to give one magistrate the power of dispersing any assembly, under the penalty of death to those who demurred to his will. The parliamentary opposition to these measures was strong, and the public disapprobation was expressed in the most [illegible] manner. The country had never been more agitated than at

[illegible] Directory resolved to attack the forces of the emperor [illegible] and the same time. The command of the army of the

Sambre and the Meuse was given to Jourdan; the command of the army of the Rhine and Moselle was given to Moreau. Bonaparte had devised a plan for the invasion of Italy, which he submitted to Carnot, then one of the Directory. The young general was appointed chief of the army in Italy, and on the 27th of March he entered upon his command at Nice. Bonaparte had then just married Josephine Beauharnois, the widow of the viscount Beauharnois, who had taken the side of the revolutionists, but was guillotined in the days of terror.

At the commencement of Bonaparte's first Italian campaign, the kingdom of Sardinia—consisting of Savoy, Nice, Piedmont, and the island of Sardinia—was under Victor Amadeus III., who had joined the coalition against France. Savoy and Nice were very soon seized by the revolutionists. The republic of Genoa was neutral, but it was not in favour with the Directory. The Grand Duchy of Tuscany, under Ferdinand III. had recognized the French Republic at an early period. The small republic of Lucca was independent of Tuscany. The anathemas of Pope Pius VI. against the Revolution were not likely to divert the French armies from plundering Rome, and devastating the wretchedly administered States of the Church. The Kingdom of Naples, including Sicily, was under Ferdinand IV., a weak Bourbon prince, married to the sister of Marie Antoinette. The Duchy of Modena was governed by Ercole Renaldo, a descendant of the house of Este. The Duchy of Parma was ruled by a Spanish prince, Don Ferdinand. The two Duchies of Milan and Mantua, forming Lombardy, were under the emperor of Germany, Francis II. The Republic of Venice had declared against France in 1793; but had subsequently adopted a neutral policy, and had compelled the head of the French Bourbon family to quit Verona.

The French army was posted on the Riviera, west of Genoa. It numbered about 40,000 men, who were in a very wretched condition, badly clothed, without pay. Bonaparte had able generals and an active staff—Massena, Augereau, Serurier, Berthier. Opposed to the French were the Austrian general Beaulieu, with 30,000 men, and the Austro-Sardinian force of 22,000 men, under Colli. On the 12th of April, Bonaparte attacked the Austrian centre, consisting of 10,000 men under D'Argenteau, and routing them at Montenotte, cut off the communication between Beaulieu and Colli. He defeated in succession these two generals. The king of Sardinia was terrified, and demanded an armistice; which the French general agreed to conclude, upon being put in possession of the fortresses of Coni, Ceva, and Tortona, the keys of Piedmont. The court of Turin also sent ambassadors to Paris to negotiate a peace, which was signed on the 15th of May upon the humiliating conditions of resigning to France eight frontier fortresses till a general peace, and confirming to France the possession of Savoy and Nice in perpetuity. General Beaulieu now gave up Piedmont as lost; crossed the Po; and applied himself to the defence of the Austrian possessions in Lombardy. The French followed him; and compelled his army to retire to the Adda. On the 9th of May, the French were before Lodi. The famous passage of the bridge was accomplished by a rapid and daring movement, which set at nought the twenty pieces of cannon by which it was defended. Beaulieu retreated

beyond the Mincio; and the French entered Milan on the 15th of May. Bonaparte levied a contribution of twenty million francs on the Milanese. He granted an armistice to the duke of Modena upon the payment of ten millions. Salicette, the commissioner of the Directory, and their political general, robbed the Monte di Pietà of Milan of the valuables deposited there as pledges for money lent. It is only justice to say, that a very small share of the Italian spoils went into Bonaparte's own pocket. He sent millions to the Directory, much of which was intercepted in its way into the public coffers. These exactions led to a serious revolt in Pavia, and some of the French were killed. Bonaparte hurried there with a sufficient force; broke down the gates with cannon; and gave the city up to pillage. He then sent his cavalry into the neighbouring country to sabre a large number of the revolted peasantry. The duke of Parma obtained an armistice by large money payments and supplies of horses and stores, and by giving twenty of his choicest paintings to be sent to Paris. The duke of Modena had to purchase a temporary respite of the seizure of his dominions, by contributing not only millions of livres, but treasures of art which no money could buy. The Austrian general, Beaulieu, having arranged for the defence of Mantua, retreated into the mountains of the Tyrol. His army had temporarily occupied the Venetian town of Peschiera, which Bonaparte immediately seized. He subsequently demanded admittance to the Venetian city of Verona, thus treating Venice as a hostile power. He then turned his arms against the Pope, who was terrified into an armistice, which was bought by money contributions, and by precious works of art and rare manuscripts. Tuscany was at peace with the French. But the warehouses of Leghorn were full of English merchandise, and thither Bonaparte rapidly marched, seized all the goods belonging to "the enemies of the republic," who had fled to their ships; and levied a contribution of five millions of francs upon the native merchants as the permission for them to keep the other property which had been entrusted to them by English and Portuguese houses. The Austrian government superseded Beaulieu, and sent a gallant veteran, Wurmser, to take the chief command of a new army in Italy. The Austrians then moved towards Mantua in two separate divisions. Bonaparte attacked and routed the army under general Quasdanovich, and the army under general Wurmser. Another Austrian army of sixty thousand men advanced in two divisions, one under general Alvinzi, the other under general Davidovich. The French main army under Bonaparte was weakened by the necessity of maintaining divisions to blockade Mantua, to occupy Verona and Legnano, and to guard some of the passes of the Tyrol. On the 12th of November, Bonaparte attacked Alvinzi at Caldiero; but he sustained very heavy loss, and was compelled to retire into Verona. On the night of the 4th he marched in silence out of Verona, as if retreating. He moved rapidly by the right bank of the [illegible], which he crossed at Ronco, where he had made a temporary bridge. [illegible] now in a marshy tract, between the Adige and the Alpone. One [illegible] causeways of the morass led to the bridge of Arcole. Three times [illegible] this bridge was obstinately contested on the 15th of November, [illegible] leading his grenadiers in one of the desperate

attempts to contend against the Austrian batteries. For three days this battle of Arcole, the most severe of the Italian war, went on. The third day concluded the terrible conflict, when Alvinzi retreated towards Vicenza. Bonaparte had prevented the junction of the two Austrian armies. The wonderful success of Bonaparte in Italy is partly to be attributed to the contempt in which he held the orders of the Directory. The plan of the German campaign was laid down in Paris, and the combined operations upon the Rhone of the French generals, Jourdan and Moreau, were not favourable to the republic. Moreau only saved his army by a skilful retreat through the Black Forest.

The successes of the Austrians in Germany appeared to the English government more important than the career of Bonaparte in Italy; the moment was deemed favourable to open negotiations with the French Directory for peace, although some previous overtures had been contemptuously received. Lord Malmesbury was appointed as plenipotentiary on the part of his Britannic majesty, and he arrived in Paris on the 22nd of October. He left Paris on the 21st of December. The points of difference between the two governments were too serious to be overcome by any diplomacy. The sudden decease of Catherine II., who for thirty-six years had been the autocrat of all the Russias, probably decided the Directory in suddenly breaking off the negotiation for peace with England. She was preparing to take part in the coalition against France. Her successor, Paul, was inclining to the French interests. The retirement of Washington from the Presidency of the United States was in some degree another triumph for the French republic, being an interruption of that system of neutrality by which he had preserved peace both with France and England. Washington's retirement was preceded by a violent hostility to the treaty which had been concluded under his auspices with Great Britain in 1795, and by other manifestations of party spirit against the policy of the great founder and preserver of the Republic. He retired to his estate of Mount Vernon, to pass the rest of his days as a private citizen.

On the 17th of December, an expedition, consisting of seventeen sail of the line and thirteen frigates, carrying an army of twenty thousand men, crossed the Channel from Brest, and a portion of the armament prepared to land on the south-west coast of Cork. A great storm dispersed this formidable fleet. Several ships were captured, and others reached the French ports in a shattered condition. In February, four French ships anchored in the bay of Ilfracombe; and, on the 23rd, about twelve hundred men landed on the east coast of Pembrokeshire. A strong force having been collected by the lord-lieutenant of the county, the invaders surrendered at discretion. This absurd enterprise, as well as the previous one, was calculated to produce alarm by showing how accessible were these islands to an invading army, whether large or small. The popular fears took the usual course of producing commercial distrust. The circulation of the kingdom mainly rested upon the notes of the Bank of England, and upon the bills of about two hundred and thirty country banks. From the beginning of the year there had been an extraordinary run upon the northern banks, and the pressure upon the Bank of England had been progressively increasing for weeks; and was becoming doubled, day by day,

in the third week of February. On Saturday evening, the 25th of February, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was startled by a message from the Bank of England that they could pay in specie no longer. So low was their stock of bullion that it is stated they had been compelled to pay their notes in sixpences. Pitt at once roused himself to meet the emergency. A messenger was sent to the king at Windsor; and on Sunday morning his majesty was presiding at a Council, at which eight members of the Cabinet was present. That night an Order in Council was notified to the Bank, forbidding them to make any further payments in cash. On the Monday morning the Directors of the Bank published the Order, with a notification that the general concerns of the Bank were in the most affluent and prosperous condition, and that they would continue their usual discounts, paying in bank-notes. At a great meeting of merchants at the Mansion House a unanimous resolution was passed to receive bank-notes in payment of any sum of money. The Stocks immediately rose. A weight was suddenly taken off the springs of industry. For all purposes of retail trade the guinea was quickly supplanted by the twenty-shilling note—a currency first resorted to by the Bank of England on the 4th of March. The door was now opened to a most extensive system of forgery, which the fear of conviction, and of punishment without mercy, was wholly inefficient to repress. By Reports of Committees of both Houses the solvency of the Bank of England was perfectly established; and the demand for a circulating capital proportioned to the political engagements of the government, and the expenditure by the people upon national improvements and the extension of profitable industry, was adequately shown. Contracted as the circulation had been during the years of war, there was no suspension of great public works. The industry of the nation was developed in spite of the war, at a time when scientific invention and discovery had rendered the labour of man of tenfold efficiency.

On the 6th of October, 1796, war against Great Britain was declared by Spain. On the 1st of February, a fleet, numbering twenty-seven sail of the line and ten frigates, sailed from Carthagena, its first destination being Cadiz. Sir John Jervis, with ten sail of the line, was stationed off Cape St. Vincent: and he was joined on the 6th of February by five sail of the line, detached from the Channel fleet. On the morning of the 13th, commodore Nelson also joined, in the Minerve frigate. He was ordered to shift his broad pendant to the Captain. When the British admiral got in with the Spanish fleet, on the morning of the 14th, he determined to disregard the numerical superiority of the enemy. There was one under his command to whom it became the habit of his life to think nothing impossible to high courage and sound judgment. Nelson, on this day, by disobeying the signal to tack, that he might prevent a junction between some of the separated ships, was brought into action with seven of the largest vessels of the Spanish fleet. Captain Troubridge, in the Culloden, joined Nelson, and these two for nearly an hour sustained the unequal fire. The Blenheim and the [illegible] up to the support of the Captain and the Culloden. [illegible] wholly disabled. The Culloden was crippled: [illegible] Nelson, at a distance of twenty yards, was [illegible] which returned the fire with great

spirit. He suddenly ordered the helm of the Captain to be put a-starboard. The two ships were hooked together; and Nelson gave the order to board. He led the way into the vessel himself, through the upper quarter-gallery window. The Spanish ensign was soon hauled down. The Spanish admiral's ship, the San Josef, of 112 guns, now opened a fire of small arms upon the San Nicolas from the stern gallery. The daring determination was taken to board this first-rate, which was done in an instant, captain Berry assisting Nelson into the main-chains. The San Josef was surrendered, and Nelson received the swords of the officers on the quarter-deck, whilst the admiral was dying of his wounds. Two other ships were captured. But many of the British ships were so injured in their masts and rigging as to be incapable of pursuing the victory to any greater material advantage. Three thousand prisoners were taken in the four prizes. The reward of sir John Jervis was an earldom. Nelson was made a Knight of the Bath.

On the 15th of April, lord Bridport, who had taken the command of the Channel fleet, made the signal to prepare for sea. The sailors of his flag-ship, the Royal George, instead of weighing anchor, ran up the shrouds and gave three cheers. The shouts were echoed from every ship in the fleet lying at Spithead. They were the signals of mutiny. Some time previous, the seamen at Portsmouth had addressed petitions to lord Howe, praying for an increase of wages. These petitions had been disregarded by the Admiralty. In lord Howe's cabin thirty-two Delegates held their deliberations, each ship sending two invested with full powers. On the 17th an oath was administered to every man in the fleet, to uphold the common cause in which they were engaged. On the fore-yard-arms of every ship, ropes were reeved, ready for the execution of summary punishment upon any deserter from their cause. Officers whose oppressions had exceeded the ordinary bounds, were sent on shore, to tell their tale of the rough justice that had overtaken them. Two petitions were drawn up, one to the House of Commons, and one to the Admiralty, which were signed by the Delegates. Never were just demands set forth with more temper and discretion. The petitioners begged for an increase of wages—for better food, served out in juster measure—for liberty on shore after their return from sea—for continued pay to seamen wounded in action. The Board of Admiralty assembled at Portsmouth, and gave an immediate answer, promising to recommend to his majesty to propose to Parliament an immediate redress of the first and last grievances. The other allegations of the petition remained unnoticed; and the seamen reiterated their demands, declaring that until an Act of Parliament was passed, and pardon granted to them, they would not lift an anchor. Further provocation having been given, the terrible signal of the red flag —the pirates' signal, which implied that no quarter would be given,—was hoisted. After two or three days' suspense, lord Bridport came on board his flag-ship, and promised complete redress and full pardon. For a fort-

o official notice was taken of these proceedings by the ministry
rliament, and the mutiny again broke out on the 7th of May.
or another week the Country was held in terror. A
through both Houses for an increase of pay and

allowance to the seamen and marines. On the 14th lord Howe, with the Act of Parliament in his hand, and the king's proclamation of pardon, met the Delegates at Portsmouth. The bloody flag was struck. Subordination was wholly restored; and on the 17th the fleet put to sea. The example of tranquillity at Spithead was sufficient to quell a similar mutiny at Plymouth.

On the 22nd of May, after some previous symptoms of disaffection, a mutiny broke out at the Nore. On that day the crews took possession of the ships; elected Delegates; and prepared petitions that in their demands went far beyond those of the previous mutineers. The mutineers at the Nore repeated the complaints previously made, as if they had not been redressed, and assumed an attitude which made conciliation impossible. The crews of four men-of-war and a sloop deserted from the fleet blockading the Texel under admiral Duncan, and sailed to join the mutineers at the Nore. The brave commander maintained his blockade with those who were faithful to him. At the Nore the acts of the fleet were as those of a foreign enemy. Conferences between the Lords of the Admiralty and the Delegates had no result beyond embittering the dispute. The red flag was hoisted. The mutineers moored their ships in a line across the river, and intercepted every merchant-vessel. Pitt brought in bills to provide for the more effectual punishment of those who should excite mutiny and sedition in the navy; and to prevent all communication with the ships that should remain in a state of mutiny. The bills were quickly passed, and the mutineers discovered that the government was too strong for them. Obedience was soon completely re-established. Parker, the president of the Delegates, and the more prominent of his associates, were found guilty, after a solemn trial. Parker was executed on board the Sandwich on the 30th of June. The alarm inspired by these mutinies was sufficiently expressed by the fall in the funds. The crisis was indeed alarming. Public bodies, including the Common Council of London, called for the dismission of the king's ministers, as the most likely means of securing a speedy and permanent peace. Pitt, encouraged by his attached disciple Canning, was resolved to brave the hostility of Grenville, Windham, and the war party, and once more to open negotiations for peace with France. Lord Malmesbury was again appointed to conduct negotiations; and he met the plenipotentiaries of the French republic at Lille in the beginning of July.

Portugal was now our sole ally. Prussia had made peace with France on the 5th of April, 1795; and a treaty of peace between France and Spain was ratified three months later. At the beginning of this year [illegible] Mantua, continuing to hold out against its besiegers, Alvinzi advanced to its relief with a new Austrian army of fifty thousand men. He crossed the Adige, and leaving attacked the [illegible], Joubert, compelled him to retreat to Roveredo. There [illegible] his wonted rapidity to the aid [illegible] the morning of the 14th [illegible] and retaken by the

troops of Alvinzi, and by a march of thirty-five miles in twenty-four hours, was engaged with Provera on the morning of the 16th, and compelled him to surrender with five thousand men. Mantua capitulated on the 2nd of February. Bonaparte treated his aged antagonist, Wurmser, who had gallantly defended Mantua, with a delicacy almost chivalrous. In the interval between the surrender of Provera and the fall of Mantua, Bonaparte had marched into the Papal States, and when within forty miles of Rome had granted peace to the terrified Pope. Another Austrian army had been collected under the archduke Charles, against which the French marched in three divisions. Bonaparte advanced on the 10th of March to encounter the archduke, who had formed his line of defence on the Tagliamento. Bernadotte joined him with twenty thousand men from the army of the Rhine. On the 16th of March the French forced their way across the Tagliamento, the Austrians retreating before them. The retreat of the archduke continued through March, as if to draw the French on to the hereditary states of the emperor. On the 2nd of April, Bonaparte defeated the archduke at Neumarkt. A suspension of arms, proposed by the emperor, was agreed to on the 7th of April. The preliminaries of peace were signed at Leoben on the 18th. On the 3rd of May, Bonaparte issued a manifesto declaring war against the Venetian republic. The French troops overran all the Venetian territory; took a signal vengeance on the Veronese; finally entered Venice on the 16th of May, and put an end to that famous government which had maintained its independence and its power during centuries of change.

As the French Directory was constituted when lord Malmesbury opened his negotiation at Lisle, there was a partial disposition to meet with an equal sincerity the evident desire of the British government to put an end to this desolating conflict. But another revolutionary crisis was approaching. Barras, Reubell, and La Reveillière Lépaux, were preparing to eject Carnot and Barthelemi, and to purge the two Legislative Councils of members who were opposed to the venality and abuse of power by the majority of the Directors. Bonaparte was ready to support the Triumviri —Barras, Reubell, and Lépaux,—by his soldiery. He sent general Augereau to Paris to do the bidding of the majority of the Directors. On the morning of the 4th of September, Augereau surrounded the Tuileries with troops, and arrested about sixty members of the Legislative Councils, with orders also to arrest Carnot and Barthelemi. Carnot escaped; but his brother Director, the members of the Councils who had been seized, and many journalists and other writers, were banished to Guiana. Amongst the number was Pichegru. This revolution was decisive as to the issue of the negotiations with England. New plenipotentiaries were sent by the Directory to Lisle. They required that Great Britain should surrender all the conquests she had made, not only the colonies taken from France, but from her allies, without any equivalent; [illegible] that if this peremptory condition was not acceded to, lord [illegible] must [illegible] nty-four hours. The embassy quitted [illegible] On the failure of these negotiations, [illegible] s for their success, started the "Anti- [illegible] noury, to fight the battle which Burke

had fought for seven years. That great seer had ceased to live on the 9th of the previous July.

Bonaparte during the summer was negotiating with the cabinet of Vienna for exchanges of territories and for transfers of populations, in a spirit quite as despotic as that of the absolute governments which had despoiled Poland. On the 16th of October, in a final conference at Udine, it was agreed that France should have Flanders and the line of the Rhine; the islands of Corfu, Zante, and Cephalonia, and the Venetian districts of Albania; that the emperor should have Dalmatia, Istria, and the other Venetian territory as far as the Adige and the Po, with the city of Venice. In this city the Doge and the Council of Ten, and the Senate, had fallen, to give place to an executive body chosen by the suffrages of the people. The Venetians believed that their Republic, as thus newly modelled, was under the protection of France. The Directory opposed the betrayal of the sister Republic, but Bonaparte was determined on this act of baseness. It was further agreed that Lombardy was to form part of the Cisalpine Republic, which Bonaparte had organized; and which was also to include Mantua, the duchy of Reggio, and other small Italian states. The peace of Campo Formio was concluded the next day. On the day when the signature of this treaty was known at Paris, the Directory created an army, to be called "The Army of England," and appointed Bonaparte to its command.

At the beginning of October, admiral Duncan's ship, the Venerable, and other vessels which had suffered from heavy gales, and were in want of stores, put into Yarmouth Roads, leaving the Dutch to be watched by a small squadron of observation. Early in the morning of the 9th a lugger appeared at the back of Yarmouth sands and gave the signal for an enemy. Before noon, Duncan was at sea with eleven sail of the line. He directed his course straight across to his old station. He was joined by three ships; and on the 11th he got sight of the squadron of observation, with signals flying for an enemy to leeward. In less than an hour he came up with the enemy, and took the bold resolve to pass through the Dutch line, and thus to place himself between the enemy and their own shores, to which they were fast approaching. Soon after noon every ship of the British fleet had broken the enemy's line and was hotly engaged. The coast was covered for miles with thousands of spectators. Duncan's ship, the Venerable, was engaged for three hours with the Vryheid, the flag-ship of admiral De Winter. The brave Dutchman did not strike till all his masts had gone overboard and half his crew were killed or wounded. Admiral Onslow was engaged in a similar close fight with the Dutch vice-admiral, who did not yield till he was equally crippled. By four in the afternoon the victory was clearly decided. But during the fight the British squadron had drifted so near the land as to be only in five fathoms water. It required the greatest exertion to prevent the ships from getting into the shallows; and this necessity favoured the escape of some of the Dutchmen. Eight ships of the line, two of fifty-six guns, and two frigates, were captured. The carnage on both sides was very great.

The conqueror of Italy arrived in Paris on the 5th of December. When he presented the treaty of Campo Formio to the Directors, Barras invited

him to proceed upon a new career of glory,—to hoist the tri-coloured flag on the Tower of London. Bonaparte accepted the command of the army of England, but, after a few rapid visits to the ports bordering the British Channel, he said to Bourienne, "It would be too great a risk; I will not run it. I will not sport thus with the fate of France." The vast preparations in the ports of the Mediterranean were given out by the French government to be in connection with the armaments in the ports of the Channel. Bonaparte had, however, with great difficulty, persuaded the Directory to postpone their scheme for the invasion of the British islands, and to permit him to embark an army for Egypt, the possession of which country, he maintained, would open to France the commerce of the East, and prepare the way for the conquest of India. In April, Bonaparte was appointed general-in-chief of the Army of the East. The means of furnishing this armament had been supplied by the appropriation of three millions of treasure which had been seized at Berne, and by forced contributions levied at Genoa and at Rome. The French fleet, under admiral Brueys, was in the harbour of Toulon, ready to sail upon its secret destination. The armament consisted of thirteen ships of the line, many frigates and corvettes, and four hundred transports. The army which it was to carry to some unknown shore consisted of forty thousand men. Bonaparte arrived on the 9th of May, and on the 19th this formidable expedition left the great French harbour of the Mediterranean.

The first operation of Bonaparte was the seizure of Malta. The Order of St. John of Jerusalem had held the regal sovereignty of the island since 1530. These Knights of Malta had gradually lost their warlike prowess, as well as their religious austerity. Bonaparte had confiscated their property in Italy; and he had sent a skilful agent to the island to sow dissensions amongst the knights, and thus to prepare the way for the fall of the community. There were many French knights among them, to whom the principal military commands had been entrusted by the Grand Master, a weak German. The island was taken almost without opposition; the French knights declaring that they would not fight against their countrymen. Leaving a garrison to occupy the new possession, the French sailed away on the 20th of June, with all the gold and silver of the treasury, and all the plate of the churches and religious houses. On the day when Bonaparte arrived at Toulon, Nelson had sailed from Gibraltar, with three seventy-fours, four frigates, and a sloop, to watch the movements of the enemy. Since the most daring of British naval commanders had fought in the battle of St. Vincent, he had lost an arm in an unsuccessful attack upon the island of Teneriffe. He had lost also his right eye, and was severely wounded in his body. But he had not lost that indomitable spirit which rose superior to wounds and weakness of constitution. Nelson was at Naples on the day when Bonaparte quitted Malta. He immediately sailed. On the 22nd, at night, the two fleets crossed each other's track unperceived, between Cape Mesurata and the mouth of the Adriatic. Nelson's sagacity made him conjecture that the destination of the armament was Egypt. He made the most direct course to Alexandria, which he reached on the 28th. No enemy was there, and no tidings could be obtained of them. On the morning of the 1st of July, admiral Brueys was

off the same port, and learnt that Nelson had sailed away in search of him. Nelson had returned to Sicily.

The Sultan was at peace with France; a French minister was at Constantinople. Such trifling formalities in the laws of nations were little respected by Bonaparte. Four thousand of the French army were landed, and marched in three columns to the attack of Alexandria. It was quickly taken by assault. Bonaparte announced that he came neither to ravage the country, nor to question the authority of the Grand Seignor, but to put down the domination of the Mamlooks, who tyrannized over the people by the authority of the Beys. The fleet of Brueys remained at anchor in the harbour of Aboukir. Leaving a garrison of three thousand men in Alexandria, Bonaparte commenced his march to Cairo, through the desert of Damanhour, leading thirty thousand men—to each of whom he had promised to grant seven acres of fertile land in the conquered territories—through plains of sand without a drop of water. At Rahmaneh, a flotilla, laden with provisions, baggage, and artillery, awaited them. The Mamlooks, with Mourad Bey at their head, were around the French. The invaders had to fight with enemies who came upon them in detachments; gave a fierce assault; and then fled. Mourad Bey was encamped, with twelve thousand Mamlooks and eight thousand mounted Bedouins, on the west bank of the Nile and opposite Cairo. The French had to sustain a fierce attack, but, in spite of the desperate courage of this formidable cavalry, the steadiness of the disciplined soldiery of the army of Italy repelled every assault; and after a tremendous loss Mourad Bey retreated towards Upper Egypt. His intrenched camp was forced, amidst a fearful carnage. The conquerors had no difficulty in obtaining possession of Cairo. Ibrahim Bey evacuated the city, which on the 25th of July Bonaparte entered. He now addressed himself to the principal scheiks, and obtained from them a declaration in favour of the French.

On the 25th of July Nelson sailed from Syracuse, where he had been allowed to victual his fleet through the interposition of lady Hamilton, the wife of our minister at Naples. It was three days before he gained any intelligence of the French fleet, and he then made all sail for Alexandria. On the 1st of August he beheld the tri-coloured flag flying upon its walls. The fleet of admiral Brueys was at anchor in the bay of Aboukir, the transports and other small vessels were within the harbour. The French admiral had moored his ships in what he judged the best position; "at a distance from each other of about a hundred and sixty yards, with the van-ship close to a shoal on the north-west, and the whole of the line just outside a four-fathom sand-bank; so that an enemy, it was considered, could not turn either flank."* The number of ships in the two fleets was nearly equal, but four of the French were of larger size. At three o'clock in the afternoon the British squadron was approaching the bay, with a manifest intention of giving battle. By six o'clock Nelson's line was formed, without any precise regard to the succession of the vessels according to established forms. The shoal at the western extremity of the bay was rounded by eleven of the British squadron. The two van-ships of the French opened

* James—"Naval History."

their fire upon these vessels, but they were soon disabled. Four other British ships also took their stations inside the French line. Nelson, in the Vanguard, followed by five of his seventy-fours, anchored on the outer side of the enemy. When darkness fell, five of the French ships had surrendered. The Vanguard had been engaged with the Spartiate and the Aquilon. Her loss was severe. A splinter had struck Nelson on the head, and the effusion of blood being very great, his wound was held to be dangerous, if not mortal, by the anxious shipmates around him. The busy surgeons left their wounded, to bestow their care upon the first man of the fleet. "No," said Nelson, "I will take my turn with my brave fellows." The wound was found to be superficial. He was carried to his cabin, and left alone, amidst the din of the battle. Suddenly the cry was heard that l'Orient, the French flag-ship of 120 guns, was on fire. Nelson groped his way to the deck, and gave his orders that his boats should be lowered to proceed to the help of the burning vessel. At ten o'clock l'Orient blew up, the conflagration having lasted nearly an hour. About seventy only of the crew were saved by the English boats. The shock of the explosion injured some of our ships, but none of them took fire. Admiral Brueys had fallen, and had died the death of a brave man on his deck. The battle was resumed by the French ship, the Franklin; and it went on, at intervals, till daybreak. The contest was sustained by four French line-of-battle ships, and four of the English. Finally, two of the French line-of-battle ships and two frigates escaped. Of thirteen sail of the line, nine were taken, two were burned. Of the British, about nine hundred men were killed and wounded. About three thousand French prisoners were sent on shore. Kleber, the French general, wrote to Napoleon, "The English have had the disinterestedness to restore everything to their prisoners."

The victory of Nelson formed the great subject of congratulation in the royal speech, when the Session was opened on the 20th of November. Out of this victory new hopes were to arise—vain hopes, which statesmen formed in the enthusiasm of success. The system of buying hollow alliances was to be renewed again and again. On the 29th of December, 1798, a treaty was concluded between Great Britain and Russia. Russia was, of course, to be subsidized. On the 3rd of December Mr Pitt gave an estimate of the amount of Supply required. The total was upwards of twenty-nine millions. The estimate of 1793 was sixteen millions. To meet this ever-increasing expenditure all sorts of devices of direct taxation had been resorted to. Mr. Pitt now proposed, for the first time in the history of British finance, an Income Tax—a tax of 10 per cent., commencing with incomes above 60*l.* a year, but in a reduced ratio from 60*l.* to 200*l.* The measure was passed without any division in either House. Fox had, some time before, seceded from Parliament.

CHAPTER LV.

In 1794, earl Fitzwilliam became lord-lieutenant of Ireland. On his arrival in Dublin, in January, 1795, he immediately displaced, with compensation, some of the holders of office who were the most hostile to the plan which he contemplated for the government of Ireland. On the 12th of February, Grattan obtained leave, in the Irish House of Commons, to bring in a bill for the repeal of all the remaining disqualifications of Catholics. A fortnight later, earl Fitzwilliam was recalled, and earl Camden appointed in his place. The moderate Catholics anticipated the most disastrous results from a measure so decided on the part of the British cabinet.

On the 15th of May, 1797, Mr. Ponsonby brought forward a motion for the fundamental reform of the Representation. The general evils of the Representation in Ireland were similar in principle to those of England. "Of three hundred members, above two hundred are returned by individuals; from forty to fifty are returned by ten persons; several of the boroughs have no resident elector at all; and, on the whole, two-thirds of the representatives in the House of Commons are returned by less than one hundred persons."* Mr. Ponsonby proposed the abolition of all disabilities on account of religion. The government rejected the measure. The Whig leaders then seceded from the House of Commons, and the people were left to be acted upon by those who would have handed over their country to the French Directory. A most formidable association was organized under the denomination of United Irishmen. The executive power of this extensive organisation was a Directory. Its five members were Arthur O'Connor, lord Edward Fitzgerald, Oliver Bond, a merchant, Dr. Mac Nevin, a Catholic gentleman, and Thomas Addis Emmett, a barrister. "Many thousands, I am assured," writes Dr. Hussey to Burke, "are weekly sworn through the country, in such a secret manner and form as to evade all the law in those cases." Through 1797 the northern districts were in a disturbed state. Houses were broken into and arms seized by bands of nightly marauders. At funerals, and at gatherings for football and other games, large numbers collected and marched in military array. The government was alarmed; severity and intimidation were alone resorted to; martial law took the place of civil justice. The administrators of martial law were undisciplined troops of yeomanry, headed by ignorant and reckless officers. The plans of a general insurrection were disclosed to the Irish government, and arrests of the Leinster delegates, and of Bond, MacNevin, and Emmett were effected in March, 1798. O'Connor and O'Coigley (a priest) were in England, discussing plans of sedition with "The London Corresponding Society." They were arrested on a charge of high treason, and were tried at Maidstone on the 21st of May, when O'Connor was acquitted, and O'Coigley was convicted, and was executed. The vacancies in the Irish Directory were filled up, and a general rising on

* Grattan's Speech, Feb. 11, 1793.

the 23rd of May was determined upon. Lord Edward Fitzgerald had remained concealed for two months. On the 19th of May, he was shot in resisting a warrant for his arrest, and died of his wounds on the 5th of June. In the meantime the insurrection broke out in the immediate neighbourhood of Dublin. A night attack on the city was projected by the United Irishmen. Two brothers, of the name of Sheares, and other chiefs, were arrested on the 23rd of May. A large number of insurgents were collecting on the north and south of the metropolis. An immediate attack was expected. The garrison and the yeomanry were under arms during that night, stationed in the cattle-market. The rebels, however, had learnt that the yeomanry of Dublin were ready to receive them, and deferred their attack, after destroying the mail-coaches that were approaching the city. Skirmishes between bands of rebels and the soldiery were then taking place daily. Martial law was proclaimed. The insurrection appeared to be somewhat quelled, when it broke out with unexpected fury in the county of Wexford. The rebels were generally successful when they fought in small bodies, but the system of these armed bands was little fitted for encounters with regular troops. They were in want of ammunition. Round stones and balls of hardened clay were the substitutes for bullets. By a rapid onset they sometimes seized the cannon of the royal troops, which they contrived to fire with lighted wisps of straw. They chose their stations on hills with a commanding prospect. Here they slept in the open air, both sexes intermingled, for many women were amongst them. Their commissariat was of the rudest description. Wexford surrendered to the insurgents on the 30th of May; but it was retaken by sir John Moore on the 21st of June. The principal battles were those of Arklow, Ross, and Vinegar Hill, near Enniscorthy, which town had surrendered to the rebels. On the 21st of June general Lake attacked the main body of the rebels at Vinegar Hill; dispersed them; and they never again rallied. The desolation of the districts to which this rebellion was confined, and particularly that of the county of Wexford, was excessive. The massacres, the military executions, were frightful. No quarter was given to the rebels; and when the contest assumed the sanguinary character of a religious warfare, the cry of revenge on "the bloody Orange dogs" was the signal for excesses which can better be imagined than described.

Earl Camden had been recalled, to give place to marquis Cornwallis, who arrived in Dublin on the 20th of June. One of his first acts was to interfere to prevent the rash and often unjust severities of inferior officers of the militia and yeomanry. He further used his utmost endeavour "to suppress the folly which has been too prevalent in this quarter, of substituting the word *Catholicism* instead of Jacobinism, as the foundation of the present rebellion." Neither Catholicism nor Jacobinism was sufficient to have caused the revolt of several hundred thousands of the peasantry, both Catholics and Protestants, had there not been the great *social* evil of *Landlordism*—the tyranny of the landlords, and the wretched condition of the tenants—to make men ready to fight for some vague good which was to be effected under a new order of things.

On the 22nd of August a French squadron of three frigates landed eleven hundred men, under the command of general Humbert, in the bay of

Killala, in the county of Mayo. The French Directory had purposed to send a second division of six thousand men, but some financial derangements prevented its embarkation. General Hutchinson had assembled two or three thousand men at Castlebar. The French, with a large number of the country people, advanced to the attack; and "began a rapid charge with the bayonet in very loose order. At this moment the Galway volunteers, the Kilkenny and Longford militias, ran away."* In their precipitate retreat the depredations these men committed on the road exceeded all description; and they raised a spirit of discontent and disaffection which did not before exist in that party of the country. Upon learning that the French had landed, lord Cornwallis assembled some troops of the line, and made a rapid march from Dublin, so arranging his forces that he could cover the country, and afford an opportunity of rallying to any small bodies of soldiery that might be defeated. Humbert, after the affair of Castlebar, had moved into the heart of the country; and on the 8th of September had reached Ballynamuck, in the county of Longford. Here he was encountered by the troops under general Lake, and after an action of half an hour, the French surrendered at discretion. On the 16th of September a French brig landed Napper Tandy and some men on the north-west coast of Donegal. He issued manifestoes; but found that he had arrived too late. On the 11th of October, the armament that was intended to co-operate with Humbert appeared off the coast of Donegal. The squadron consisted of a seventy-four gun-ship, eight frigates, and two smaller vessels. Sir John Borlase Warren, with a superior force, had pursued the French, and after an engagement of three hours, in which the enemy fought with a desperate bravery, the ship of the line (the Hoche) and one frigate surrendered. The remaining frigates had made all sail to escape; but they were subsequently taken, with the exception of two. On board the Hoche was captured the famous Irish leader, Wolfe Tone. He was tried by court-martial in Dublin; was sentenced to death; cut his throat in prison; and died on the 19th of November. The rebellion was at an end. On the 6th of October an Act of general pardon received the royal assent; its exceptions were very numerous, being calculated to include nearly all the leaders who had taken an active part in the rebellion; but the greater number of these obtained a conditional pardon, and their followers had little to apprehend from the terrors of the law. During the short period of this unhappy conflict, it is calculated that seventy thousand perished, either in the field, by military execution, or by popular vengeance. Of these it is held that fifty thousand were insurgents; and that twenty thousand were soldiers and loyalists.

In the king's message to the British parliament on the 22nd of January, 1799, the proposed measure of a Legislative Union with Ireland was first formally announced. A similar announcement, though in less direct terms, was made by the Lord-Lieutenant to the Irish parliament, in the speech from the throne on the same 22nd of January. The question had formed the constant subject of correspondence between the English ministry and lord Cornwallis. In the British parliament there was an

* Cornwallis, "Correspondence."

almost unanimous opinion of the necessity of the proposed Union. In the Irish parliament the supporters and opposers were more evenly balanced; and the personal hostility was displayed, not only in the bitterest denunciations, but in actual or threatened appeals to the last and worst argument, the duellist's pistol. To the Address proposed in answer to the royal speech, Mr. Ponsonby moved an Amendment to declare their intention of maintaining the right of the people of Ireland to a free and independent legislature, resident within the kingdom. The Amendment was carried—after a debate which continued twenty-one hours—by a majority of five. This was decisive as to the immediate result in Ireland of the ministerial proposition. But on the 31st of January the king's message was taken into further consideration in the British parliament. Mr. Pitt laid before the House the general nature and outline of the plan, which in his conscience he thought would tend in the strongest manner to insure the safety and happiness of both kingdoms. The resolutions were discussed in both Houses during nearly three months, and then finally agreed to. The chief difficulty in carrying the Union arose out of the necessity of propitiating the placemen and boroughmongers, whose power and influence would be abridged by a measure which, in a great degree, would take what was called "the management of the country" out of their hands. On the 8th of June, lord Cornwallis wrote, "My occupation is now of the most unpleasant nature, negotiating and jobbing with the most corrupt people under heaven." The system of "negotiating and jobbing" had to be worked by promising an Irish peerage, or a lift in that peerage, or even an English peerage, to a crowd of eager competitors for honours. During the administration of lord Cornwallis, twenty-nine Irish peerages were created; of which seven only were unconnected with the question of Union. Six English peerages were granted on account of Irish services; and there were nineteen promotions in the Irish peerage, earned by similar assistance. Borough proprietors had to be compensated; the primary and secondary interests in counties to be compensated; fifty barristers in parliament, who always considered a seat as the road to preferment, to be compensated; the purchasers of seats to be compensated; individuals connected either by residence or property with Dublin, to be compensated. "Lord Castlereagh considered that 1,500,000*l.* would be required to effect all these compensations." More money had to be expended in giving the necessary "activity to the press." Lord Castlereagh wrote to Mr. Wickham of the English Treasury:—"We have good materials amongst the young barristers, but we cannot expect them to waste their time and starve into the bargain." "5000*l.* in bank-notes by the first messenger" was a moderate demand. At the end of the year the duke of Portland was requested to assist in the same way, and to the same extent. When the Irish parliament met on the 15th of January, 1800, it had become a contest of bribery on both sides. Lord Castlereagh now stated that it was the intention of the government to make the Union the subject of a distinct communication to parliament. An amendment upon the Address was debated through the night. Before it was concluded, at seven o'clock of the morning of the 16th, Mr. Grattan, who had just been returned for the close borough of Wicklow, was led into the House of

Commons, having been taken from a bed of sickness. He delivered an oration which appeared like the prophetic utterance of a dying man, but which produced no permanent effect. There was a majority of forty-two in favour of a Union, when the House divided at ten o'clock on that morning. On the 5th of February, lord Castlereagh read a message from the Lord-Lieutenant, communicating the Resolutions of the parliament of Great Britain in the previous year. The question was debated from four o'clock in the afternoon of the 5th, to one o'clock in the afternoon of the 6th. During that time the streets of Dublin were the scene of a great riot, and the peace of the city was maintained only by troops of cavalry. On the division of the 6th there was a majority of forty-three in favour of the Union. In the parliament of Great Britain, Mr. Pitt, on the 2nd of April, laid on the table of the House of Commons the joint Addresses to the king of the Lords and Commons of Ireland, with Resolutions containing the terms proposed by them for an entire Union of both kingdoms under the name of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, to be represented in one and the same parliament. In this United Parliament there were to be twenty-eight temporal Peers, elected for life by the Irish peerage; and four spiritual Peers, taking their places in rotation. There were to be one hundred members of the Lower House; each county returning two, as well as the cities of Dublin and Cork. The University returned one, and thirty-one boroughs each returned one. The Churches of England and Ireland were to be united. The proportion of revenue to be levied was fixed at fifteen for Great Britain, and two for Ireland, for the succeeding twenty years. Countervailing duties upon imports to each country were fixed by a minute tariff, but some commercial restrictions were to be removed. The Union Bill passed the Irish House of Commons at ten o'clock on the night of the 7th of June. When the House adjourned, the Speaker walked to his own residence, followed by forty-one members, uncovered and in deep silence; bowed to the crowd before he entered his doors; and "then the whole assemblage dispersed, without uttering a word." Grattan had fought the battle to the last, in brilliant displays of oratory. The patriotic party of Ireland had not seen half a century of parliamentary existence. It first successfully asserted itself in 1753. The leader who, thirty years after, established the legislative independence of his country, now declared himself "faithful to her fall."

Sir John Shore, afterwards lord Teignmouth, succeeded earl Cornwallis in the government of India. During his administration the two sons of Tippoo, who had been taken as hostages for the due performance of their father's engagements, were given up, however doubtful might have been the continued amity of the Sultaun. In 1798, lord Teignmouth was succeeded by lord Mornington, afterwards created marquis Wellesley; a man of splendid abilities, and of vigour of character well fitted for action in any great crisis. He had a sound adviser, not only in military affairs, but in political, in his younger brother, Arthur Wellesley, then in his thirtieth year, who held the rank of colonel. Lord Mornington had endeavoured, without effect, to detach Tippoo from the dangerous influence of the agents of the French government. His proposal to negotiate was met by evasions. Tippoo rejected every pacific overture. An army under general Harris

accordingly entered the Mysore territory on the 5th of March, 1799. The ally of the English, the Nizam of the Deccan, sent a large contingent to join the army; and this force, to which the 33rd regiment was attached, was placed under the command of colonel Wellesley. The British grand army and the Nizam's army marched in two columns parallel to each other. The Bombay army joined these two moving multitudes, which colonel Wellesley says "covered eighteen square miles." After several encounters with the forces of Tippoo, the united armies took up a position before Seringapatam. A series of successful attacks upon the enemy's posts enabled the breaching batteries to be erected at a short distance from the walls; and the breach was sufficiently complete for the city to be stormed on the 4th of May. It was in the possession of the besiegers within two hours. Tippoo was killed in one of the gateways. His territories were divided amongst the English, the Nizam, and a descendant of the ancient rajahs of Mysore, who had been dispossessed by Hyder. Colonel Wellesley was appointed governor of Seringapatam; and, during several years, he was employed in the organization of the civil and military administration of Mysore.

Before the fall of Tippoo, the Porte had declared war against France. Jezzar, the pasha of Acre, had seized El Arish, on the borders of Egypt. An army was collecting in Syria; another army was to be landed at Alexandria; in the spring they were to operate in combination. Bonaparte resolved to anticipate these movements, by attacking the fortified places in Syria where troops and stores were being gathered together. On the 1st of February, his army, consisting of about thirteen thousand men, entered the Desert. He had mounted one of his regiments on fleet dromedaries, each dromedary carrying two men, seated back to back. El Arish surrendered to the French on the 18th of March, and Gaza surrendered on the 25th. Jaffa, the ancient Joppa, was taken by assault; and for thirty hours was delivered over to pillage and massacre. Several thousand of the garrison were made prisoners. A horrible decision was taken after three days' debate in councils of war. The prisoners were marched out from the camp in parties to the sand hills around Jaffa, and there put to death by volleys of musketry, or by the bayonet. Before the French marched from Jaffa, the plague had made its appearance. Hospitals were established there; and the army moved forward to Acre, which Jezzar, resisting the solicitations of the French to become their friend, had determined to defend. In the gulf of Acre was sir Sidney Smith, with two English ships of war. He had captured some vessels bringing along the coast from Egypt some of the heavy artillery of the French army; and these were landed for the defence of Acre. A French emigrant officer, colonel Phillippeaux, co-operated with sir Sidney Smith in this gallant defence. For two months was Acre vainly attempted to be taken. In April, an army from Damascus had crossed the Jordan for the relief of Acre. Kleber, with a small number of troops, first encountered this force of thirty thousand, chiefly cavalry. He maintained his ground until the arrival of Bonaparte and Murat with effectual aid. The Mussulmans were completely routed on the plain of Esdraelon, between Mount Hermon and Mount Thabor. Bonaparte then hurried back to Acre. On the 7th of May, a Turkish fleet with reinforcements appeared in sight. The place must be

stormed before the reinforcements could land. It was stormed on the 7th; it was stormed on the 8th; it was stormed on the 10th. Bonaparte was held at bay. On the 21st, the camp before Acre was broken up. On his return march to Egypt, from Cesarea to Jaffa, the whole country was set on fire. The Turks and Arabs hung on the French rear, and killed every straggler. The sick dropped on the burning sand, unable to keep up with their comrades. At Jaffa the army halted. There is a doubtful story that the sick in the hospitals there were poisoned by the order of Bonaparte. In July, a Turkish army landed at the peninsula of Aboukir. Bonaparte made a rapid march from Cairo to Alexandria with ten thousand men; and, on the 25th, completely routed the Turks, who fought most bravely.

Bonaparte's communication with Europe had been cut off for nearly a year. It had been an eventful year. A congress assembled at Radstadt, to treat of the complex subject of a general peace, to include all the States of the German Empire, had commenced its sittings in December, 1797, and they were continued through 1798. The emperor Francis and the emperor Paul were drawing together in a determination to unite their forces in a common endeavour to resist the growing power of the ambitious Republic. Naples and Sardinia had declared war against France. At the beginning of January, 1799, the king of Naples had fled from his capital to Palermo; the French general Championnet had entered the city; proclaimed the abolition of royalty; and the kingdom of Naples was henceforth to be the Parthenopeian Republic. A Russian army of sixty thousand men, commanded by Suwaroff, arrived in Moravia in December; and were welcomed by the emperor of Germany with unmistakeable demonstrations. The French plenipotentiaries at Radstadt made this a subject of complaint, and the answer being unsatisfactory, Ehrenbreitstein, which had been long blockaded by the French, was besieged, and the fortress capitulated in January. Jourdan crossed the Rhine into Suabia; the Directory declared war against Austria; Jourdan advanced to the Danube; was encountered by the Archduke Charles, and driven back over the Rhine in April. The Grisons were now assaulted by the French; but the Austrians came from the Tyrol to their aid, and drove the invaders from their territory. Switzerland now became the seat of war, and Massena stood upon the defensive at Zurich. At the close of March the Austrian and French armies were actively engaged in Italy. The French were driven beyond the Mincio. On the 18th of April, Suwaroff joined the Austrians with fifty thousand Russians, and took the command of the combined armies. The battle of Cassano, on the 27th of April, was decisive of the fate of the Cisalpine Republic. The battle of the Trebbia ensued, in which, after three days of desperate conflict, Suwaroff defeated Macdonald and Victor, who retreated over the Apennines. The attempted junction of the two armies of Italy resulted in the defeats of the two commanders, Moreau and Macdonald. Royalty was restored at Naples by cardinal Ruffo, with English assistance. A Second Coalition against France was concluded on the 22nd of June, between Great Britain, the emperor of Germany, the emperor of Russia, some of the German minor States, Naples, Portugal, Turkey, and Barbary. France herself was exposed to a greater

danger than that of external foes. Her executive government was weak and unpopular. The people were oppressed by taxes; and more oppressed by the Conscription, by which every Frenchman, from the age of twenty to forty-five, was liable to be chosen by lot for military service. When Bonaparte at last obtained intelligence of all that had occurred in his absence he at once took his determination to embark secretly for France. Two frigates and two smaller vessels were got ready for this perilous adventure, and, on the 24th of August, he embarked at Alexandria, accompanied by seven of his generals. It was the 9th of October when he landed at Fréjus. The Austrians were close at hand. They occupied all the mountainous passes which separate France from Italy. The French had been expelled from the country. On the 16th of October, Bonaparte was in Paris. He proceeded immediately to the Directory, and told the members that having become apprised of the disasters of France, he had come to defend the country. The Directory consisted of Barras, Sièyes, Ducos, and two obscure Republicans, Moulins and Gohièr. They were divided in their policy as to abiding by the existing Constitution, which some wished to modify and some to overturn. Bonaparte attached himself to the party of Sièyes and Ducos. Barras preserved a sort of neutrality. Bonaparte had two able counsellors to assist him in any intrigue for the transfer of power to new hands—Talleyrand and Fouché. The majority of the Council of Five Hundred, with Bernadotte, were against any project for organic change. The Council of Ancients possessed an authority, under the Constitution, for determining the place of meeting of the Legislative body. A packed number assembled privately on the 9th of November and decreed that the sitting should be held the following day at the palace of St. Cloud. Bonaparte was charged with the execution of this decree; and all the troops of the line and the National Guard were placed under his orders. He stationed troops where military force might put down all opposition that might be excited by those whose reign was coming to a close. The Council of Five Hundred met on the 9th of November, only to hear the decree which suspended their sitting on that day, and which ordered their assembling on the next day at St. Cloud. At one o'clock on the afternoon of the 10th, the Council of Ancients and the Council of Five Hundred there assembled, surrounded by troops. Bonaparte came in his carriage, with a numerous escort. Sièyes and Ducos were also there to confer with him. Barras had fled from Paris. Moulins and Gohièr were prisoners in the Luxembourg. Bonaparte went from the Assembly to the Council of Five Hundred, followed by grenadiers. Furious cries assailed him of "Down with the tyrant—Down with the dictator—Go out—Go out." His soldiers surrounded him, as he made for the door. "Vive Bonaparte" was the re-assuring cry of his troops outside. Within, his brother Lucien, who was President, was called upon to declare Napoleon "Hors la loi." Lucien refused to put the question, and implored them to hear his brother. By direction of Napoleon, grenadiers again entered the hall; seized Lucien, and carried him forth. The two mounted their horses; Lucien harangued the troops; told them that assassins were overwhelming the majority; that he and his brother would swear to be faithful to Liberty. Murat and Leclerc then put themselves at the head of a battalion; led them

to the door of the Assembly; drowned the outcries of the members by the beat of drums; and cleared the hall with the bayonet. Night came on. Lucien collected some thirty members of the Five Hundred, who passed decrees, in the name of that body, to the effect that the Directory existed no longer; that sixty persons were no longer representatives; and that a Provisional Executive Commission should be formed of three members, who should be styled Consuls—Sièyes, Ducos, and Napoleon Bonaparte being named to that office. Each Consul was in his turn to act as President. The Council of Ancients concurred in the decrees. The three colleagues immediately took the oaths to be faithful to the sovereignty of the people, to the Republic, to Liberty and Equality, and to the representative system. The Republic on that night really came to an end.

Whilst these events were taking place in Paris, the British administration had sent a powerful force for the deliverance of Holland. Sir Ralph Abercromby had sailed on the 12th of August, with a first detachment of twelve thousand men; and he was to be joined by a Russian contingent of seventeen thousand men, paid by England, for the conveyance of which force to Holland a squadron had been sent forth in July. Abercromby effected a landing at the Helder, supported by the fire from the fleet; and the troops were all disembarked on the 27th, after a feeble resistance. The fort of the Helder, which commanded the entrance of the Texel, was taken possession of; and the English fleet entered, and summoned the Dutch fleet to surrender. The Dutch seamen were in a state of insubordination, and thus eight sail of the line and seventeen frigates fell into our hands without a battle. Abercromby, with his small force, maintained a defensive position; and on the 10th of September repulsed a fierce attack of twenty-four thousand French and Dutch under general Vandamme. The Russian contingent, with an additional force of seven thousand British, now arrived. But there came with them a commander-in-chief who was to supersede Abercromby. The duke of York took the command of the united British and Russian army of thirty-six thousand men. On the 19th of September it was determined to attack the enemy in four columns, the ground being of a nature to prevent a concentrated operation. On the centre and left, where the duke of York was present, general Dundas and general Pulteney were defeating the enemy. But the Russian column, under general Hermann, was routed, and the duke instantly changed a plan which was leading to victory, and marched to the assistance of the broken Russians. The duke was himself then compelled to retreat; and the day presented the usual consequences of bravery without judgment. On the 2nd of October another battle was fought, in which the right and centre of the British and Russians were partially successful, but where the want of combination prevented any real advantage. The French were posted on a narrow isthmus by which it was necessary to approach Haarlem. On the 6th of October a battle was fought during the whole day, with equal bravery and equal loss. But the duke of York was no nigher the possession of Haarlem. The French were reinforced; the duke of York retired. Dangers were thickening around him. His great army was reduced to twenty thousand men, by sickness as much as by battle. He had provision only for eleven days. He pro-

posed a suspension of arms to general Brune, the French commander, preparatory to the evacuation of Holland by the British and Russians. The only point gained in this convention was that the Dutch fleet was to be retained. He bought the permission to go home in safety, upon the condition that eight thousand French and Dutch seamen, prisoners of war in England, should be given up to the French government. The troops quitted Holland on the 30th of November. Loud were the murmurs at home.

There was much to be accomplished before Bonaparte could be installed in that almost absolute power to which all his movements were tending. Commissions were appointed to make a new Constitution. Siéyes had his plan ready. By the 24th of December, the Constitution was completed and published. The Executive authority was to consist of three Consuls, Bonaparte being First Consul for ten years. This Executive was to propose the laws. There was a mock Legislature to strengthen the Executive. All classes of legislators were to be paid. The three Consuls were to have an allowance, the first Consul receiving 500,000 francs a year; each of the others three-tenths of that sum. Cambacérès and Lebrun were associated with Bonaparte in the consular office; but the real power was in his hands alone. The Constitution was accepted by the votes of the people, three millions having registered their approval. On December 25th, the First Consul wrote a letter to the king of England, which was enclosed in a brief note from Talleyrand, Minister for Foreign Affairs in France, to lord Grenville. This letter contained a proposition to treat for peace. Grenville's answer to Talleyrand, written on the 4th of January, breathed no spirit but that of determined hostility. It is difficult to understand how Pitt could have sanctioned such a letter as Grenville's,—a letter which Cornwallis designated as "haughty and most unwise." Statesmen thinking and acting with Mr. Pitt could not approve the tone of this correspondence with France. Fox was roused by it into political activity. He again appeared in his place in Parliament; made one of his greatest speeches, which was a reply to an equally grand oratorical display by Pitt; and was in a minority of 64 to 265. In the House of Lords, Grenville delivered a speech of remarkable ability, but tending, even more than his letter, to make the quarrel with France a personal quarrel with Bonaparte.

The time was not opportune for rejecting overtures of peace. The people of these islands were, throughout the year 1800, and partly in 1801, on the brink of famine. There had been a bad harvest in 1795, and indiscreet efforts to proportion the rate of wages, and of allowance from the poor-rates, to the price of bread had so increased the evil, that the danger had become imminent at the time when the conclusion of a peace offered by France might have opened our ports to importations. Palliatives were resorted to, and various attempts were made to regulate prices, which Romilly very justly says, were temptations to riot and insurrection. The riot and insurrection followed, and the government again suspended the Habeas Corpus Act. In the spring of 1801, the high prices reached their maximum, and then a good harvest came to ease the sufferings of the people.

By the vigour of his administrative genius, Bonaparte soon brought the civil institutions of France into working order. He did many wise and good things which the nation would probably not so readily have received from any other authority than that of an incipient despotism. He had given to the Consul Cambacérès the control over the judicial system; and to the Consul Lebrun the administration of the finances. He retained, as his own especial charge, the departments of War, Marine, Interior, Foreign Affairs, and Police. Never was there a more efficient machinery, not only for extinguishing Jacobinism, but for taking away even the semblance of liberty from a nation that did not understand it. The First Consul was now established in regal state at the Tuileries. He was surrounded by a court as glittering in dress, and almost as rigid in ceremonial, as that of the dukes and marquises at Versailles. The pacification of La Vendée was completed by the end of January, the insurgents being won to submission by moderation. Suwaroff had gone home after having been kept at bay in Switzerland; and the mad emperor Paul was won over by the courteous policy of the First Consul. Bonaparte had written a conciliatory letter to the emperor of Austria, which had been treated with contempt. Bonaparte left Paris on the 6th of May, ostensibly to review an army of reserve formed at Dijon. He inspected the troops, and quitted Dijon on the 7th. On the 8th he was at Geneva. The Austrian general, Mélas, with the main body of the army, was in the territory of Genoa. The object of Bonaparte was to seize Milan, and place himself between the Austrian army and the emperor's dominions. It was an infraction of the Constitution that the First Consul should command an army on a foreign soil, but he did not stand on such nice points of observance. Thirty-five thousand men, under general Lannes, went forward to cross the Great St. Bernard. The cannon were dismounted at the foot of the mountain, and dragged over on sledges and hollow trunks of trees. Lannes, and Berthier with another division, had crossed the mountain on the 16th. Bonaparte followed them from Lausanne on the 17th, with a young Swiss for his guide. Other divisions of the French army had crossed by the St. Gothard, the Simplon, Mont Genèvre, Mont Cénis, and the Little St. Bernard. Sixty or seventy thousand enemies were on the Italian side of the Alps without the knowledge of the Austrians. On the 30th of May Bonaparte was in Milan, having entered the city without opposition. The Austrian commander-in-chief, Mélas, rapidly marched to encounter Bonaparte, whose advanced guard was on the Po. He was between Mélas and another Austrian army at Mantua, on the Adda, and in the Tyrol. Mélas concentrated his forces at Alessandria, Bonaparte marched to meet him; crossed the Po at Piacenza; and took up his position in the plain of Marengo. On the 14th of June, Mélas came out of Alessandria, and attacked the French. For some time he appeared to be winning a great victory. Worn out with fatigue, the aged commander-in-chief had gone back to Alessandria, leaving the triumph to be completed by general Zach, when Desaix was ordered by Bonaparte to lead up a division to engage the advancing Austrians. Desaix turned the tide of battle, and was himself killed. The whole Austrian army now gave way: Marengo was won. The next day Mélas asked for an armistice. By the conven-

tion of Alessandria, the Austrians lost all that they had gained in 1798 and 1799. They evacuated Italy as far as the Mincio, and gave up Genoa, and all the strong places in Piedmont and the Milanais. On the 2nd of July, Bonaparte was again in Paris.

The campaign of Moreau, who entered Germany at the head of a hundred thousand men, was a series of victories, until an armistice was concluded on the 15th of July. The preliminaries of peace were entered into at Luneville. But a difficulty arose, and hostilities were re-commenced on the 29th of November. The archduke John, who had taken the command of the Austrian army, crossed the Inn with a hundred thousand men, to attack Moreau, whose troops were concentrated near the village of Hohenlinden, about twenty miles from Munich. The forest of Hohenlinden lay between the imperial army and the position which Moreau had taken up. It could only be reached by two great roads through the forest of thick pine trees, and by cross roads rendered almost impassable by the snows and storms of a winter that had now set in. On the 3rd of December, the victory of Moreau was decisive. The French lost four thousand men; the Imperialists lost a far greater number, besides fifteen thousand prisoners and all their artillery. Moreau pursued the archduke John, and was on the road to Vienna. The archduke proposed an armistice, which was concluded on the 26th of December, the emperor engaging to negotiate separately for peace. The peace of Luneville was completed on the 9th of February, 1801. Malta, which had been blockaded for two years by the English fleet, had surrendered to the British troops in September.

When the Session of the British Parliament commenced on the 2nd of February, 1801, Mr. Pitt found himself powerless to propose a general measure of relief for the Irish Catholics. Opposition to this measure, without which the Union was a delusion, arose out of the personal feelings of the sovereign, strengthened by the intrigues of that dangerous body which stood between a Prime Minister and his constitutional responsibility, under the title of "the king's friends." Lord Loughborough, the wily Chancellor, was of this number. On the 3rd of February, Mr. Pitt wrote to the king, urging the impossibility of his continuing in his majesty's service, knowing that his majesty would influence the conduct of others on the Catholic question; and he requested the king to make an arrangement as soon as he conveniently could, assuring his majesty that he would give his best assistance to the new government. On the 5th of February, the Speaker, Mr. Addington, had accepted the charge of forming a new administration. He did this "with the concurrence of Mr. Pitt, who wished all his private and personal friends to remain in office." It was as late as the 14th of March that the king received from Mr. Pitt the resignation of his office, and that Mr. Addington received the seals as First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. In the interval the king had again become insane. The old intrigues in expectation of a regency were renewed. But on the 7th of March the king was "recovered in mind as well as in body;" and the people made the most earnest demonstrations of their joy and their attachment to their old sovereign. Lord Eldon succeeded lord Loughborough as Chancellor. Lord Grenville was replaced as Foreign

Secretary by lord Hawkesbury; Mr. Dundas, Secretary of State, made way for lord Hobart; Mr. Windham, Secretary of War, was superseded by Mr. Yorke.

On the 16th of December, a Treaty of Armed Neutrality had been ratified between Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, upon the principle that neutral flags protect neutral bottoms. To the remonstrances of the British government against this resistance to that system of maritime law which England generally upheld, the emperor Paul answered by causing an embargo to be laid on all British vessels in his ports. On the 14th of January a proclamation was issued by Great Britain, authorising reprisals, and laying an embargo on all Russian, Swedish, and Danish vessels. An expedition to the Baltic had been planned and organized before the resignation of the Pitt ministry. Another expedition, whose destination was Egypt, had also been planned. There was no relaxation in the progress of these warlike demonstrations. On the 10th of December, Abercromby sailed from Malta in a fleet which carried seventeen thousand British troops; and arrived in the Levant in the beginning of February. On the 12th of March, a fleet of eighteen sail of the line, with frigates and smaller vessels, left Yarmouth Roads for the Baltic, under the command of admiral sir Hyde Parker, with lord Nelson as vice-admiral. On the 21st of March the English fleet was in the Kattegat. An unsuccessful attempt was made to avert the war by negotiation. Orders were at last given to pass the Sound as soon as the wind would permit. At day-break on the 30th the signal for sailing was given. In order of battle, Nelson leading the van, the fleet prepared to force the passage to the Baltic between the coast of Denmark and the coast of Sweden. The Danish side of the passage was guarded by Cronenburg Castle. On the Swedish side, at Helsenburg, separated in this, the narrowest part, by a distance of about three miles, there were no defences capable of resistance. The British fleet kept within a mile of the Swedish shore, and the guns of Cronenburg Castle were harmless. The whole fleet anchored at noon above the island of Huën, about fifteen miles from Copenhagen. The defences were surveyed, and being found very formidable, a council of war was held in the evening. Nelson opposed all arguments for delay, and offered to conduct the attack with ten sail of the line, and all the smaller vessels. Parker assigned him twelve sail of the line. Nelson having himself, in his boat, surveyed and re-buoyed the outer channel, the fleet took up another position off the north-western extremity of the Middle Ground, a shoal which extends along the whole sea-front of Copenhagen, leaving an intervening channel about three-quarters of a mile wide. Close to the city the Danes had moored their ships. They had six sail of the line and eleven floating batteries, besides small vessels. Their line of defence nearest the town was flanked by two formidable works called the Crown Batteries. Nelson again reconnoitered the Danish position. At about eight o'clock on the 1st of April the ships dropped anchor, having coasted along the edge of the Middle Ground. Their anchorage was distant about two miles from the southernmost ship of the Danish line. The Edgar took the lead. "The Agamemnon could not weather the shoal of the Middle, and was obliged to anchor. . . . The Bellona and Russell grounded. . . . These accidents prevented

the extension of the line by the three ships."* The mistakes of the pilots led to the disasters of the Bellona and Russell; for they had said that the water shoaled on the larboard shore. Nelson came next to these ships, in the Elephant. He repaired the error, and led all the vessels astern of him safely on the starboard side. By half-past eleven the action had become general. Nine ships of the line only could take part in it. Captain Riou, with six frigates and sloops, was to assist in the attack of the ships at the mouth of the harbour. Admiral Parker, when the cannonade had lasted three hours, gave the signal for discontinuing the engagement. Nelson put his glass to his blind eye, and said that he could not see the signal—"Nail my signal for close action to the mast." Poor Riou saw the admiral's signal, and was killed as he hauled off from the tremendous fire to which he was exposed. About two the firing ceased along nearly the whole of the Danish line. At this time Nelson sent a flag of truce to the Crown Prince of Denmark, with a letter, which he would not seal with a wafer, but called for wax and a candle, saying, "This is no time to appear hurried and informal:" "Vice-admiral lord Nelson has been commanded to spare Denmark when she no longer resists. The line of defence which covers her shores has struck to the British flag; but if the firing is continued on the part of Denmark, he must set on fire all the prizes he has taken, without having the power of saving the brave men who have so nobly defended them." The firing having ceased entirely, Nelson lost not a moment in endeavouring to get out of his dangerous position amongst the shoals. "We cut our cables and ran out," writes Fremantle. "The ships were so crippled they would not steer. The Elephant and Defiance both ran on shore. We ran on shore, and the Monarch." There were six sail of the line and a frigate fast on shore before the batteries ceased firing. The Danish adjutant-general went to the flag-ship to negotiate for terms, and it was agreed that there should be a suspension of hostilities for four-and-twenty hours. During the night the boats of sir Hyde Parker's division were employed in getting the grounded ships afloat, and in bringing out the prizes. The next day Nelson went on shore as arranged, for an interview with the Crown Prince. After a negotiation, which lasted five days, an armistice for fourteen weeks was agreed upon. The Danish prisoners and the wounded were sent on shore; to be credited to the account of Great Britain in the event of renewed hostilities. The prizes, with the exception of one sixty-four, were burned. The stores found in the captured vessels enabled our fleet to be refitted. Nelson went off to the Baltic to look for the Russians; but a sudden event had changed the temper of the Court of St. Petersburgh. The suspension of the interchange of Russian products with British manufactures had been fatal to the interests of the Russian proprietors of the soil. When they remonstrated, Paul threatened them with Siberia. Exile after exile was hurried away; the prisons were filled; executions were frequent; till the greatest and most powerful of the aristocracy began to think that their own safety could only be secured by the death of their tyrant. On the night of the 23rd of March, the conspirators, by virtue of their military rank, obtained admission to the

* Nelson's Dispatch.

palace; and the czar was murdered in his bed-room. The death of Paul broke up the adhesion of Russia to the Northern Treaty of Armed Neutrality; Sweden made no hostile demonstrations; and the armistice with Denmark was followed up by a general Convention in which all the disputes were adjusted.

The French army in Egypt, under the command of Kléber, had contended with varying success against the Turks, under the command of the Grand Vizier, assisted by an English fleet, commanded by sir Sidney Smith. On the 14th of June, 1800, Kléber, the most able of the French generals, was assassinated at Cairo by a fanatic; and the command fell to general Menou. On the 2nd of March, the English fleet, under Abercromby, anchored in the bay of Aboukir. It was two o'clock on the morning of the 8th of March before a debarkation could be attempted. Five thousand five hundred troops first left their transports, and proceeded towards the castle of Aboukir and the sand-hills where the French were posted. The sailors steadily rowed on; the soldiers sat unmoved; whilst showers of ball fell amongst them and all around them. The shore was reached almost simultaneously by all the boats; the men jumped out into the surf, and were quickly charging up the sand-hills. A second party landed in the same style; and then a third. The French retired; but our gallant fellows had five hundred killed or wounded. During the day Abercromby completed the landing of the remaining divisions of his army. The castle of Aboukir was invested, and on the 12th the British general advanced. On the 13th a severe action took place, in which our loss was considerable. On the 19th the main armies of the two nations were in strong positions near Alexandria. Their numbers were nearly equal. Early in the morning of the 21st the French infantry under Lanusse commenced an attack on the British lines. Lanusse was driven back, and was killed. Various were the changes of fortune through this fight, which began at daybreak and lasted till ten of the forenoon. At length Menou retreated. Early in the day Abercromby received a wound which proved mortal. The command did not fall into the hands of one destitute of vigour. General Hutchinson was reinforced; the Turks under the Grand Vizier advanced through the desert. They were assisted by experienced English officers. On the 20th of May, Hutchinson, on the left bank of the Nile, invested Cairo, which had been strongly fortified by Kléber and Menou. The Grand Vizier was in force on the opposite bank. The Indian army under general Baird was daily expected to arrive from Bombay. Belliard, who commanded at Cairo, proposed to capitulate. It was agreed that the French troops should be conveyed home with their arms, baggage, and ten pieces of artillery. Many of the objects of Egyptian art, collected by the French, were to be surrendered. Menou, who was at Alexandria, refused at first to accept the conditions for himself, but he yielded to the presence of a British force on the 27th of August. In that autumn Egypt was cleared of the French, and was restored to the dominion of the Sultan.

At this period there were negotiations for peace with France proceeding in London with great secrecy. M. Otto, a French Protestant, of some experience in diplomacy, had been in London since 1799. In August,

1800, he was authorized by the First Consul to negotiate for peace. This negotiation was broken off. To the weak government of Addington, M. Otto could apply with more hope of success. He was in indirect communication with the first minister in May; his visits to lord Hawkesbury were frequent during the summer. In August, Bonaparte was threatening invasion. The French armies were, for the most part, at home, eager for employment. A hundred thousand men were to come over in a flotilla of gun-brigs, or rafts—flat vessels of about 200 tons, armed each with four or eight heavy guns. Such a flotilla was collected at Boulogne. Nelson was sent in August to attack this flotilla, to cut it out of the harbour. He failed. "The First Consul," says Thiers, "in seeing what were the first acts of Menou, had judged the campaign lost, and he was desirous, before the dénouement that he foretold, to have a treaty signed at London." The Preliminary Articles of Peace between the United Kingdom and the French Republic were signed at London, on the first of October, by lord Hawkesbury and M. Otto. Plenipotentiaries were to be named on each side, who should repair to Amiens, for the purpose of concluding a Definitive Treaty of Peace, in concert with the allies of the contracting parties.

The burst of popular enthusiasm at the news of Peace was, naturally, somewhat extravagant. There were illuminations in London for two nights. The rejoicings throughout the country were equally demonstrative of natural gladness that the war was at an end, no matter how. The king was not pleased with the peace. He said to lord Malmesbury, "Do you know what I call the Peace?—an experimental Peace, for it is nothing else. But it was unavoidable." The marquis Cornwallis was appointed as plenipotentiary to conduct the negotiations at Amiens. He arrived in Paris on the 7th of November. He had two audiences of the First Consul; and then went to Amiens, to negotiate with Lucien Bonaparte. New demands were set up by the French, although they had originally professed to adhere to the preliminary treaty. At the end of January, Cornwallis had lost confidence in the negotiations terminating happily. Bonaparte had gone to Lyons, and had there accepted, from the deputies of the Cisalpine Republic, the Presidency of those States—in other words, the sovereignty. Nevertheless, the English government desired to conclude the peace, "if it can be obtained on terms consistent with our honour." The Definitive Treaty was signed on the 27th of March, without any material variation from the Preliminaries. The question of Malta, upon which the war was ostensibly renewed, was left in a very ambiguous position. There was no ambiguity about Great Britain surrendering all the conquests she had made in the war, except Ceylon, taken from the Dutch, and Trinidad, taken from the Spaniards. The French were to evacuate Naples and the Papal States. Egypt was to be restored to the Sultan. The Republic of the Seven Ionian Islands was to be recognized. The integrity of Portugal was guaranteed. The French retained all that they had acquired in Europe by the war.

CHAPTER LVI.

At the prorogation of Parliament on the 28th of June, Mr. Speaker Abbot, in addressing the king, said, "We now indulge the flattering hope that we may cultivate the arts of peace." The country generally did not indulge that hope. The people began "at last to apprehend that neither credit, satisfaction, nor even security, had been attained by the treaty of Amiens." Two months only had passed since the conclusion of that treaty, when Bonaparte found grounds of offence in paragraphs against him which continued to appear in the English papers. More serious cause of offence had been given on his part. Very soon after the conclusion of the peace, the First Consul had sent an army to Berne. In September, Piedmont had been formally annexed to the French territory. The First Consul had stipulated with the Batavian Republic, that he would withdraw the French auxiliary troops on the conclusion of the definitive treaty. At the end of October the British minister at the Hague reported that 11,000 French soldiers were halted on the Dutch frontiers, and that their pay and maintenance were demanded from the Batavian government. Whilst the negotiations at Amiens were proceeding, the French government was preparing an expedition upon the largest scale for the destruction of the government in St. Domingo, where, after a long struggle, the military genius and the political sagacity of Toussaint L'Ouverture had succeeded in establishing the civil and military dominion of free negroes, of which government he was the undisputed head—exercising a strict but just sway which allowed the agriculture and commerce of the great island to attain some degree of their ancient prosperity. Toussaint had manifested his confidence in the French by sending his children to be educated in Paris. A fleet of nearly a hundred and forty vessels, with twenty-one thousand troops, sailed from France on the 14th of December, 1801. Toussaint resisted for some time, knowing that the object of the French was to re-establish slavery, as they had done in Guadaloupe. Some of his generals were won over by the generals of Bonaparte, on receiving promises of honours and rewards, and Toussaint was finally compelled to submit. He retired to his farm in the mountains, where he remained for two months. But, being invited to a conference with the French generals, he left his retreat, was arrested, and with his wife and children was taken on board a vessel of war and carried to Brest. He was finally immured in the castle of Joux, near Besançon; was subjected to the most frightful severities; and died there on the 27th of April, 1803.

The government of Mr. Addington had made some feeble remonstrances against the restless ambition of Bonaparte, who had now become Consul for life, with power to choose his successor. "A more absolute despotism," writes Romilly from Paris in September, "than that which now exists here, France never experienced." When the session of the new parliament was opened on the 23rd of November, the king's Speech

recommended that the means of security for preserving peace should be adopted. These means were represented by a vote for 129,000 land forces, and 50,000 seamen and marines. The necessity for an additional military establishment was supported by the statement that France had a total regular force of 427,000 men, and altogether had at command 929,000 men. The vote for additional seamen was urged as an imperious necessity, required on account of "a large armament being fitted out in the ports of a rival nation."

In the *Moniteur* of the 30th of January, 1803, Bonaparte published a Report of colonel Sebastiani, who had been sent by him to explore Egypt and Syria. This report betrayed views of hostile aggrandizement as regarded Great Britain, and, in consequence, the Cabinet directed lord Whitworth, our ambassador, to declare that until a full and unequivocal explanation was given, the fulfilment of the article of the treaty of Amiens respecting Malta could not be expected. Lord Whitworth had an audience of Bonaparte on the 18th of February, who harangued the ambassador for two hours, on the bad feeling shown towards him by England, and finally declared that he would not provoke war, but that he had an army of 400,000 men, with which he would attack us at home, command the expedition himself, run all risks, and sacrifice army after army till he succeeded.

Within a day or two of this memorable interview, another cause of offence was blown by the winds over the straits of Dover. One of the French papers published in London, *L'Ambigu*, conducted by M. Peltier, a royalist emigrant, contained many bitter reproaches and insinuations against Bonaparte. The First Consul required that Peltier should be banished, but he was told that the law alone could give him redress. He then demanded the prosecution of Peltier by the attorney-general for "a libel on a friendly government." Mr. Perceval opened the case for the crown; Mr. Mackintosh defended Peltier. The jury returned a verdict for the crown. But the triumph of the First Consul in this impartial verdict of an English jury against an unscrupulous writer, must have been a small compensation for the surpassing eloquence of the English advocate, which was in reality the manifesto of the nation.

On the 8th of March, a Royal Message was delivered to Parliament, for calling out the militia, "in consequence of the preparations carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, whilst important discussions are subsisting between his majesty and the French government." On the 13th, an extraordinary scene between Bonaparte and the British ambassador took place at the Court of the Tuileries, in the presence of two hundred persons, including the foreign ministers. "Why armaments?" asked Bonaparte. "Against whom are these measures of precaution? I have not a ship of the line in the ports of France. But if you desire to arm, I also will arm; if you will fight, I will fight. You may destroy France, but you cannot intimidate her." There were two months more of diplomacy, but this scene at the Tuileries was the beginning of the end. The first orders that bore upon his design to carry into England one of the armies that had conquered Europe, date from the day when the First Consul first heard of the Message to Parliament of the king of England. On the 18th of May, the Declaration of War, and the various documents

by which the final measure was to be supported, were laid upon the tables of the two Houses of Parliament.

During the months of March and April a negotiation had been going on for the return of Mr. Pitt to power, in conjunction with Mr. Addington. Pitt would not come into office in the manner proposed. But he was tired, and so were his friends, of bolstering up a feeble government. On the 23rd of May, when the king's Message was to be taken into consideration in the House of Commons, Pitt made the finest speech, says Malmesbury, he ever made—strong in support of war, but silent as to ministers. Neither Pitt nor Fox voted for the condemnatory resolutions that were proposed, and Addington had therefore a large majority. Whoever was minister at that crisis, and would carry on the war vigorously, would have the support of the country. Bonaparte had committed an outrage upon British subjects which roused the national feeling. Two French vessels had been captured under English letters of marque. The First Consul, under the plea, which was a false one, that these captures had been made before the general declaration of war, arrested ten thousand English travellers in France. He detained them in captivity till his abdication in 1814 restored most of them to their homes. And now there was only one mind in Great Britain. "The land bristled." A patriotic Declaration was written by Mackintosh, and agreed to at the Royal Exchange amidst the cheers of five thousand of the most eminent citizens. Every town and city of the provinces made a similar declaration.

It had become a sort of popular tradition in France that an army might be transported from Calais to Dover in flat-bottomed boats. France, by a common movement of its departments and its towns, offered flat-bottomed boats to the government. These boats were to be built in the interior, and, creeping along the shores from the mouths of various rivers, to be united in the ports of La Manche, where they were to take on board a hundred and fifty thousand men, ten thousand horses, and four hundred pieces of ordnance. On the 23rd of June, the First Consul, accompanied by Madame Bonaparte, set out to visit the coasts of the Channel from the Seine to the Scheldt. In the autumn of 1803 his plans of invasion were becoming mature. A portion of his army was to invade Ireland from Brest. There were Irish fugitives in France with whom the First Consul negotiated. He would send an expedition of eighteen thousand men, with an ample supply of arms, if they would furnish twenty thousand insurgents. Robert Emmett, who with his elder brother had been implicated in the Rebellion, had returned to Ireland in 1802, and had set about organizing a new rebellion. The peace was not at an end when young Emmett began to swear in conspirators. On the 23rd of July—the government being aware that mischief was brooding—the insurrection broke out in Dublin. It was marked by an act of peculiar atrocity—the murder of the venerable lord Kilwarden, the Lord Chief Justice, a man of the most upright and amiable character, who came amongst an armed mob, in his carriage, accompanied by his daughter. The nephew of lord Kilwarden was also murdered. The daughter escaped. The insurrection, if so it can be called, was put down in a few hours. Robert Emmett was tried, and was executed with others, whose names are forgotten.

There were a hundred and twenty thousand Frenchmen encamped at Boulogne and its neighbourhood. The First Consul passed much of his time amongst these troops. He put them through exercises on land and on water. In England nearly four hundred thousand men, providing their own clothing, receiving no pay, having no privilege but what they considered an exemption from being balloted for the militia, had sprung up at a word. At Walmer Castle William Pitt had taken the command of three thousand volunteers. What Pitt was doing as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports was being done by every Lord-Lieutenant of England and of Scotland. Minister or mechanic, lawyer or labourer, peer or peasant, all were inspired by one spirit. On the 26th of October, the king reviewed the Volunteers of London in Hyde Park—twelve thousand four hundred. On the 28th the king reviewed fourteen thousand six hundred of the Volunteers of Westminster, Lambeth, and Southwark. During six months of the Session, which the king opened on the 22nd of November, night after night was spent in reprobation, or in defence, of the Volunteer system. Pitt stood up steadily for supporting and encouraging the Volunteers. He truly said that ministers had rather retarded and enfeebled the volunteer system, than contributed anything to its force and efficiency. The want of arms was a formidable obstacle to the efficiency of the Volunteers. In March the government set up works at the Tower "for stocking and fitting muskets." In April they were able to stock 350 in one week.

On the 12th of February the king's mind was again affected. He remained incapable of transacting business in public till the 23rd of April, but he was able to perform the mere formal acts of sovereignty. Mr. Pitt, on the 22nd of April, wrote a letter to the king, stating that he could not, consistently with a sense of duty, forbear any longer a direct opposition to the measures of administration. There was some negotiation, through the Chancellor, respecting a new administration, at the head of which Mr. Pitt should be. Pitt finally wrote to lord Eldon, proposing that an administration should be formed on a broad basis, "combining the best talents and the great weight of property of the country;" and with that view earnestly recommended including lord Grenville and his friends, and Mr. Fox and his friends. This letter was submitted to the king on the 2nd of May, and his majesty replied on the 6th. He required of Pitt, before he would consent that he should form an administration, that he would *never* agitate or support Catholic Emancipation or the Repeal of the Test Act. To the admission of Mr. Fox in the administration the king expressed an absolute negative. The Grenvilles refused to take office without Fox. In an evil hour Pitt accepted the post of prime minister, under the limitations prescribed by the king. On the 10th of May, Addington resigned.

On the 17th of February, the French Minister of Justice made a Report to the First Consul, of the discovery of a conspiracy. It begins thus:—"New plots have been hatched by England." The Report implicates Pichegru, Georges, and Moreau—with others designated as brigands. Georges and Pichegru, after some time had elapsed, were apprehended. Georges was executed; Pichegru was found strangled in prison; and Moreau was exiled. The complicity of the Addington ministry with the scheme of

overturning the consular government, and restoring the monarchy, was reasonably inferred by the discovery of a clandestine correspondence between Mr. Drake, our minister at Bavaria, and some disaffected persons in France. Our envoy at Würtemberg was also involved in these intrigues. The murder of the duc d'Enghien, the only son of the duc de Bourbon, and grandson of the prince de Condé, quickly followed the discovery of what French writers call the Anglo-Bourbon conspiracy. He was residing in the State of Baden; was carried off to France by a troop of horse which had crossed the Rhine in the night; was conducted to Paris on the 20th of March, heavily fettered; was hurried to the Castle of Vincennes, and was subjected the same night to an examination by a military commission, who sentenced him to death. He was shot before dawn, in the ditch of the castle, by the light of torches. His murder produced a profound sensation throughout all civilized countries. On the 18th of May, the Senate of France, by their decree, declared Napoleon Bonaparte Emperor of the French.

On Mr. Pitt's return to power, he did not enter the House of Commons with his old confidence in an overwhelming majority. There were three parties who were either wholly or partially opposed to the government—the Addington party, the Grenville party, and the Fox party. There was a great trial of strength on the 18th of June, in the largest house since 1741. The Ministerial majority was only 42, there being 493 members present at the division. On the 31st of July Parliament was prorogued. Before it met again, Mr. Pitt had strengthened himself by a reconciliation with Mr. Addington, who was raised to the Peerage as Viscount Sidmouth, and was appointed President of the Council.

On the 16th of August, his birthday, Napoleon was at Boulogne, seated on a magnificent throne, with the dignitaries of his empire, his marshals and his ministers, grouped around him, and before him the mighty army of a hundred thousand men destined for the conquest of England. There he distributed the crosses of the Legion of Honour to a chosen band; ever and anon raising his telescope to gaze upon a division of his flotilla exchanging a cannonade with an English squadron. The emperor proceeded to Aix-la-Chapelle, and thence to Mayence, to receive the homage of the petty princes of Germany. He returned to St. Cloud on the 12th of October. On the 2nd of December, his coronation took place in the metropolitan church of Notre Dame. The pope had been forced to "descend for an instant from the pontifical throne, to come to Paris to bless the emperor's sceptre and his crown."* The sovereign pontiff lifted the crown; but Napoleon, snatching the diadem, modelled after the crown of Charlemagne, out of the hands of the Holy Father, placed it upon his own head; and then he crowned the empress, who knelt before him.

At the opening of Parliament on the 15th of January, 1805, the royal Speech announced that war had been declared by Spain against this country. The causes of the war formed the subject of the first important debate of this session. On the 5th of October, captain Moore, in the command of four English frigates, met with a Spanish squadron of four frigates proceeding to Cadiz. He told the Spanish admiral that he had

* Thiers.

orders to detain these vessels, and that it was his earnest wish to execute his orders without bloodshed. The Spaniard would not yield; an engagement ensued, in which one of the Spanish ships blew up; the other three were taken, with an immense amount of treasure. There was mismanagement in not sending a force sufficiently large to compel the Spanish commander to surrender without loss of honour. The resistance which rendered a fight necessary gave the act the character of an unjust aggression, instead of a wise measure of self-defence. The bullion was meant for France, under a treaty by which Spain engaged to pay a large subsidy instead of furnishing France with troops and sailors. The British government, a year before, had given notice to Spain that if her armaments were not discontinued, no declaration of war would be made beyond what had been made in repeated remonstrances. But the remonstrances of Mr. Addington's ministry had been so mild, and his acceptance of excuses so very ready, that the Spanish government could scarcely have been prepared for an act of vigour which appeared somewhat opposed to international law. Upon this question Mr. Pitt had large majorities in both Houses.

The "Tenth Report of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry" was laid upon the table of the House of Commons, and ordered to be printed on the 13th of February. That Report deeply implicated lord Melville, now First Lord of the Admiralty, when, as Mr. Dundas, he filled the office of Treasurer of the Navy before the dissolution of the Pitt ministry in 1801. On the 8th of April, Mr. Whitbread brought forward a motion of censure upon lord Melville. Mr. Pitt desired that a Select Committee should be appointed to inquire into the case, and receive explanations if any could be given. The motion of Mr. Whitbread was, however, carried, to Pitt's great mortification. On the 10th of April, Mr. Pitt announced lord Melville's resignation. On the 6th of May he informed the House that he had thought it his duty to advise his majesty to erase lord Melville's name from the Council. On the 27th of May, Mr. Whitbread gave notice of moving an impeachment against lord Melville. On the 11th of June, lord Melville, at the bar of the House of Commons, spoke for more than two hours in defence of his conduct, declaring that with regard to two sums, amounting to 21,000*l.*, being "entrusted with the confidential management of the king's interests in Scotland, he had applied the money in a way which no consideration should induce him to reveal." It was determined to proceed against lord Melville by impeachment, and a Bill was rapidly passed which provided for the continuance of such proceedings under a prorogation or a dissolution of Parliament. On the 12th of July, the Parliament was prorogued by Commission. A week before the prorogation lord Sidmouth had resigned. He had taken part against lord Melville; and there were other differences which could not be reconciled.

On the 11th of April, a treaty had been signed between Great Britain and Russia, by which each power agreed to unite in the endeavour to form a general league of the States of Europe, for resisting the encroachments of France. Austria hesitated about joining the Alliance; and would not agree to proceed to hostilities till negotiations with France had been

attempted and had failed. Napoleon manifested no disposition to relax his system of aggrandisement. The delusion of a Cisalpine Republic was at an end when, on the 26th of May, he was crowned King of Italy in the cathedral of Milan. On the 4th of June, the doge of Genoa, with a deputation of the Senate, came to Milan, to supplicate the emperor of the French to deign to unite to his empire the Ligurian Republic, in which Genoa was comprised, and to grant them the happiness to be his subjects. The emperor consented that Genoa should be annexed, and should lend the aid of her ships and sailors to the French marine.

Nelson had been appointed to the chief command of the fleet in the Mediterranean at the breaking out of the war, and had sailed from Spithead on the 20th of May, 1804. For several months he was engaged in watching the port of Toulon. At last, on the 18th of January, 1805, the Toulon fleet came out. Nelson was at anchor off the coast of Sardinia. The weather was stormy. He could hear nothing of the French fleet, and he sailed away for Egypt. He returned; and at Malta found that the French fleet, having been dispersed in a gale, had put back for Toulon. On the 4th of April, he learnt that the French fleet, under admiral Villeneuve, had again put to sea on the 31st of March. They were joined by the Spanish fleet at Cadiz, having four thousand five hundred troops on board. The combined fleet numbered twenty sail of the line, and ten frigates. Nelson had ten sail of the line, and three frigates. He wrote to the Admiralty that "he was sailing after the combined fleet to the West Indies, and if he did not find them there he would follow them to the Antipodes." The Toulon fleet had the start of Nelson more than a month. They appeared before several West India islands—Martinique, Granada, Antigua; but they did not venture to stop. They fled back to Europe, with Nelson after them. Nelson, however, was baffled in his great hope of encountering the French and Spaniards. That exploit was reserved for sir Robert Calder, who, with fifteen line-of-battle ships, fell in with them, sixty leagues west of Cape Finisterre, on the 22nd of July. After an engagement of four hours, the English admiral captured two Spanish ships, an eighty-four and a seventy-four. The French and Spanish fleet got into Cadiz a month after the action. In that port six Spanish ships of the line had been previously at anchor. Collingwood was at hand with four sail of the line. The British people were indignant that Calder had not done more. He was tried in December by court-martial, and was reprimanded "for error of judgment." What he had done had been sufficient to disturb the plans of Napoleon for the invasion of England. Nelson had joined admiral Cornwallis off Ushant, and to them, worn out with the fatigue and anxiety of his chase of the enemy, went home in the Victory. The British squadron cruising off Cadiz was reinforced in August and September. The French admiral had little prospect of obeying his orders to bring his fleet fresh and entire into the British Channel.

On the 3rd of August, Napoleon was again at Boulogne. There he reviewed his army and inspected his flotilla, now all ready. The whole force, ready to embark, comprised a hundred and thirty-one thousand men, and fifteen thousand horses, with nearly six hundred guns of

artillery. There were, moreover, twenty-four thousand troops on the Texel, ready to embark, under the command of Marmont. To prepare the Army of England for their great adventure, the troops were brought down to the beach, where the gun-boats were lying to receive them. Every man had his appointed boat and his appointed place. Again and again, men and horses were embarked and disembarked. It was estimated that in two hours after the order had been given, the whole of this mighty force might be out of its harbours. All along the coast signals had been prepared to announce when the French and Spanish fleets should have appeared on the horizon. No signal was given. On the 22nd of August, admiral Decrès, the minister of marine, who was also at Boulogne, received a despatch from Villeneuve, which truly described the difficulties of his position. The emperor went into a tremendous passion; denouncing Villeneuve as a fool and a traitor. The tempests of the equinox were at hand; the English were prepared to encounter the combined fleet. After several days of irresolution, he determined to relinquish for a season the invasion of England, and to march the army of the camp of Boulogne into Germany. He left Boulogne on the 2nd of September.

On the 23rd of September, the emperor told the Senate that the wishes of the eternal enemies of the continent were at last fulfilled. Austria and Russia had joined England. "The Austrian army has crossed the Inn; the elector of Bavaria [the ally of France] has been driven away from his capital; all my hopes of the preservation of peace have vanished." He called upon them to raise eighty thousand conscripts. Bonaparte left Paris on the 24th. He had formed the plan of a campaign which should unite the army of Boulogne with two other great divisions of his forces—that of Hanover under Bernadotte; and that of Holland under Marmont. Napoleon crossed the Rhine at Strasbourg on the 1st of October. By the end of the month the rapidity of his movements, and his evident design to cut off the Austrians before their junction with the Russians, had caused alarm in London. Napoleon's marshals had very speedily reduced the Austrians in Bavaria to a force of about thirty thousand men at Ulm. The wall and bastions and ditch of this city offered no adequate protection; for Napoleon had obtained possession of the adjacent heights, from which he could bombard a place from which escape was impossible. On the 20th of October, thirty thousand men, with sixty pieces of cannon, marched out of the fortress, and laid down their arms.

Nelson was enjoying a little quiet at his house in the pretty village of Merton, in Surrey, when he learnt that the French and Spanish fleet, joined by the Ferrol squadron, had succeeded in entering Cadiz. He immediately went to the Admiralty, and offered his services, which were joyfully accepted. Nelson was full of hope; yet he had a presentiment of his own fate. The coffin which was made out of the mast of l'Orient was deposited at an upholsterer's. He desired its history to be engraved on its lid, saying, that he should probably want it on his return. When he arrived at Portsmouth on the 14th of September, the enthusiasm of the people was unbounded. They wept; they blessed him; they even knelt as he passed along.

On the 29th of September, Nelson arrived off Cadiz. When he took

the command, he had twenty-seven sail of the line, with which he retired to a station more than sixteen leagues from Cadiz, leaving two frigates to watch the harbour. He established also a line of communication between his main body and the frigates. On the day that Nelson joined the fleet, Villeneuve had received the positive orders of Napoleon, that the French squadron should enter the Mediterranean, and, sweeping away the British cruisers and merchant vessels, should proceed to Toulon. The combined fleet, therefore, moved to the entrance of the harbour, all ready for a start with a fair wind. Eight days elapsed before the wind was favourable. On the 19th and 20th of October, thirty-three sail of the line, five frigates and two brigs, weighed anchor and put to sea. Nelson's plan of attack was for the fleet to move towards the enemy in two lines, with an advanced squadron of eight of the fastest two-deckers. Collingwood, having the command of one line, was to break through the enemy about the twelfth ship from their rear; Nelson would lead through the centre; the advanced squadron was to cut off three or four ships a-head of the centre. Few signals would be made. One direction was worth many embarrassing orders: "No captain could do wrong who placed his ship close alongside that of an enemy." When Nelson learned on the 19th that the combined fleet had put to sea, he concluded that their destination was the Mediterranean, and he immediately made all sail for the entrance of the Straits of Gibraltar. At daylight on Monday, the 21st, when about seven leagues from Cape Trafalgar, the enemy was discovered six or seven miles to the eastward. The signal was given to bear down in two lines, as arranged. Collingwood led one line in the Royal Sovereign; Nelson led the other line in the Victory. He retired to his cabin, and wrote down a prayer that God would grant to his country a great and glorious victory, that no misconduct should be allowed to tarnish it; and that humanity after victory might be the fundamental feature in the British fleet. "For myself, individually, I commit my life to Him that made me." He inquired whether a signal was not wanting, and up went the signal which contained the immortal words, "ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN TO DO HIS DUTY." Three cheers from every ship was the response. "The conflict was severe," wrote Collingwood in the despatch which told our country of the glorious day and of its loss; "the enemy's ships were fought with a gallantry highly honourable to their officers; but the attack on them was irresistible, and it pleased the Almighty Disposer of events to give to his majesty's arms a complete and glorious victory . . . . I have not language, in common with the British navy, and the British nation, to express the full extent of the commander-in-chief, the loss of a hero whose name will be immortal and his memory ever dear to his country, but my heart bleeds with the most poignant grief for the death of a friend, to whom, for a series of years' intimacy, and a perfect knowledge of the virtues of his mind, I had acquired almost veneration for the common man of man. I was honoured with the strongest love of affection." Nelson was shot from the mizen-top of the Redoubtable, which he supposed had struck. "They have done for me at last," he said to captain Hardy, "my backbone is shot through." He was carried below, covering his face and his stars with his handkerchief, that his crew might not see who had fallen. His fingers soon

agony for a little more than three hours. The last guns which were fired at the flying enemy were heard a minute or two before he expired. Twenty of the French and Spanish ships had struck. But a gale came on; some of the prizes went down; others were wrecked on shore; one escaped into Cadiz; four only were saved. Four of the ships that made off during the action were captured on the 4th of November, by sir Richard Strachan. The French and Spanish navies never recovered, during the war, this tremendous blow. Napoleon's projects of invasion were at an end. Malmesbury writes of the Battle of Trafalgar, "I never saw so little public joy. The illumination seemed dim, and, as it were, half clouded by the desire of expressing the mixture of contending feelings; every common person in the streets speaking first of their sorrow for him, and then of the victory." The same feeling pervaded all, when the body of the hero was borne to St. Paul's, on the 9th of January.

On the 13th of November, Vienna was entered by the French, who soon held both sides of the Danube. There was no national enthusiasm to stimulate resistance. Napoleon soon quitted Vienna in the confidence that he should finish the war by a decisive victory over the Austrians and Russians. With the allied army were the emperor of Germany and the emperor of Russia. On the 2nd of December, Napoleon encountered about a hundred thousand Russians and Austrians with a somewhat smaller number of highly disciplined Frenchmen at Austerlitz, in the neighbourhood of Brunn, in Moravia. The battle began at sunrise, and lasted till sunset. The defeat of the allies was complete. Napoleon wrote to his brother Joseph, "A whole column threw itself into a lake, and the greater part of them were drowned. I fancy that I still hear the cries of these wretches, whom it was impossible to save." There are other versions of this story, which say that Napoleon ordered his troops to fire on the unhappy Russians, who had taken refuge upon the frozen waters. On the 4th of December, Bonaparte had an interview with the emperor Francis. On the 6th was signed the peace of Presburg, by which the emperor Francis gave up to the new kingdom of Italy those parts of the Venetian territory which he had acquired by the peace of Campo Formio. Napoleon made two kings out of two electors his allies—the elector of Bavaria, and the elector of Würtemberg. The emperor Alexander retired unmolested, to try his fortune once more in conjunction with the king of Prussia, with whom he had formed a treaty of alliance.

The great triumph of Napoleon gave the final blow to the shattered health of the English minister, who had organized the Coalition. Lord Castlereagh says of the calamity of Austerlitz, "It struck Pitt so deeply, and found him in such an enfeebled state, that he certainly never recovered it." On the 23rd, Rose enters in his Diary, that about seven in the morning he received a note "to tell me that my most inestimable friend quitted the world about four o'clock . . . . About half an hour before he breathed his last, the servants heard him say, 'My country! O my country!'" The House of Commons voted an Address to the king for a public funeral for Mr. Pitt, and a monument to be erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey. The House was not unanimous in this vote; but it unanimously voted 40,000*l.* for the payment of Mr. Pitt's debts.

Two days after the death of the great minister, Mr. James Paull moved for papers, upon which he purposed to ground grave charges against the late governor-general of India. Paull, having failed in India of advancement at the hands of lord Wellesley, had returned to England, and become a member of Parliament. His accusations were in a great degree the result of private malice and party rancour.

After the fall of Tippoo, and the partition of the Mysore territory in 1799, lord Wellesley steadily pursued the policy which is distinguished as the Subsidiary System. Its principle was to form treaties with native rulers; in compliance with which, a military force, under our own command, was to be maintained at the expense of the native prince; and the control of state affairs was to be vested in the British Resident, with the exception of all that related to the domestic arrangements of the sovereign, who preserved the regal pomp without the regal power. In 1800, a subsidiary treaty was formed with the Nizam, who ceded all his Mysorean territories in exchange for aid and protection. In 1801 the nephew of the deceased nabob of Arcot was raised to the nominal throne, renouncing in favour of the British all the powers of government. The Subahdar of Oude, and the Peishwa, came also under subordination to the British authority. After the rupture of the peace of Amiens, a new danger had arisen, in a confederacy of Mahratta chiefs, assisted by French arms and French influence. The warlike race of the Mahrattas were the lords of a population of forty millions, who occupied the fertile provinces extending in length from Delhi to the Toombuddra, and in breadth from the bay of Bengal to the gulf of Cambay. There were five Mahratta chieftains, whose collective military force amounted to 300,000, of which 100,000 were cavalry. The authority of the nominal sovereign, the Rajah of Sattara, was in the hands of the Peishwa, or prime minister, whose office was hereditary. At the beginning of the century, the great chief Holkar was at war with the equally valorous chief Scindia. Holkar, to strengthen his own power and destroy an ally of his rival, attacked the Peishwa, who fled from his court of Poonah, after a signal defeat. It was then that he called the British to his aid. General Wellesley marched six hundred miles, from Seringapatam to Poonah, in the worst season of the year; drove out the Mahrattas; and reinstated the Peishwa in his capital. Holkar now turned to his old rival Scindia, to coalesce with him against the Peishwa, the Nizam, and the British. Directing the military operations of Scindia was a clever Frenchman, M. Perron, who had under him a large army of infantry disciplined in the European manner, many thousand cavalry, and a well-appointed train of artillery. Bhoonsla, the Rajah of Berar (or Rajah of Nagpoor), joined the alliance of Scindia and Holkar. This confederacy threatened the security of the British dominion in India as much if not more than the hostility of Tippoo. Guickwar, the fifth Mahratta chieftain, whose territory was Guzerat, took no part in the approaching contest. On the 26th of June, 1803, Arthur Wellesley was appointed to the command of all the British and allied troops in the territories of the Peishwa and the Nizam, and to the direction of the political affairs of this district, which was surrounded by the dominions of the confederate chiefs. In Hindustan the same complete authority was given to general Lake. In Guzerat,

where Scindia had some possessions, and great power and influence, colonel Murray commanded the Bombay army, a force of seven thousand men, and he was afterwards reinforced by colonel Woodington. In the province of Cuttack, colonel Harcourt was at the head of the Madras army, a small body of troops, who were able to render efficient service. All these armies, not great in numerical amount, but most formidable in their discipline, were all in motion, at one and the same time, to close round the enemy from the south and the north, from the east and the west.

It was the 3rd of August when the British Resident quitted Scindia's camp. His departure was the signal for immediate hostilities. On the 12th of August, general Wellesley had advanced through roads rendered almost impassable by violent rains, and had taken the strong fort of Ahmednuggur. General Lake was equally prompt in his movements. The French force under Perron fled before him, retreating from Coel, which Lake then occupied. Perron, in a few days, put himself under British protection, and was received with kindness. On the 4th of September, the strong fortress of Ali-Ghur was taken by a storming party of the army of Lake. On the 6th of August, general Wellesley had sent orders to the officer in command of the Bombay army to attack Baroach. In a little more than three weeks Baroach had surrendered. On the 12th of September, Lake obtained a great victory over the troops of Scindia, and over the French army which Perron had formed. On the following day the British were in possession of Delhi. Lake restored the Mogul emperor, Shah Allum, who had been deposed, and thus propitiated the Mohammedan population of Hindustan. The triumphant career of Lake was followed up in the battles of Muttra and Agra, and was completed in the great victory of Laswarree on the 1st of November. The thanks of Parliament and a peerage were never more properly bestowed than upon the senior general in this astonishing campaign.

During a month, Wellesley and Stevenson were pursuing Scindia's forces, united with those of the Rajah of Berar, each of the British commanders never allowing the enemy to rest, and marching always with the rapidity which could alone keep pace with the Mahratta cavalry. On the 21st of September Wellesley and Stevenson were a little to the east of Aurungabad. They were sufficiently near to each other to concert a plan of joint operations against the Mahratta armies, which had been reinforced with sixteen battalions of infantry, commanded by French officers, and with a train of artillery. This formidable force was concentrated on the banks of the Kaitna. There was a range of hills between the British and the Mahrattas. On the 22nd of September the division under Wellesley, and the division under Stevenson, marched, by opposite roads round the hills, with the intention to attack the enemy. On the morning of the 23rd, general Wellesley received information that Scindia and Bhoonsla had moved off with their cavalry but that their infantry were still in camp, and were about to follow the cavalry. Wellesley thought the attack was no longer to be delayed, although colonel Stevenson had not arrived with his detachment. "The Mahratta chiefs, whom I was marching to overtake, had made a hasty retreat with their infantry and guns, and had got round behind a river on my right, leaving me exposed to an overwhelming

force of native cavalry." Although all the guides persisted that there were no means of crossing, general Wellesley marched for the river: "I found a passage, crossed my army over, had no more to fear from the enemy's cloud of cavalry, and my force, small as it was, was just enough to fill the space between that river and another stream that fell into it thereabouts, and on which Assye stood, so that both my flanks were secure. And there I fought and won the battle—the bloodiest for the number that I ever saw; and this was all from the common sense of guessing that men did not build villages on opposite sides of a stream without some means of communication between them." This is the duke of Wellington's own account, given in his latter years to "an early and intimate friend."*

The battle of Assye might well be "the bloodiest for the number," when the Mahratta force was at least seven times as numerous as the British army. It was one o'clock when the enemy's camp was in view, extending from five to seven miles. "We began to advance a little after three, and the action was not entirely over till six o'clock," writes Lieutenant Colin Campbell, who had been appointed by the general to be his brigade-major. "The general was in the thick of the action the whole time, and had a horse killed under him. No man could have shown a better example to the troops than he did. I never saw a man so cool and collected as he was the whole time, though I can assure you, till our troops got orders to advance, the fate of the day seemed doubtful; and if the numerous cavalry of the enemy had done their duty, I hardly think it possible that we could have succeeded. From the European officers who have since surrendered, it appears they had about twelve thousand infantry, and their cavalry is supposed to have been at least twenty thousand, though many make it more. We have now in our possession one hundred and two guns, and all their tumbrils."

In the middle of October colonel Stevenson obtained possession of the strong fortresses of Asseerghur and Burhampoor. General Wellesley had followed the Mahratta army in their various movements, their stratagems never defeating his vigilance. On the 29th of November, general Wellesley obtained a victory over the united armies of Scindia and Bhoonsla, drawn up on the plains of Argaum. Their line extended above five miles. That great array was soon broken by the resistance of the British infantry, when they were attacked. The Mahrattas retired in disorder, leaving their cannon, and pursued by moonlight by the British, the Mogul, and the Mysore cavalry. This wonderful campaign, of little more than four months, was finished by the successful termination of the siege of Gawilghur, which was bombarded for three days, and the fort, heretofore deemed impregnable, was in possession of the British on the 15th of December. The Rajah of Berar, who had sued for a peace, signed a treaty on the 17th. He ceded Cuttack, which was annexed to the British dominions, and he agreed to admit no Europeans but the British within his territories. Scindia also was completely humbled. A treaty with him was signed on the 30th of December, he agreeing to give up Baroach, Ahmednuggur, and his forts in the Douab; and to exclude all Europeans except the British. He was to

* "Quarterly Review," vol. xcii., p. 513.

receive the protection which was extended under the Subsidiary System to other dependent states. Holkar was yet unsubdued. It was in vain that the Governor-General tried to convert this enemy into a friend by negotiation. In April, 1804, war was declared against Holkar. The war went on through 1804 and 1805. Marquis Wellesley resigned the government of India at the end of July; and marquis Cornwallis succeeded him. Cornwallis died on the 5th of October, and sir George Barlow assumed the government. On the 24th of December a treaty was signed with Holkar; and he also agreed to exclude from his territories all Europeans except the British.

On the 10th of July, 1806, at two o'clock in the morning, the European barracks at Vellore, in which were four companies of the 69th regiment, were surrounded by two battalions of sepoys in the service of the East India Company. Through every door and window these mutineers poured in a destructive fire upon the sleeping soldiers. The sentinels were killed; the sick in the hospital were massacred; the officers' houses were ransacked, and they, with their wives and children, were put to death. Colonel Fancourt, the commander of the 69th, fell in the attempt to save his men. There was a terrible retribution the next day. The 19th regiment of dragoons arrived; took the fort of Vellore from the insurgents; six hundred of the sepoys were cut down; and two hundred were dragged out of their hiding-places and shot. The sons of Tippoo Saib, who were residing at Vellore, were suspected of being concerned in this mutiny. But there were demonstrations of a spirit of disaffection amongst the native troops in other places. Some extremely foolish regulations had been attempted by the military authorities at Madras with respect to the dress of the sepoys, and an opinion had been spread that it was the desire of the British government to convert the native troops to Christianity by forcible means.

On the 27th of January, 1806, the king saw lord Grenville, and desired him to form a new administration. His majesty now consented that Mr. Fox should enter the Cabinet, as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Lord Sidmouth, who could command forty or fifty parliamentary friends, was appointed Lord Privy Seal. He brought with him, into the Cabinet, lord Ellenborough, the Lord Chief Justice, an arrangement which was open to serious constitutional objections.

The financial measures of the new Ministry, however necessary, did not advance their popularity. The property tax was raised to ten per cent. from six and a half per cent. Mr. Windham, the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, had a plan for improving the condition of the soldier, by enlisting him for a stated period and not for life, which was a real improvement in the constitution of the army. But Mr. Windham brought odium on the government by his contempt of the four hundred thousand citizens embodied for the defence of their country.

The trial of lord Melville, during this Session, upon the impeachment of the Commons in 1805, excited little interest in the public mind. Many opponents of the Tory party considered the verdict—not guilty—"contrary to plain, strong, accumulated evidence." Nevertheless, there was no marked expression of dissatisfaction at his acquittal by the Peers on the 12th of

June, after a proceeding which had lasted sixteen days. Nor did the people take more interest in the protracted debates upon the charges against marquis Wellesley. There was one subject which did excite them—the rumours of a solemn inquiry into the conduct of the Princess of Wales, by virtue of a commission from the king to the Chancellor, lord Grenville, lord Spencer, and lord Ellenborough. During six months this inquiry furnished ample scope for the exercise of curiosity. It terminated by the king referring the whole matter to his Cabinet; and, by their advice, his majesty sent a written message to the princess, saying that there was no foundation for the graver charges against her, but that he saw, with serious concern, evidence of a deportment unbecoming her station.

On the 31st of March, 1806, Mr. Fox was taken ill at the House of Commons. Three days after, he spoke for an hour on Windham's military plans. At the end of April, he was "advised to retire for a time from his unceasing attention to business; which he positively refuses to do at this period."* Mr. Fox died on the 13th of September, having been engaged to the last in consultation with his colleagues on two great points of national policy,—"the restoration of a solid and honourable peace, and the abolition of the slave-trade."

The history of the Abolition of the Slave-Trade is a history of individual efforts, carried on, through many years, with unexampled zeal and perseverance; and taken up, again and again, by the British Legislature, amidst slight hopes of success against an opposition resolute to defend a traffic, of which the enormity of the evil was reconciled to many minds by the magnitude of the profits. It was through the exertions of Mr. Granville Sharp, that it was solemnly declared "that a slave, the moment he lands in England, falls under the protection of the laws, and becomes a free man." To the Society of Friends in England belongs the honour of the first united efforts to prevent the continuance of the Slave-Trade, against which they petitioned Parliament in 1783. Clarkson, a graduate of St. John's College, Cambridge, obtained the prize for a Latin Prize Essay on the subject of Slavery. The horrible facts stated in his own composition affected the young man so powerfully that he thought "it was time some person should see these calamities to their end." He translated his Essay into English, with additional facts. He became known to some zealous Quakers. He obtained introductions to Wilberforce, Pitt, and Fox. From this time to 1788, Clarkson pursued his great object in the most practical manner—by the collection of a vast body of details, totally new to the English people, which he published in 1788. These facts he gathered together by incessant labour; by obtaining evidence, often at his personal peril, amongst the seafaring population of the great commercial ports. The difficulty of finding a disinterested witness was almost insurmountable. It was a time when in this, as in every other instance, men were afraid to touch any foul ulcer of the commonwealth lest the vital parts should be endangered by the attempts to cure. At length Wilberforce came, with his persuasive eloquence and his influence over Pitt, and the cause of the Abolition gradually grew into shape, and was

* Colchester's "Diary."

never again suffered to pass wholly out of the view of the English Parliament. In 1806, under the ministry of lord Grenville and Mr. Fox, a Bill introduced into the Peers by the First Lord of the Treasury, prohibiting British subjects from engaging in the trade for supplying foreign settlements or the conquered colonies, was carried. This almost unexpected success called for new efforts. On the 10th of June, Mr. Fox moved that effectual measures should be taken for abolishing the Slave-Trade, "in such manner, and at such period, as may be deemed advisable." The motion was carried by 114 against 15.

The other great point upon which Mr. Fox had set his heart, when he accepted office, was the conclusion of a sound and honourable peace. He had not received the seals as Foreign Secretary longer than ten or twelve days, when he communicated to M. Talleyrand a plot for the assassination of the emperor, which had been revealed to him. The letter of Fox was laid before Bonaparte, who, upon reading it, said, "I recognize here the principles of honour and of virtue by which Mr. Fox has ever been actuated." On the 5th of March, Talleyrand sent to Fox a copy of the emperor's speech to the Legislative Body. It contained these words: "I desire peace with England. On my part I shall never delay it for a moment. I shall always be ready to conclude it, taking for its basis the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens." The Secretary for Foreign Affairs wrote to the French minister, that the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens had been variously interpreted; but that the true basis of a negotiation would be the reciprocal recognition of the following principle: "That the object of both parties should be a peace honourable for both, and for their respective allies; and, at the same time, of a nature to secure, as far as is in their power, the future tranquillity of Europe." This correspondence between Fox and Talleyrand went on up to the 14th June, the British minister insisting that the negotiation should be conducted with reference to the British alliance with Russia, and the French minister as constantly refusing to treat upon that principle. Lord Yarmouth, who had been detained in France at the commencement of the war, was now induced by Talleyrand to be his medium of communication with the Court of St. James's. Full powers were afterwards sent to lord Yarmouth to negotiate; which he properly held back till he had seen more clearly what Talleyrand really meant. At the end of July, Yarmouth communicated to Mr. Fox that a separate treaty had been concluded between Russia and France. But Fox still persevered in his endeavours for peace; and directed the earl of Lauderdale to proceed to Paris as a plenipotentiary, although he feared that no peace could be concluded upon terms which would be admissible. The negotiations were begun on the principle of retaining what each party possessed. The French government shifted from that position. Meanwhile the emperor of Russia repudiated the treaty which a rash if not treacherous agent had concluded. The diplomatic intercourse between England and France was prolonged till the 1st of October. But more than a month before his death, Fox had almost ceased to hope for the accomplishment of his desire for peace. The failure was not to him a fatal blow, as Austerlitz was to Pitt; but the protracted negotiation wore his spirit, breaking down under disease, and his end came on rapidly.

He was buried with all public honours on the 10th of October. The grave of Fox in Westminster Abbey is within six yards of the grave of Pitt.

Whilst the ministry of Grenville and Fox were negotiating for peace, with all honesty of purpose, Napoleon put himself at the head of the Confederation of the Rhine. The treaty for the federal alliance of the States that separated themselves from the empire of Germany, to place themselves under the absolute control of Napoleon, was signed on the 15th of July. The king of Prussia made no resistance to this confederacy, for he had hoped to form another union of States in the north of Germany, of which he should be the head. He was soon taught by Napoleon to have humbler aspirations. He had been bribed by the possession of Hanover into acts of hostility towards Great Britain in the exclusion of British vessels from the Prussian ports. The British government retaliated by a blockade of the Ems, the Weser, the Elbe, and the Trave, and also by an embargo upon Prussian vessels in the ports of the United Kingdom. The Prussians were becoming indignant at the humiliating position of their sovereign, and impatient of the loss of their commerce in consequence of the British blockade. They had, moreover, a foretaste of the tyranny with which the military slaves of Napoleon's will endeavoured to put down any manifestation of public opinion in opposition to that will. In the imperial city of Nuremberg, a bookseller, John P. Palm, was arrested by order of the French government; was dragged to the fortress of Braunau; and was there shot by the sentence of a French military commission. He had published a book calculated to rouse a national spirit in Germany, but which his captors described as seditious writings tending to excite the populations to insurrections against the French armies. One yell of indignation rose against the foreign tyrant. The king of Prussia was tardily making up his mind to break his chains whilst lord Lauderdale was negotiating at Paris. Before the British envoy had quitted Paris, Napoleon had set off with the determination to cut short the vacillation of Prussia, by one blow which should destroy all the ascendancy which the House of Brandenburg had acquired since the days of Frederic the Great.

In November, 1805, a Prussian and British force had landed in Naples, without opposition by the Neapolitan court, which had professed neutrality whilst the war of the coalition of Austria and Russia against France was in progress. Joseph Bonaparte was at the head of an army appointed to enter Naples. Napoleon wrote to his brother, "My will is that the Bourbons shall have ceased to reign at Naples. I intend to seat on that throne a prince of my own house. In the first place you, if it suits you." Joseph entered the city of Naples on the 15th of February, 1806; the king withdrew to Palermo; and Joseph caused himself to be proclaimed king on the 30th of March. In Sicily there was a British army commanded by sir John Stuart. Sir Sidney Smith had the command of a squadron at Palermo. The people of Calabria were discontented under their French masters; and Stuart was urged by the court of Naples to render them assistance. He landed near the northern frontier of Lower Calabria on the 1st of July, marched to the interior, and on the 4th, fought the battle of Maida, with the French general Reynier. It was quickly decided—not

by cannon or musketry, but by the bayonet. Paul Louis Courier wrote to a friend after this battle,—"the adventure is grievous for poor Reynier. We fought nowhere. All eyes are upon us. With our good troops, and forces equal, to be beaten in a few minutes! Such a thing has not been seen since the Revolution." The Calabrian insurgents drove the French out of the province. But they returned after sir John Stuart had left; and there was a protracted and a cruel warfare of soldiery against peasantry, with the usual result of such unequal conflicts.

The news of the battle of Maida reached London on the 2nd of September. On the 13th arrived the news of the taking of Buenos Ayres by sir Home Popham, who had commanded the naval force at the taking of the Dutch settlement of the Cape of Good Hope in January. What did it matter to the eager hopes of commercial men that this great adventure had been accomplished without orders from home? Cargoes of goods were sent out in 1806 by excited speculators, but when the cargoes arrived Buenos Ayres had again changed masters. Under the command of a French colonel in the Spanish service, an attack was made on the British troops in the city; and after a sanguinary conflict they surrendered as prisoners of war.

CHAPTER LVII.

On the night of the 25th of September, Napoleon, accompanied by the empress, and by Talleyrand, left Paris, and proceeded with his usual rapidity to Wurtzbourg, where German potentates and German generals came to bow before his greatness. Around him was his army of a hundred and fifty thousand men, divided into nine corps. There were three Prussian armies, of which the principal army of fifty-five thousand men was commanded by the king in person, with his nephew, the duke of Brunswick, as his lieutenant-general. The Prussian armies were posted on the Saale, in the vicinity of Erfurt, Gotha, and Eisenach. Battles of separate divisions had been fought, as the Prussians advanced to meet their antagonists. On the morning of the 14th of October, Napoleon attacked that portion of the Prussian army which, under the command of the prince of Hohenlohe at Jena, was unprepared for an immediate assault. The main body was at Auerstadt; and was attacked by Davoust. In that double battle, in which two hundred and fifty thousand men were engaged, with seven hundred pieces of cannon, twenty thousand Prussians were killed or wounded, and above thirty thousand were taken prisoners. The king fled from the field; the duke of Brunswick received a shot in his eye, of which wound he died on the 10th of November. All the principal fortified towns surrendered to the French, without resistance. In the northern provinces the Prussian generals, Blücher and Lestocq, kept some regiments together. All the rest of the great force that was on the banks of the Saale in

October was broken. On the 25th the French, under the command of Davoust, entered Berlin. Napoleon made his triumphal entry on the following day. On the 20th of November he issued from the palace of the House of Brandenburg the celebrated decree against the commerce of England, known as the Berlin Decree, by which he attempted to put England into a condition of isolation with the rest of Europe. This decree not only prohibited all commerce and correspondence with the British islands, but it declared every English subject to be a prisoner of war who was found in a country occupied by the troops of France or of her allies. It declared all property belonging to an English subject to be lawful prize. It prohibited all trade in British manufactured goods. It declared all merchandise coming from Great Britain or her colonies to be lawful prize. It shut out every vessel that had touched at any port of Britain or her colonies.

After the death of Mr. Fox, the ministry of lord Grenville feeling itself weak in Parliament, a dissolution was resolved upon. The result was favourable to the administration; and they had a considerable majority when the new Parliament met on the 15th of December. The great work of this Session was the abolition of the slave-trade. On the 23rd of February, 1807, the House of Commons decided by the vast majority of 283 to 16, that the House should go into Committee on the Slave-Trade Bill, the second reading having been previously carried, as it had been carried in the Lords. The bill was read a third time on the 18th of March; was passed, with some trifling amendments, in the Lords; and received the royal assent on the 25th of March. On that day the Grenville ministry delivered up the seals of office. On the 5th of March, lord Howick had moved for leave to bring in a bill for allowing Roman Catholics to enlist. The king had declared against the measure, and the ministers had consented to withdraw it. The king then required of them "a written and positive engagement never, under any circumstances, to propose in the Closet *any* measure of concession to the Catholics, or even *connected with the question*."* The ministers refused to give the pledge required; and the king very quickly formed a new administration, of which the duke of Portland was the nominal head, Mr. Perceval, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, being the real leader. Lord Eldon was enrolled as Chancellor, Mr. Canning as Foreign Secretary, lord Hawkesbury as Home Secretary, and lord Castlereagh as War and Colonial Secretary. The duke of Richmond was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and sir Arthur Wellesley, Chief Secretary. The holders of office had now a majority over those whom the king had turned out. The alarmists of the Church took part with the king; and the ministers, knowing the value of the old popular cry of "No Popery," dissolved the Parliament at the end of its first session.

In February, the Prussian and Russian forces made a determined stand at Eylau. The remnant of the Prussian army had been enabled to form a junction with the main Russian army under general Bennigsen. The French, at the end of November, had entered Warsaw: where the prospect

* Lord Colchester's "Diary," vol. ii., p. 168.

of national independence, to which Napoleon had given an equivocal encouragement, ensured them a welcome reception. The Russian general attacked Bernadotte on the 26th of December; and in the battle of Pultusk the French found that their emperor had undervalued the enemy with whom he had to deal. Benningsen then retired to Preussisch Eylau. Here he was followed by Napoleon. On the 8th of February, the emperor was surprised by a detachment of Russians, from whose hands he was only rescued by the devotion of his guard. The battle soon became general; and the dreadful struggle went on till ten o'clock at night. For hours the advantage on either side was very doubtful. When darkness fell upon the combatants there was still no victory. Thousands of dead and dying were lying amidst frozen ponds and drifts of snow, whilst burning hamlets and farms added to the horror of the scene.

Had there been a vigorous war-ministry in England, some great result might have been obtained from the resistance which Napoleon had encountered at Eylau. The emperor of Russia asked for a loan of six millions from the English government. A subsidy of 500,000*l.* was granted—a very petty and therefore very useless aid. Great Britain had other modes of employing her money and her arms than in carrying on war upon a great scale. Whether her government were Whig or Tory, there was the same passion for little expeditions. Sir Samuel Auchmuty, after the unfortunate result of Popham's attempt upon Buenos Ayres, had been sent out with a reinforcement of 3000 men. He found that he could do nothing at Buenos Ayres; and had attacked Monte Video. He took this fortified seaport by assault, with a severe loss. The government, knowing nothing of the success of Auchmuty, sent out general Whitelock to take the command. Whitelock, on the 28th of June, landed with 7800 men about thirty miles to the east of Buenos Ayres. They were before the city, which was nearly invested, on the morning of the 5th of July, when an attack was ordered. The troops were to advance with unloaded muskets, two corporals marching at the head of each column with tools to break open the doors of the barricaded houses. A terrible fire mowed down the advancing soldiers. Trenches had been dug in the streets; and cannon planted there swept away hundreds with grape shot. Auchmuty made himself master of the Plaza de Toros, a strong post; and another place of strength had been taken, when the action was ended at nightfall. Two thousand five hundred British had been killed and wounded, or were prisoners. General Linieres, the commander in the city, addressed a letter next morning to general Whitelock, offering to give up the prisoners, and those made in the previous year, if he would desist from further attack, and withdraw the British forces from La Plata. Monte Video was of course to be surrendered. Whitelock agreed to these degrading terms; returned home, was tried by court-martial, and was declared "totally unfit and unworthy to serve his majesty in any military capacity whatever."

Another unfortunate expedition was sent to the Dardanelles, under the command of vice-admiral sir John Thomas Duckworth, to co-operate with our ally, the emperor of Russia, against whom the Porte had declared war. Duckworth, with seven sail of the line, and smaller vessels, forced the passage of the Dardanelles, having received little damage from the fire of

the castles at the mouth of that strait. The Turkish fortifications along the Dardanelles were dilapidated. When the fleet appeared before Constantinople the Sultan was alarmed, and would gladly have yielded. But the French ambassador, general Sebastiani, exhorted him to gain time by negotiation. Duckworth fell into the snare, and meanwhile the skilful Sebastiani taught the Turks how to defend their shores. Cannon were mounted upon works at which the whole population laboured day and night. Troops lined the coast. All the passage down the Dardanelles assumed a very different aspect from that which the British saw as they passed up. The longer the fleet stayed before Constantinople the greater would be the danger; and on the 1st of March, during the course of three miles, the gauntlet was run through a constant fire. The actual loss in this ill-fated expedition was about three hundred men killed and wounded. Other expeditions against the Ottoman power had been sent forth by the government of lord Grenville. On the 20th of March, Alexandria capitulated to a force of 5000 men embarked at Messina. General Frazer, with 1500 men, then marched into Rosetta, and was soon driven back with great loss, having been received with a heavy fire from the houses and windows of the inhabitants. Another British force of 2500 men was sent under general Stewart; and that little army had to retreat with a loss of a third of its number. The affair of Alexandria ended by the evacuation of Egypt by general Frazer, on condition that the British prisoners should be surrendered.

After the great battle of Eylau the allied armies and the French army remained for several months inactive. Reinforcements were necessary to each. Napoleon had proposed peace to Alexander, but Alexander refused the proffered terms. He expected aid from England; but the succour did not come in time. Early in June, the Russians attacked the French lines and were repelled. A great encounter then took place at Heilsberg; and on the 14th of June a general battle was fought at Friedland, which broke the Russian spirit, terminated the campaign, and made the two emperors for a season, the dearest of friends. Eight days after the victory, an armistice was concluded, and, on the 25th of June, the two potentates met on a raft in the middle of the river Niemen, near the town of Tilsit, and there held a long conversation on matters of high import. By this Treaty of Tilsit whole provinces were taken away from Prussia. Out of the spoils was formed the kingdom of Westphalia, of which Jerome Bonaparte was to be king. The Prussian provinces of Poland were to be erected into the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and bestowed upon the king of Saxony, with the exception of one province, which Russia coveted. King Louis and king Joseph were to be recognized by Russia, as well as all Napoleon's creations of new subject states, and his willing instrument, the Confederation of the Rhine. A Treaty of Alliance, offensive and defensive, was entered into between France and Russia, of which the conditions were to be inviolably secret. Amongst the articles of this Treaty, as given by Thiers, was an engagement to take arms against England if she did not subscribe to the mediation of Russia to establish peace between herself and France; to make war against the Porte, if she did not subscribe to the [illegible] of France to establish peace between herself and Russia, and in

case this mediation was refused, to rescue the European provinces from the vexatious authority of the Porte, except Constantinople and Roumelia. Moreover, the two powers agreed to summon, in common, Sweden, Denmark, Portugal, and Austria, to concur in the projects of France and of Russia: that is, to shut their ports against England, and to declare war against her. In the meantime the English ministers received the information from the regent of Portugal, whose fleet Bonaparte also wanted, that the Danish fleet was to be placed at the disposal of France, and that by the assistance of this fleet, Bonaparte intended to invade the north-east coast of England. Our Foreign Secretary immediately made preparations for anticipating the hostile submission of Denmark to the commands of Napoleon. After the Treaty of Tilsit was concluded, Mr. Canning obtained a knowledge of the Secret Articles. How he obtained that knowledge he never would disclose. On the 12th of August, Mr. Jackson, an envoy from England, arrived in Copenhagen, to demand the surrender of the Danish fleet, as a deposit to be restored at the close of the war. Lord Gambier, the British admiral, was in the Sound with twenty-seven sail of the line, and many smaller vessels, in company with a fleet of transports, conveying twenty-seven thousand land-troops. The Crown Prince of Denmark indignantly refused; and prepared for defence. The British land forces were commanded by lord Cathcart, the command of the reserve being entrusted to sir Arthur Wellesley. The troops were landed on Zealand, on the 16th. They were not opposed; and they closely invested Copenhagen on the land side, erecting powerful batteries. Numerous bomb-vessels were ready also to pour their fire from the sea upon the devoted city. After some vain attempts to force a capitulation, the bombardment was commenced with fatal vigour, and continued for four days. The Danish navy and arsenal were surrendered on the 8th of September.

In the Royal Speech, delivered by Commissioners, on the opening of the Session of Parliament on the 21st of January, 1808, the view taken of our position with relation to the rest of the world was not cheering. Russia, Austria, and Prussia, had withdrawn their ministers from London. The machinations of France had prevented the war with Turkey being brought to a conclusion. The king of Sweden alone had resisted every attempt to induce him to abandon our alliance. The government of the United States had refused to ratify a treaty of amity and commerce agreed upon in 1806, and was making pretensions inconsistent with our maritime rights. His majesty had adopted a measure of mitigated retaliation to the Berlin Decree; but that being ineffectual, other measures of greater rigour had been resorted to by Orders in Council. By the Milan decree of December, 1807, the British dominions *in all parts of the world* had been declared to be in a state of blockade; and all countries were prohibited from trading with each other, in any articles produced or manufactured in the countries thus placed under interdict. The hatred of the people of many countries to the domination of Napoleon received an immense impulse from the tyrannical enforcement of these Decrees, which constituted what is called his Continental System. "If this interdict had been maintained some years, England would probably have been obliged to yield," says M. Thiers. "Unhappily, the continental blockade was to add to the exasperation of

peoples obliged to bend to the exigencies of our policy." Bourrienne, who in 1807 was the *chargé d'affaires* of France at Hamburgh, says that, had the decrees relative to English merchandize been observed, the French troops would have perished with cold. Licenses for the disposal of English goods were procured at a high price by those who were rich enough to pay for them.

On the 12th of August, 1807, the French ambassador at Lisbon presented a note to the Portuguese government, requiring, by the 1st of September, the prince-regent of Portugal to emancipate himself from English influence by declaring war, confiscating all English merchandize, closing his ports against English vessels, and uniting his squadrons to the navies of the Continental Powers. Unless he did so, the ambassador would demand his passports. The prince-regent was compelled to make the declaration of war, but he refused to confiscate English property. He advised the English merchants to sell their goods and depart the kingdom. On the [illegible] October the French general Junot crossed the Bidassoa, with orders to march across Spain, and make himself master of Lisbon and of the fleet by the [illegible] of November. The urgency of his orders made Junot disregard every obstacle presented by the violence of the rains, the badness of the mountain roads, and the difficulty of procuring subsistence. After crossing the Portuguese frontier, this army was almost wholly disorganized. [illegible] condition was not known in Lisbon, or resistance would probably have been made before the court yielded to the fear of some impending calamity. As the French advanced, the Portuguese government [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

Godoy persuaded the king to follow the example of the prince-regent of Portugal, and seek in the rich possessions of Spain in the New World that security which the revolutions of the Old World denied to crowned heads. On the 19th of March, Charles IV. abdicated in favour of his son. On the 21st of April, Ferdinand was in the hands of the betrayer at Bayonne. On the 30th the old king and queen were in the same clutches. Godoy had been previously seized by Murat, and sent under guard to Napoleon, who had reached Bayonne on the 14th of April. Napoleon wrote to his brother Joseph, "King Charles has yielded up to me his right to the throne . . . A few days before this treaty was signed, the prince of Asturias abdicated; I restored the crown to king Charles. . . . . There was a great insurrection in Madrid on the 2nd of May; between thirty and forty thousand persons were collected in the streets and houses, and fired from the windows. Two battalions of fusileers of my guard, and four or five hundred horse, soon brought them to their senses. More than two thousand of the populace were killed." Five days after, he again writes to Joseph,—"The nation, through the Supreme Council of Castile, asks me for a king. I destine this crown for you." The new king came to Bayonne, and proposed a Constitution to a junta there assembled of submissive nobles. The people flew to arms. Provincial juntas were established in many districts. The supreme junta of Seville proclaimed Ferdinand VII., and declared war against France.

The British nation was not slow to manifest its deep sympathy with the Spanish patriots. There were a few expressions of doubt and despondency in Parliament; but it was impossible to resist the universal feeling. When the Parliament was prorogued on the 4th of July, the government was pledged by the royal speech to "make every exertion for the support of the Spanish cause." On that day an Order in Council announced that hostilities against Spain had ceased. Sir Arthur Wellesley had received his appointment to the command of a detachment of the army, and he sailed from Cork for Corunna on the 12th of July, with full instructions to afford "to the Spanish and Portuguese nations every possible aid in throwing off the yoke of France." Sir Arthur Wellesley's division comprised nine thousand men. Another corps, under sir John Moore, which had just arrived from the Baltic, numbered eleven thousand men. These two detachments were to co-operate. But their united efforts were to be directed by sir Hew Dalrymple and sir Harry Burrard, two generals whose exploits were better known in the private records of the Horse Guards than in the annals of their country. Before anything was done for the Spaniards by England, they had well employed the means which they possessed. In June, the French general Dupont had marched from Madrid to Andalusia; given Cordova up to pillage; and committed atrocities which roused the people to fury. The Spanish general Castanos, with an army sent against Dupont by the Junta of Seville, won the battle of Baylen, and compelled the French to surrender at discretion on the 21st of July. Aragon was defended by its people under the command of Palafox. The siege of Zaragoza, the capital of the province, was commenced by the French on the 15th of June. The trenches were open for forty-nine days. The city was bombarded for twenty-one days. But nothing could shake the

courage of its defenders. The exploits of Augustina, the Amazon of Zaragoza, inspired as much courage into the besieged as Joan of Arc had inspired at the siege of Orleans. The French raised the siege on the 4th of August.

Sir Arthur Wellesley landed his troops at Figuiera, a difficult task on an iron coast. On the 7th of August, major-general Spencer's corps joined the army. With ten thousand British and five thousand Portuguese, sir Arthur Wellesley then prepared to march towards Lisbon. On the 17th he defeated at Roliça the French under Laborde. On the 20th he was at Vimiero, having been joined by general Anstruther and general Acland with their corps. He had now an army of seventeen thousand men. Junot had joined Laborde and Loison at Torres Vedras, and their united force was about fourteen thousand men, of whom sixteen hundred were cavalry. Early in the morning of the 21st, the French attacked the British in their position. Sir Harry Burrard had arrived on the night of the 20th, but did not land. The principal attack on the British was on the centre and left; the sea being in their rear. The attack was repulsed. Kellermann then attacked with the French reserve, and he also was driven back. Junot's left wing and centre were discomfited. The road of Torres Vedras, the shortest road to Lisbon, was uncovered. When the action was nearly over, sir Harry Burrard had landed. In a private letter, sir Arthur Wellesley wrote, "The French got a terrible beating on the 21st. They did not lose less, I believe, than four thousand men, and they would have been entirely destroyed, if sir H. Burrard had not prevented me from pursuing them. Indeed, since the arrival of the great generals, we appear to have been palsied, and everything has gone on wrong." Sir John Moore arrived with his corps on the 21st, and his troops were nearly all landed when hostilities were suspended by the Convention of Cintra for the evacuation of Portugal by the French. Sir Arthur writes to lord Castlereagh, "Although my name is affixed to this instrument, I beg that you will not believe that I negotiated it, that I approve of it, or that I had any hand in wording it." On the 5th of September, he writes, "It is quite impossible for me to continue any longer with this army; and I wish, therefore, that you would allow me to return home and resume the duties of my office." Dalrymple, Burrard, and Wellesley were all recalled home. Sir John Moore remained at Lisbon, having been appointed to command the army. A Court of Inquiry was ordered on the subject of "the late transactions in Portugal." Wellesley had to bear much before the publicity of these proceedings was to set him right in public opinion. The Inquiry ended in a formal disapprobation of the armistice and convention on the part of the king being communicated to sir Hew Dalrymple. Neither of the two "great generals" was again employed. One advantage was gained by the Convention. The Russian fleet in the Tagus was delivered up to the British.

Sir John Moore, late in October, began his march into Spain, "to co-operate," as his instructions set forth, "with the Spanish armies in the expulsion of the French." He was to lead the British forces in Portugal: and to be joined by sir David Baird, with ten thousand men to be landed at Corunna. Instead of finding Spanish armies to co-operate with, he learnt that the French had routed and dispersed them. Napoleon had himself come to command his troops; and had arrived at Bayonne on the 3rd of November.

Moore was separated from Baird by a wide tract of country. He had been led by false information to divide his own army. He remained for some time at Salamanca, inactive and uncertain. Madrid was soon in the hands of the French. Moore made a forward movement against the advanced corps of Soult; and then, learning that the French armies were gathering all around him, he determined to retreat. Sir David Baird had previously joined him. Moore had abandoned all hopes of defending Portugal, and had directed his march towards Corunna. He commenced his retreat from Sahagun on the evening of the 24th of December. During this retreat, the retiring army constantly turned upon the pursuers, always defeating them, and on one occasion capturing general Lefebvre. The winter had set in with terrible severity; the sufferings of the troops were excessive; disorganization, the common consequence of a retreat, added to their danger. Moore saved his army from destruction by an overwhelming force when he carried it across the Esla, effectually destroying the bridge by which they passed the swollen stream. But Moore could not save his men from their own excesses, which made enemies of the inhabitants of every place through which they passed.

At Lugo, on the 7th of January, 1809, the British general halted his exhausted troops, determined to give battle to Soult, to whom Napoleon had given up the pursuit of the English army, having received despatches which indicated that war with Austria was close at hand. Soult declined the conflict; and on the British marched to Corunna. On the 11th, when they had ascended the heights from which Corunna was visible, there were no transports in the bay. The troops met with a kind reception in the town; and their general applied himself to make his position as strong as possible, to resist the enemy that was approaching. On the evening of the 14th the transports arrived. The sick and wounded were got on board; and a great part of the artillery. Fourteen thousand British remained to fight, if their embarkation were molested. The battle of Corunna began at two o'clock on the 16th of January. Soult had twenty thousand veterans, with numerous field-guns; and he had planted a formidable battery on the rocks commanding the valley and the lower ridge of hills. Columns of French infantry descended from the higher ridge; and there was soon a close trial of strength between the combatants. From the lower ridge Moore beheld the 42nd and 50th driving the enemy before them through the village of Elvina. He sent a battalion of the guards to support them; but through a misconception the 42nd retired. Moore immediately dashed into the fight; exclaimed "Forty-second, remember Egypt," and sent them back to the village. The British held their ground or drove off their assailants; and victory was certain under the skilful direction of the heroic commander, when he was dashed to the earth by a shot from the rock battery. Sir David Baird, the second in command, had also fallen. Moore was carried into Corunna; and endured several hours of extreme torture before he yielded up his great spirit. The command had devolved upon general Hope, who thought that his first duty was now to embark the troops. Had he known that the ammunition of the French was exhausted, the victory might have been more complete. Marshal Soult paid the tribute of a soldier to a soldier, and raised a plain monument on the

spot where the English general had been killed. When the sufferers in Moore's campaign came home the hospitals were filled with wounded and sick; and some of the troops brought back a pestilential fever. In their sorrow and pity the people forgot their indignation at what they were told had been the conduct of this campaign by the government; and whilst they gave a tear to the memory of the brave general who died at Corunna, they despised the attempts of some journals to load his character with obloquy.

From the 1st of February to the 20th of March the almost undivided attention of the House of Commons, and of the country, was bestowed upon the contemptible details of the degradation of the duke of York, in being the dupe of the artifices of an abandoned woman, Mrs. Mary Ann Clarke. An inquiry into the conduct of the Commander-in-chief had been entered into on the motion of colonel Wardle. Sir Samuel Romilly has this entry in his diary: "It was established, beyond the possibility of doubt, that the duke had permitted Mrs. Clarke, his mistress, to interfere in military promotions; that he had given commissions at her recommendation; and that she had taken money for the recommendations." A motion of acquittal was carried by 278 to 196. But this was not such an acquittal as would allow the Commander-in-chief to retain his office in defiance of public opinion, although all men were ready to admit that he had been assiduous in the discharge of his duties; and had done much to improve the condition of the soldier. On the 20th of March, Mr. Perceval announced in the House of Commons the resignation of the duke of York.

In April, 1809, Thomas, lord Cochrane, although opposed to the government, was chosen by the Admiralty to conduct a most difficult and dangerous enterprise, under the orders of lord Gambier. This was an attack by fire-ships on the French squadron, which was blockaded in Aix Roads, by our Channel fleet. Lord Cochrane performed this task in a way in which few commanders could have done so much by skill and intrepidity. Four ships of the line were taken at their anchorage, and were blown up. The remainder slipped their cables and ran on shore. Captain Cochrane made signal to his admiral, when daylight came, that seven other vessels might be destroyed. Lord Gambier thought the attempt too hazardous.

After the forces under Junot had evacuated Portugal according to the conditions of the Convention of Cintra, sir John Cradock was left in the command of the British troops in that country. Soult invaded the northern provinces from Galicia, and took possession of Oporto on the 29th of March. The Regency at Lisbon earnestly implored the aid of the British government. On the 2nd of April, sir Arthur Wellesley was ordered to proceed without delay to Lisbon, sir John Cradock having been removed to Gibraltar. Sir Arthur landed at Lisbon on the 22nd of April. On the 9th of May he moved with sixteen thousand British troops from Coimbra. On the 11th he crossed the Douro, "a river, deep, swift, more than three hundred yards wide, and in the face of ten thousand veterans guarding the opposite bank."* On the 12th the British obtained a victory, which com-

* Napier.

pelled Soult to retreat from Oporto, leaving many sick and wounded. The French in their retreat were harassed and killed by the people of the villages. "This last circumstance," says sir Arthur, "is the natural effect of the species of warfare which the enemy have carried on in this country. Their soldiers have plundered and murdered the peasantry at their pleasure." The conqueror published a proclamation calling upon the inhabitants to be merciful to the wounded and prisoners.

On the 9th of April, Austria declared war against Bavaria, the ally of France; and the Austrian armies crossed the Inn. On the 13th of April, Napoleon left Paris, where he had been making ample preparations for another campaign in Germany. On the 17th he was at Donauwerth, on the Danube. The struggle began with the battle of Eckmuhl on the 22nd of April, which was followed by the entry of the French into Vienna on the 13th of May. The archduke Charles had reinforced his army, and was advancing rapidly along the left bank of the Danube, to prevent the enemy crossing from the right bank, on which Vienna is situated. In the great stream of the Danube is the island of Lobau, nearly three miles in length, and nearly two miles in breadth. To this island Napoleon transported his army, over a great bridge constructed upon boats, held in their places by anchors, or by the weight of cannon taken from the arsenal of Vienna. From Lobau there was a smaller stream to cross, by a similar bridge, before a landing could be effected on the open plain on the left bank. As the French formed their line, the village of Aspern was on one flank; the village of Essling on the other flank. On the 21st and 22nd of May, the most sanguinary contest of the war here took place. Never before was the all-conquering emperor in so dangerous a position as when the day closed upon this horrible carnage. He could not return to Vienna; for the river had risen and the Austrians had floated down the main stream great balks of timber and numerous fire-ships, which swept away the boats and their bridge. Napoleon could only retain the island of Lobau. Here he retreated, carrying with him thousands of wounded soldiers. Shut up in the island of the Danube, the French emperor was strengthening his position, and waiting for events. They were of a mixed character. The heroic partizan, colonel Schill, and the duke of Brunswick, who had headed the German insurrection in Saxony, Westphalia, and Hanover, had failed. Schill was killed in Stralsund. The duke of Brunswick, with a few troops, embarked for England. The Tyrolese were in active resistance to the yoke of Bavaria, to which crown they had been annexed. Andrew Hofer, the innkeeper in the valley of Passeyr, and three other resolute friends, led the revolt which broke out on the 8th of April. The Bavarians entered the province with 25,000 men. The bold peasants marched to attack them in the gorges of the hills, and even in the towns which they held in strength. Halle was taken; Innspruck surrendered after an obstinate defence. After the French occupied Vienna, the Tyrol was invaded by two French and allied armies. The Tyrolese defeated the French and Saxons in the valley of the Eisach. The vanguard of four thousand Bavarians under the duke of Dantzic was destroyed. As the disciplined troops marched though passes where perpendicular rocks rose on either side, the mountaineers hurled down masses of rocks and timber, crushing and bury-

ing the columns, whilst the unerring rifles picked off the few who fled from the overwhelming ruin. The duke of Dantzic speedily retreated from the dangerous mountains. But Hofer dared to encounter him in a pitched battle, and the innkeeper won the victory.

Napoleon appeared to be busily employed in constructing massive bridges from the island to the left bank of the Danube; but he was secretly collecting the materials for another work. On the night of the 4th of July the whole of his army crossed the stream, by a bridge thrown over an unguarded point. The archduke Charles quitted his entrenchments, abandoning the country between Euzensdorf and Wagram, and retired to a strong position on the elevated table-land of Wagram. From this locality the great battle of the 6th derives its name. The number of soldiers engaged in the work of mutual destruction was between three and four hundred thousand. The French historians claim to have killed or wounded twenty-four thousand Austrians; and admit to have lost eighteen thousand in killed or wounded. Austria sued for an armistice; and the armistice led to a peace. Two of the conditions of the peace of Vienna, which was signed on the 14th of October, were more degrading to Austria than the loss of territory. One was that she should give no succour to the Tyrolese who had so nobly fought for her independence. The other was, that she should unite with all the rest of the enslaved continent in the exclusion of the commerce of England. Fifty thousand French and Bavarians marched into the Tyrol; hunted the peasantry from hill to hill; set a price upon the head of Andrew Hofer; and procured his arrest by treachery. He was tried by court-martial at Mantua, was condemned to death, and was shot on the 20th of February, 1810.

The news of the armistice between Austria and France reached London on the 27th of July. On the 25th a vast expedition had sailed from Portsmouth to make a diversion in favour of Austria. Sir David Dundas, who had succeeded the duke of York as Commander-in-chief, had not been consulted as to the appointment of the commander of this expedition. Nor was any consultation held with sir Lucas Pepys, the physician-general to the forces, who was acquainted with the nature of the disorder to which soldiers were subject in the island of Walcheren. The medical officers of the army were not informed where the expedition was going, and therefore could not make any particular preparation. On the 16th of July, the earl of Chatham received his instructions, as the commander of a large division of his majesty's forces, to attack and destroy the naval force and establishments in the Scheldt, acting in conjunction with the commander of the naval portion of the armament, sir Richard Strachan. The whole amount of the land force, according to the list transmitted to lord Chatham, was 39,143 infantry, cavalry, and artillery. The naval force comprised 35 sail of the line, 5 ships of 50 and 44 guns, 18 frigates, and 160 sloops, gun-brigs, bomb-vessels, gun-boats, &c. During the three days on which this great armament ran down the English shore, every height was crowded with people. On the 30th of July, twenty thousand men landed on the isle of Walcheren. Middleburgh, the chief town, was immediately surrendered. The French troops were driven into Flushing. Other operations were attended with complete success. Every obstacle was quickly removed

that would have prevented Antwerp being taken by a sudden and well-combined movement of the naval and military forces. But all the energy of the first operations had no other ulterior object, in the eye of the Commander-in-chief, than the taking of Flushing, and the occupation of Walcheren. The investment of Flushing was completed, before a bombardment commenced on the 13th of August. The troops slept, for the most part, in the open air. Towards the morning the island was always covered with unwholesome exhalations from the marshes. Napoleon had sent orders that general Monnet, the commander of Flushing, should cut the dykes. On the 11th, the sea dyke extending from the right flank of Flushing on the land side to the canal of St. Joostland, was cut. The water spread over the fields, filled the ditches, and forced the besiegers to abandon some parts of the trenches. The bombardment then commenced upon a scale that was perhaps unequalled in any previous siege. Batteries of heavy ordnance fired incessantly night and day upon the devoted town. The Congreve rocket was employed with fearful effect. Ten line of battle ships on the morning of the 14th, ranged along the sea line of defences, and kept up a cannonade for several hours. Flushing was on fire in every quarter. At last, after three days the governor agreed to surrender, on the condition of the garrison becoming prisoners of war. The occupation of the Dutch fishing town was the prize that cost twenty millions of money.

Lord Chatham wrote home on the 29th that he was obliged to close his operations with the capture of Flushing. He adds, "I am concerned to say, that the effect of the climate at this unhealthy period of the year is felt most seriously, and that the number of the sick already is little short of three thousand." The soldiers were carried into close barracks at Middleburgh, where the fever raged more and more, and the barracks all became hospitals. The medical officers themselves were seized, and either died or were disqualified for attendance. The main army was ordered home, and with them went lord Chatham. But fifteen thousand men were left in Walcheren "for the protection of the island." Walcheren was finally evacuated on the 23rd of December. Such was the end of the great Armada that sailed from the Downs on the 28th of July, with a pomp and power that had never been equalled since another Armada came to a like fatal termination of vain hopes and blind confidence. Every one who had thought or read knew what would be the consequence of sending forty thousand men to Zealand in August, and of their continuing there for two or three months. The disgrace rested with the commander; with the Secretary-at-War; and with the members of the Cabinet, who believed him incapable, and had not the courage to enforce their belief. But the calamity which England had sustained had a most serious effect upon the progress of the war in Spain and Portugal.

After the retreat of Soult from Oporto, sir Arthur Wellesley, at the beginning of July, entered Spain, and made a junction with the Spanish army under Cuesta, at Oropesa. Marshal Victor was in position at Talavera. His outposts were attacked on the 22nd by the Spanish and British; and Victor, retiring to Torrijos, was joined by Sebastiani, and afterwards by king Joseph. Cuesta, who was obstinate and conceited, pushed on alone

to attack the French, and was driven back to the British army on the Alberche. In a sulky mood, he then left to sir Arthur Wellesley the command of the two armies. The British general retired six miles to Talavera, where he had previously chosen his field of battle, and which he had strengthened by some earthworks. On the 27th, the French crossed the Alberche, and there was a partial contest, in which they were repulsed. On the 28th, the French renewed the attack. At noon the battle commenced. The French first attacked the left, which was weak; then fell upon the right; and later in the day threw their force upon the centre of the line. A formidable battery was making fearful havoc. The centre was giving way, when sir Arthur Wellesley ordered the 48th regiment to descend from the height which they occupied, and meet the brunt of the fight. The scattered masses rallied. The English general hurled a charge of cavalry upon the French columns, and the victory was won. "This battle," says Jomini, "recovered the glory of the successors of Marlborough, which for a century had declined. It was felt that the English infantry could contend with the best in Europe." Very few Spaniards were engaged. Sixteen thousand English, of which number many had been recently taken from the militia, repulsed thirty thousand French veterans. The battle of Talavera won for sir Arthur Wellesley the name by which we shall henceforth speak of him—Wellington: first Viscount, then Earl, then Marquis, then Duke. Immediately after the battle, the English general was obliged to retreat, for Soult had suddenly appeared with fifty thousand men. Sir Arthur left fifteen hundred of his sick and wounded to be guarded by Cuesta. Cuesta marched away and left his charge, whom sir Arthur then recommended to the humanity of the French generals, who acted generously towards them, as Wellesley had acted towards the French at Oporto.

On the 22nd of September, 1809, lord Castlereagh, the Secretary-at-War, and Mr. Canning, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, had a hostile meeting on Wimbledon Common. Lord Castlereagh, the challenger, accused Canning of having intrigued to remove him from office. Canning was slightly wounded. The end of the affair was that Canning and Castlereagh both quitted the administration. The duke of Portland also resigned; and, long broken in health, died on the 29th of October. Mr. Perceval became Premier; the marquis Wellesley came from Spain to be Secretary for Foreign Affairs; lord Liverpool took lord Castlereagh's post as Secretary of State for the department of War and the Colonies; the Secretary at War was lord Palmerston.

When Parliament was opened on the 23rd of January, 1810, the failure of the expedition to Walcheren naturally became a subject of grave inquiry. The ministry made every effort to screen lord Chatham from a vote of censure, which was prevented only by very small majorities. On the occasion of the enforcement of the standing order for the exclusion of strangers during the Walcheren inquiry, John Gale Jones, the manager of a debating society, issued a handbill reflecting on that enforcement. Jones was brought to the bar; confessed himself the author of the bill; and was committed to Newgate. Sir Francis Burdett, the member for Westminster, having made an unsuccessful motion for the discharge of Jones, published a violent letter in Cobbett's "Register," in which he

contended that the House had no authority to imprison for such an offence. On the 5th of April, after violent debates, a motion was carried that the baronet should be committed to the Tower. In the course of that day the populace began to break the windows of the members who had taken part against their favourite. The tumult became serious on the 7th, when sir Francis declared his determination to resist the warrant for his committal, and to defend himself in his own house in Piccadilly. The Riot Act was read; the Guards were called out; several persons were wounded; and troops arrived from the country. On Monday, the 9th, the house of sir Francis was broken open; and he was conveyed to the Tower, under a strong military escort. On the return of the troops they were grossly insulted and attacked by a furious mob, and several persons were killed when the soldiers at length fired. Sir Francis brought actions against the Speaker and the Serjeant, in the Court of King's Bench. "The authority of the House was fully vindicated by the Court; but sir Francis prosecuted an appeal to the Exchequer Chamber, and to the House of Lords. The judgment of the Court below being affirmed, all conflict between law and privilege was averted."* When Parliament was prorogued on the 22nd of June, the imprisonment of sir Francis came to an end. The interest of the war in the Peninsula; the marriage of Napoleon with a daughter of the emperor of Austria, an obsequious senate having confirmed the dissolution of his former marriage; the commercial effects of the Orders in Council; the difficult problem of the depreciation of the currency which was under discussion;—these matters had excited little interest compared with this struggle between the House of Commons and the favourite of the democracy.

The royal speech at the prorogation of Parliament briefly alluded to the Peninsular war, making no mention of the British general, whose retreat to Portugal after Talavera had been denounced in Parliament as having converted victory into defeat. The Common Council of London presented a petition to the House of Commons praying that a pension of 2000*l.* a year should not be granted to viscount Wellington. There had been six months of comparative inaction, which appeared to superficial observation as six months lost, whilst Wellington had been accomplishing the greatest design that was ever conceived by military genius. During the spring of 1810 he had steadily devoted himself to the organization of the British and Portuguese armies. He was wholly left to his own resources. The government at home could send him no reinforcements, and they worried him with their want of confidence that he would surmount the difficulties by which he was encompassed. Wellington's head-quarters were at Viseu; and he was in constant communication with lieutenant-colonel Fletcher, an officer of engineers, in the execution of his grand project of the lines of Torres Vedras. Thousands of Portuguese labourers were employed, under British engineers, in the rapid construction of works, of which the cuttings of miles of railroad in a mountainous country can furnish but an imperfect idea of their colossal proportions. In one year, these works, behind which the city of Lisbon, the roadstead, the trans-

* May—"Constitutional History of England," vol. i., p. 450.

ports, the munitions of war, would be safe from all attack, were sufficiently complete to test the practical grandeur of their conception. The first line of intrenchments stretched for twenty-nine miles across the whole breadth of the promontory of Portugal. A second line of works had been prepared, in case the first line had been forced; and a third series of defences also were formed at the extremity of the promontory to keep an enemy in check had he overcome these stupendous arrangements for an army's safety. All the fortifications of these works had their own magazines. Some of the garrisons, all of which were permanently occupied by Portuguese, contained a thousand men. A system of signals along the whole extent of the lines would have brought all the force within them upon a given point in a few hours.

The summer was approaching when Massena took the command of the French forces in Old Castile and Leon. He had seventy-two thousand men under arms in the field. Wellington had about fifty-four thousand British and Portuguese. By the great exertions of marshal Beresford, the Portuguese had become valuable troops, and some were brigaded with the British army. In June the French invested Ciudad Rodrigo. It was bravely defended by the Spaniards till the 10th of July. Neither Wellington nor the Spanish general, Romana, was strong enough to attempt its relief. After the fall of Ciudad Rodrigo, Massena commenced the siege of Almeida. It was defended by a Portuguese garrison, under the command of an English officer. On the second night of the bombardment, a magazine, containing all the ammunition of the fortress, blew up; and the garrison were compelled to capitulate, the greater part of the town and the defences having been destroyed by the explosion.

On the 26th of September, Wellington's army was collected upon the Serra de Busaco, in front of Coimbra. On the 27th the French attacked the right and left of the English position. They were repulsed; one column being driven down the hill by general Picton's division; another column compelled rapidly to retreat under a bayonet charge by general Craufurd's division. The French lost four thousand five hundred men; the British and Portuguese thirteen hundred. On the 29th of September, the allies, crossing the Mondego, began to march towards Lisbon. Wellington continued steadily to retreat before his powerful opponent. Many of the inhabitants of Coimbra followed the army, encumbering the roads with their sick and their aged and their children. But the great mass of the population in the line of the English march willingly obeyed Wellington's orders, and fled towards Lisbon, leaving the towns and villages bare for the advancing French. On the 10th of October, the whole army was within the lines of Torres Vedras. Massena came up, wholly unprepared to find such an obstacle to his further progress. He spent some days in reconnoitering. He scoured the country for provisions; but the country was a desert, behind him and around him. The distresses of his army were most severe, for they had only carried bread for fifteen days. On the 15th of November, he gave up all hope of forcing the lines; and began a retrograde movement.

CHAPTER LVIII.

THE Princess Amelia died on the 2nd of November. The illness of his favourite daughter had so worked upon the king's mind that he was then under restraint. The meeting of Parliament, fixed for the 1st of November, could not be postponed, although the king was unable to sign the commission for its opening. After three adjournments, the ministers proposed to proceed by Bills determining the powers to be exercised in the king's name and behalf, to which the Royal Assent should be given by a fictitious use of the king's name. The opposition contended for addressing the prince of Wales to assume the royal authority as Regent. The ministerial resolutions were adopted. They contained restrictions on the power of the Regent, which, although they were to continue only for twelve months, produced great debate and many divisions, in which the ministers had small majorities. The Parliament having been opened on the 15th of January, 1811, by a Commission under the Great Seal, the Regency Bill was passed on the 5th of February. On the 6th, the Prince Regent took the oaths before a Privy Council assembled at Carlton House. During several months the king appeared to be occasionally convalescent. But it soon became sufficiently clear that he was not likely to be able ever to resume the royal functions.

In March, 1811, the empress Maria Louisa presented to the French nation a son, who was saluted by his father as king of Rome. Rome and the southern Papal Provinces were annexed to France; and the Pope was a prisoner at Savona. Louis Bonaparte, having refused to concur in the tyrannical projects of his brother for enforcing the Continental System upon his Dutch subjects, had surrendered his mockery of sovereignty, and had come to reside at Powys Castle, in Montgomeryshire, upon his parole. The kingdom of Holland was then formally annexed to France. Ten additional departments were added to France on the 13th of December, 1810, which comprehended Holland, Friesland, Oldenburg, Bremen, and all the line of coast to Hamburg and all the country beyond Hamburg to Lubeck. The French empire now consisted of a hundred and thirty departments, containing forty-two millions of people. The millions that were dependent upon the will of the mighty emperor can scarcely be numbered. The kingdom of Italy was under his sway. In the kingdom of Naples his brother-in-law, Joachim Murat, now ruled. Of the kingdom of Westphalia his brother Jerome was the sovereign. The "Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine," had at his feet the kings of Saxony, Bavaria, and Würtemberg, and a train of minor German princes. Prussia was wholly at his mercy. Denmark would obey any command of Napoleon since Copenhagen was bombarded and her fleet carried off. The French marshal Bernadotte had been elected by the States of Sweden as successor to the aged and childless Charles XIII., who had succeeded the deposed Gustavus. There only wanted the quiet possession of Spain and Portugal, under his brother king Joseph—Austria being his own by family ties, and Russia his ally, in the sworn friendship of her emperor—to make the world his own. The fate of the nations of

Europe rested upon the success of Wellington's exertions in the Peninsula. And yet the Regent had not been appointed more than a fortnight, when his ministers threw in the way of lord Wellington whatever obstacles a weak government could present to a strong mind.

When Massena retired from before Torres Vedras he took up a defensive position at Santarem. He was now really blockaded by the British forces, and had to depend for his supplies upon the bare country behind him. During this state of inaction in Portugal, general Graham, with three thousand English and seven thousand Spaniards, had attacked the French who were blockading Cadiz, and had won the battle of Barrosa, on the 5th of March. On the 6th of March, Wellington received information that Massena had retired, and immediately put his troops in motion in three columns. The pursuit of the enemy was conducted with skill equal to that displayed by the French general in ordering his retreat. The course of the French army was marked by the most fearful cruelties. The invasion of Portugal was terminated on the 6th of April, when the French crossed the Agueda into Spain. The allied armies now commenced the blockade of Almeida. Massena, now powerfully reinforced, returned to raise the blockade. The battle of Fuentes de Onoro, in the neighbourhood of Almeida, was fought on the 5th of May. "We had very nearly three to one against us engaged; above four to one of cavalry; and, moreover, our cavalry had not a gallop in them, while some of that of the enemy were fresh and in excellent order. If Boney had been there we should have been beaten."* The Spaniards had not been able to make a stand against Soult at Badajoz, which was surrendered on the 11th of March. On the 15th of May, whilst marshal Beresford was besieging Badajoz, very insufficiently provided with the means of carrying on a great siege, Soult came to its relief; and the sanguinary battle of Albuera was fought the next day. The British and Portuguese had to sustain the brunt of that terrible contest. On the 18th of May, Soult retired towards Seville. The siege of Badajoz was recommenced when Wellington arrived at Albuera with two other divisions. Early in June, Wellington, hearing that Marmont was marching from Salamanca to join Soult, hastened back to the frontier of Portugal. The two French generals united their forces; but they did not venture upon an attack. The British took up their old position upon the Coa; and there was no more fighting in 1811.

When the restrictions of the Regency Bill expired, on the 18th of January, 1812, it was generally expected that the party of lord Grenville would return to the possession of power. The Regent, however, announced that he would make no sweeping alterations in his Cabinet, and the Grenville party declared the impossibility of their uniting with the present government. On the 19th of February, the marquis Wellesley resigned the seals as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. For two years dissensions had been going on between him and his colleagues on the subject of the half measures pursued in Spain. Lord Castlereagh succeeded lord Wellesley as Foreign Secretary. Three months had passed without the ascendancy of Mr. Perceval's ministry being shaken by the fact that it was not founded

* Letter from lord Wellington to Wellesley Pole in "Supplementary Despatches."

upon "the most liberal basis," such as the Regent had affected to desire, when a tragical event in a moment broke up the official calm.

On the 11th of May, Mr. Perceval was assassinated in the lobby of the House of Commons by a bankrupt Liverpool merchant, John Bellingham, who considered that he had received wrongs from government. Mr. Perceval had been shot through the heart, and dropped dead. The discharged pistol was found on the assassin, and another loaded and primed was taken from his pocket. Examined by three magistrates, he was committed to Newgate; was tried at the Old Bailey on the fourth day after he had fired the fatal shot—the law authorities refusing to postpone the trial to receive evidence of his insanity—and was hanged a week after the assassination. Urged by a message from the Regent, the feelings of the House of Commons carried extravagant grants to Perceval's family, beyond the proper measure of his services as a public man, although friends and political adversaries were justified in uniting in a tribute to his private worth.

After various attempts to change the government, and a great amount of political intrigue, in which no man was more busy behind the scenes than the Chancellor, the earl of Liverpool, on the 8th of June, declared in Parliament that he had been that day appointed by the Prince Regent as First Commissioner of the Treasury. The premiership of lord Liverpool did not commence under auspicious circumstances. In the autumn and winter of 1811 riots had commenced at Nottingham, where the hosiers, from the stagnation of trade, had been obliged to discharge many of the weavers. The object of the rioters was to destroy some new frames requiring less manual labour. As the law stood, the breaking of frames was punishable with fourteen years' transportation. It was now proposed to make the offence capital. The Bill passed both Houses very rapidly. But the offences did not cease. In June the riots had become insurrection. In Lancashire, parts of Cheshire, and the West Riding of Yorkshire, there was an organized system of conspiracy for the destruction of machinery. This was known as Luddism—a name derived from that of a poor idiot, Ned Lud, who, thirty years before, in a fit of irritation, had broken two stocking frames. On the 27th of June, a message was sent to Parliament from the Prince Regent, on the disturbed state of the country. Lord Sidmouth was Home Secretary, and he recommended vigorous measures, which Parliament adopted. Gradually the disturbances ceased. A Special Commission was held at York in November, 1812, when many Luddites were convicted, and sixteen were executed.

The insurrections of workmen were essentially connected with the general depression of industry consequent upon the commercial position of England. For four or five years the Orders in Council of Mr. Perceval, taken in combination with the Berlin and Milan decrees of Napoleon, had interdicted the whole foreign trade of all neutral nations. It has been estimated that the diminution of our foreign trade, in 1808, amounted to fourteen millions sterling. America was the only great neutral power; and had been a large purchaser of British commodities, previously to the Berlin decree. The complaints of the Americans were loud against the Orders in Council of our government. In March, 1808, the legality of the

Orders was contested in Parliament. In April, the merchants of London, Liverpool, and other towns were heard at the bar of the House of Commons, through their counsel, Mr. Brougham, whose masterly speech made a sensible impression upon the country. In April, 1809, a new Order in Council was issued, by which the blockade was confined to France itself, Holland, to part of Germany, and to the North of Italy. A system of licensing vessels to proceed to foreign ports was also introduced. But the position of America was very threatening. There had been serious quarrels also with regard to the right of search for British sailors serving on board American ships of war. Mutual ill-will was growing up between the two governments. During May and part of June, Committees of Inquiry on the effect of the Orders in Council were sitting in both Houses. On the 16th of June, the examinations being closed, Mr. Brougham moved in the Commons that the Crown should be addressed to recall or suspend the Orders unconditionally. Ministers then conceded the question; and on the 23rd of June an unconditional suspension of the Orders, as far as America was concerned, appeared in the "Gazette." The concession was too late. On the 18th of June the American government had declared war against Great Britain.

On the 1st of January, 1812, lord Wellington announced to lord Liverpool that he proposed to lead his army, in the depth of winter, from their cantonments on the Coa, to make a sudden rush upon the strong fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo, and then, if successful, to make a similar attempt upon Badajoz. The time was favourable for so bold an enterprise. Napoleon, contemplating the possibility of a war with Russia, had withdrawn sixty thousand troops from Spain. The French marshals, who had separate commands, were carrying on distinct operations in various provinces. Their correspondence was constantly intercepted by bands of guerillas, who stopped the couriers, and often cut off the communications for successive weeks. Wellington, apparently inert in his winter quarters, had organized all the resources within his reach, and relied upon the valour of his troops to accomplish what he had not the means otherwise of performing. At last the preparations were complete. Marmont had withdrawn a large portion of the garrison from Ciudad Rodrigo, in the confidence that Wellington would not move out of his quarters in an inclement season. The country was covered with snow. Part of Wellington's army passed the Agueda on the 8th of January. The same day Ciudad Rodrigo was invested; and an external redoubt on a hill was stormed and taken. On the 13th and 14th two convents outside the walls were surprised and carried by assault. Two breaches having been effected on the 19th,—and Marmont being known to be advancing to relieve the garrison,—orders were given to storm that evening. At seven o'clock three columns under the direction of general Picton, and a fourth column under general Craufurd, marched towards the breaches; whilst a false attack was made by the Portuguese brigade, commanded by general Pack, on the other side of the river. This became a real attack. Picton's division was twice repulsed before it could penetrate into the town. Craufurd was successful; but he was mortally wounded. General Mackinnon, who had led his brigade to the assault, was blown up by the explosion of one of the French

magazines on the ramparts. In less than half an hour from the time of the attack the garrison surrendered. The capture of Ciudad Rodrigo was amongst the most brilliant actions of the British army. It is painful to relate that the troops disgraced their victory by the most frightful excesses.

Time was of the utmost importance to Wellington, and secrecy in his plans was not less important to be preserved. His own counsels were well kept; but from the ignorance and obstinacy of the Portuguese authorities, he was obliged to postpone the investment of Badajoz for several days beyond the term he had assigned. In the meantime general Philippon, the French commander, had become aware of the approach of the Allied army, and had prepared means of defence. On the 16th of March, the Guadiana was crossed by Wellington, and Badajoz was invested. On the 26th the Pecurina, a strong fort in advance of Badajoz, was taken by storm, and became a position for firing on the works of the town. Forty-eight pieces of artillery were in constant play; and the sap against the outward works was steadily advancing. It was the 6th of April before three breaches were practicable, so as to justify the assault. On that evening eighteen thousand men were ready to march to the attack. The night was so dark that at ten o'clock, when the columns began to advance for an assault upon all points at once, they could not be seen at twenty paces distant. The men advanced, most of them with each a sack of hay on his back to throw into the ditch to diminish its height. Some carried ladders. They were at the foot of the glacis when a sudden explosion was succeeded by an avalanche of fiery missiles which descended into the ditch, where the English columns appeared to be in the midst of a volcano. Great was the destruction; but the undaunted men rallied, and again hurried to the breaches. Again they were encountered with bursting shells, hand grenades, and exploding powder barrels. The summit gained, they were met by a *chevaux-de-frise* formed of sabre blades. At each of the three breaches were the same terrible defences. At last the division under the orders of Picton succeeded in taking the castle. On another side Walker's brigade had also scaled the walls and entered the town. Again were the other divisions led to the attack of the breaches. The French troops became disorganized. At six in the morning general Philippon capitulated; the garrison surrendering without conditions. The loss of the British and Portuguese was estimated at five thousand men. After the town was in their power the soldiers committed disgraceful enormities during two days and two nights. What Wellington was powerless to restrain he severely punished.

After the tremendous loss incurred in the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo and of Badajoz, no measures whatever were taken to send Wellington reinforcements, although there were then sixty-five thousand regular troops at home. But lord Wellington went on his course, in no wise disheartened by neglect and coldness, or even by being promised assistance which never came. He had advanced into Spain on the 13th of June. On the 17th he appeared before Salamanca; was received in the town with great enthusiasm; and on the 29th captured the forts by which the interior of the place was defended. For the first fortnight of July the French army and

the Allied army were on opposite banks of the Douro, and the French and English soldiers talked and interchanged civilities as comrades rather than as deadly foes. There were various manœuvres of Marmont till the 20th; by which he established his communications with king Joseph and the army of the centre, which was advancing from Madrid to join him. Wellington had no superiority of numbers over the single army that was opposed to him; and the French possessed double his own force of artillery.

On the 21st of July, both the hostile armies crossed the Tormes. Wellington took up a position with his left resting on the southern bank of the river, and his right on one of the two hills called Dos Arapiles. On the morning of the 22nd, the contest was begun with some sharp skirmishing. By their first movements the French gained a great advantage in obtaining possession of the more distant Arapiles. They there established a battery commanding the road to Ciudad Rodrigo, and there Marmont placed himself. Wellington watched the evolutions of the French from a height behind the village of Arapiles. At two o'clock in the afternoon, under cover of a heavy cannonade, Marmont extended his left, and moved forward his troops. Wellington observed this movement "for some time with a stern contentment. Their left wing was entirely separated from the centre; the fault was flagrant; and he fixed it with the stroke of a thunderbolt. A few orders issued from his lips like the incantation of a wizard."* When Marmont comprehended the extent of his error, he sought to repair it, by ordering his left to fall back immediately on the centre. "The time was passed; for Wellington, remembering the fine manœuvres of Frederick at Rosbach, and of Napoleon at Austerlitz, had sent half of his troops to engage the left wing, whilst the other half engaged the centre."* The left wing of the French made a disorderly retreat towards their right, leaving three thousand prisoners. Their centre was driven in; but their right remained unbroken. Marmont had been wounded; and general Clausel, who had joined him with his reinforcements, took the command. He rallied the scattered French; formed them into a new position; and made a determined stand, until a fresh attack ordered by Wellington compelled them to abandon the ground, and to retreat towards Alba de Tormes. Night stopped the pursuit. On the morning of the 23rd, three battalions of the French rear surrendered to the British cavalry, who had come up with them. The duke of Wellington in later years said, "Salamanca relieved the whole south of Spain at once; changed the character of the war there; and was felt even in Russia." The indignation of Napoleon against Marmont was in the proportion in which he felt that the moral effects of Wellington's victory were damaging to the prestige of his power.

Wellington entered Madrid on the 12th of August, and found the "people mad with joy for their deliverance from their oppressors." To linger at Madrid was, however, impossible. He was without money. No reinforcements had reached him, whilst Clausel's army in the north had been largely reinforced. Leaving two divisions in the capital, Wellington marched on the 1st of September for Valladolid; and, continuing his

* Napier.

northward movement, on the 19th entered Burgos. The castle of Burgos, a place of great natural strength, had been carefully fortified, and had a garrison of two thousand men. It was immediately invested; the possession of the fort being absolutely necessary for the security of Wellington's army. For a month the siege proceeded with very doubtful success, and, on the 18th of October, orders were given to storm it. The attack failed. The army of the north and the armies of the south were advancing to raise the siege. On the 21st, Wellington retired in good order to Placentia His rear was repeatedly attacked, but there was no serious engagement. The sufferings of the army from the difficulty of obtaining provisions were immense. Their disorganization was proportionate. By the middle of November the Allied forces were in their old stations within the frontiers Portugal. Wellington's head-quarters were at Ciudad Rodrigo.

The Russian people, and especially the Russian landholders, who were deprived of the usual markets for the produce of their estates by the Continental decrees of France, compelled their government to issue a ukase which had the effect of opening the trade with Great Britain. Napoleon was indignant, but Alexander had now the support of Bernadotte, the Crown Prince of Sweden, who also refused to submit to the dictator, who had seized and confiscated fifty Swedish merchantmen, on the ground of their contraband trade with England. In March, 1812, a treaty of alliance was signed between Russia and Sweden. Napoleon had been gradually collecting large bodies of troops on the Vistula. It was clear that an offensive war was in preparation. At the beginning of May, the Russian minister at Paris presented an official note demanding the withdrawal of the French troops from Pomerania and the duchy of Warsaw. Bonaparte said he would not be dictated to by any foreign sovereign, and he sent the ambassador his passports. On the 9th of May he left Paris, with his Austrian empress. At Dresden he received the homage of his tributary princes; and there, too, came the emperor of Austria and the king of Prussia, to offer their contingents for the invasion of Russia. On the 24th and 25th of June, the confederated army passed the Niemen, the boundary of the Russian empire. A detailed return, extant in the French War-office, gives the numbers as 651,358 infantry, cavalry, artillery, and engineers; 187,121 horses, and 1372 pieces of ordnance. To meet this mighty force, the Russian armies only comprised 254,356 men. But the strength of Russia lay in the determination of the Russian people to resist to the last extremity.

The French armies entered Lithuania without encountering any opposition. They entirely devastated the country, and left behind them a hundred thousand men, dead, or in hospitals, or marauding in scattered parties. Under the walls of Smolensk they encountered the Russians in force, and a great battle took place. When the French entered the city it had been evacuated, and they found only burning ruins. The Russians continued their retreat towards Moscow, Napoleon following them. On the 7th of September was fought the sanguinary battle of Borodino. The fighting lasted two days. On each side there were forty thousand killed and wounded. Each army imagined itself lord of the field; but the Russian army continued its retreat to Moscow, and on the 14th of September, they

filed through that city, accompanied by all the inhabitants and populace who could find any means of conveyance. "The army, indeed since the first day's retreat from Smolensk, had been accompanied by a wandering nation. All the towns, villages, and hamlets were abandoned as the columns appeared."* On the same day Napoleon arrived at Moscow with his guards, and was astounded at the solitude which reigned everywhere. He took up his residence in the suburb. He had commanded his soldiers to bivouac outside the city, but at night many entered, and sought in plunder and riot some compensation for their long endurance of severe privations. That very night the alarm of fire was given in various quarters. Not a fire-engine, not a bucket, could be procured. They had all been carried off. The next day the French emperor transferred his quarters to the Kremlin. Day after day the astonished soldiers saw the canopy of smoke and flame spreading over the city of a thousand domes and minarets. The conflagration went on, till, of forty thousand houses in stone, only two hundred escaped; of eight thousand in wood, five hundred only were standing; of sixteen hundred churches, eight hundred were consumed. The Kremlin itself, on the 16th, had become uninhabitable, and Napoleon left it to take up his quarters outside the city. When he returned on the 20th a heavy rain had extinguished the flames, but only one-tenth of the city was left unconsumed. There can be no doubt that this terrible destruction was part of the same determined system of resistance which had driven the whole population from the burning villages on the road from Smolensk, and had led forth the inhabitants of Moscow, with the exception of the miserable thousands who were unable to move, to seek for other shelter than in the homes of the devoted city. The French evacuated Moscow on the 19th of October. Snow had begun to fall. An early winter was setting in. On the 13th of December, a miserable remnant of the French Grand Army re-crossed the Niemen. The march of the French had been a succession of battles with the pursuing Russians. The troops were skilfully led; their courage rarely failed, even when starving and perishing by the wayside with the extremity of cold. Clouds of Cossacks hung upon their path, leaving them not an hour's safety. The different regiments were all mixed together; the soldiers marching pell-mell, and only seeking to prolong existence. Thousands of wandering men fell into the hands of the Cossacks. The number of prisoners was very great, but that of the dead exceeded it. During a month there were no rations, and dead horses were the only resource. The severity of the climate rendered hunger more fatal. Napoleon, even, could not conceal that of four hundred thousand Frenchmen who had crossed the Niemen in May, with the persuasion of their invincibility, not twenty thousand had returned to the Vistula.

The news of the destruction of the French army roused a patriotic spirit in the people of Prussia, whose passionate impulses were powerful enough to make their sovereign resolve to endure no longer his state of ignominious vassalage. Napoleon having contemptuously spurned a proposition that the French should withdraw from Prussia, on which condition the Russian army would remain behind the Vistula, Frederick-William and Alexander

* Wilson—"Invasion of Russia."

concluded an alliance offensive and defensive. Austria decided to remain neutral. Hostilities immediately began. The French quitted Berlin and Dresden. The emperor took the field in the middle of April, the Senate having been called upon to place at his disposal half a million of conscripts. He could reckon upon collecting 250,000 troops before Russia and Prussia could concentrate an equal force. But of his forces four-fifths were young soldiers; the other fifth were Germans. On the 2nd of May he fought the battle of Lützen, and defeated the combined Russian and Prussian army. His victory gave him possession of Leipzig and of Dresden. On the 20th and 21st of May the two armies renewed the struggle at Bautzen. The slaughter on each side was nearly equal. The Allies retreated; but Napoleon did not attempt to follow up the success which he had achieved at a prodigious loss. An armistice was agreed upon, to extend from the 5th of June to the 22nd of July. It was afterwards agreed to be prolonged to the 10th of August, during which time a conference was to be held to discuss terms of pacification. The negotiations of the Russian, Prussian, and French plenipotentiaries were to commence on the 29th of July at Prague. This Congress was soon broken up, however, by events in Spain.

Towards the end of the month of May, the roads having then become practicable for the passage of troops, seventy thousand British and Portuguese, and twenty thousand Spaniards, commenced their march towards Spain. The Cortes had conferred upon Wellington the entire command of the Spanish forces. On the 3rd of June the French retired to Burgos; on the 12th they abandoned that fortress. On the 13th the Allied army passed the Ebro. An English fleet was at Santander, and in that city the commissariat established a depôt, and there were military hospitals formed. The French, commanded by Joseph Bonaparte, having marshal Jourdan as the major-general of the army, had on the night of the 19th taken up a position in front of Vittoria. On the 21st, they were attacked by the Allied army, who gained a complete victory; "having driven them from all their positions, having taken from them 151 pieces of cannon, 415 waggons of ammunition, all their baggage, provisions, cattle, treasure, &c., and a considerable number of prisoners."* On the 18th of July, Soult arrived in Spain to take the command of the French army. On the 25th he attacked the British right at Roncesvalles. From that day to the 31st there was a series of conflicts between the two armies, which are known as "The Battles of the Pyrenees." On the last morning of July the French armies were in full retreat to France by the various passes of the mountains.

On the 14th of June, Great Britain had become party to the treaty concluded between Russia and Prussia. The battle of Vittoria dissipated the doubts and overcame the reluctance of Austria to join the Coalition. The Allies at Prague had offered terms to Napoleon which he hesitated to accept till the 10th of August had arrived, and the term of the armistice was out. On the 24th, 25th, and 27th of August, three battles were fought about Dresden, in which Napoleon achieved the last of his great victories. That triumph was followed within a very few days by signal reverses sustained

* Wellington's Despatch to Earl Bathurst.

by his marshals. On the 26th of August, Blücher routed Macdonald in the battle of the Katzbach, where the French lost 25,000 men. On the 30th of August, Vandamme, who had been sent by Napoleon in pursuit of the army which had retired from Dresden, was totally defeated, and was taken prisoner. Bernadotte, who had joined the campaign, and now headed Swedes, Prussians, and Russians, won the victory of Gross-Beeren on the 23rd of August; drove back Oudinot, and saved Berlin. Again Bernadotte was successful against Ney in the battle of Dennewitz on the 6th of September. On the 8th of October, the king of Bavaria, surrounded by Russians and Prussians, was compelled to join the Allies. The French armies had exhausted the resources of Saxony, and men and horses were without food. Napoleon determined to fight his way to the Rhine, though all Germany was rising against him. He arrived in the neighbourhood of Leipzig on the 15th of October. The Russians and Prussians were advancing to the same point. On the 16th he was attacked at the village of Wachau, near Leipzig. The action was not decisive. Napoleon then secretly made propositions for an armistice, to which no answer was returned. On the 19th, a conflict, decisive of the fortunes of Napoleon, was fought under the walls of Leipzig. The struggle began at nine o'clock in the morning, and lasted till night. An important incident of that day was the advance, in perfect order, of the Saxon cavalry, who left the enemy and came over to the Allies, requesting, however, that they might not fight in that battle.

Before dawn the next morning the French were marching out of Leipzig. Napoleon had directed a bridge to be blown up after his troops had passed. It was blown up too soon, and twenty-five thousand French surrendered as prisoners of war. The Allied sovereigns entered the city, amidst the ringing of bells and the shouts of the people. Napoleon's last success on German ground was the battle of Hanau, which he won against the Bavarians, who had endeavoured, near Frankfort, to intercept his retreat. He crossed the Rhine with about one-sixth of the army that he had led forth to conquer.

When Napoleon passed the Rhine on the 22nd of November, lord Wellington had planted his foot on the soil of France. On the 31st of August, the town of San Sebastian was taken by storm by our troops under the command of general Graham. The loss to our forces amounted to 2500 men. Much of the loss incurred may be attributed to the mismanagement of the departments, in not providing adequate *matériel*, and in refusing naval assistance. The Admiralty, of which lord Melville was the head, was especially blameable. On the 8th of September, the castle of San Sebastian, which had held out after the town was taken, capitulated. General Rey, who had nobly defended the place, was granted the honours of war, and that the wounded should be sent by transports to France. On the 31st of October, the French garrison of Pamplona, having lost all chance of relief, surrendered as prisoners of war. Their number amounted to 4000. Wellington could now safely move his whole army into France. On the 18th of November the French were driven beyond the river Nivelle, and then the Allied armies took up their position at St. Jean de Luz. Soult withdrew to his intrenched camp at Bayonne. The justice and moderation

of the British commander produced the best results. The troops behaved well, and the inhabitants were, consequently, well disposed towards them. Lord Wellington, in the course of a month, becoming straitened for room, determined to cross the Nive, and establish himself between that river and the Adour. General Hill forded the river on the 9th of December, and the French posts were withdrawn to Bayonne. Then Soult resumed the offensive, and a series of obstinate engagements took place on the 10th, 11th, and 13th, in which all the attacks of the French were repulsed.

On the 21st of December, the first corps of prince Schwarzenberg crossed the Rhine at Bâle. Blücher crossed the Rhine on the 31st. Napoleon wrote to his brother Joseph, "France is invaded: all Europe is in arms against France, and above all, against me. You are no longer king of Spain." He had concluded a treaty on the 11th of December with the ex-king Ferdinand, recognizing him as king of Spain and the Indies, on the condition that he should make the English abandon his territories. He released the Pope from his confinement at Fontainebleau. He made a pretence of calling out the National Guard; but he was afraid of them. The people shewed no disposition to resist the invaders of their country, as in the first days of the Revolution. In the third week of January, Napoleon made his preparations for a final struggle. He appointed the empress as Regent, and his brother Joseph as his Lieutenant. The Senate had placed at his disposal 300,000 conscripts. He had 70,000 men in the field; and he set out for Paris, on the 25th of January, to put himself at their head, at Chalons.

There were two columns of the Allies marching on Paris—one by the valley of the Seine, the other by the valley of the Marne. On the 29th of January, Napoleon fought the battle of Brienne with Blücher,—a battle which cost him 5000 killed and wounded, and 3000 prisoners. This battle decided nothing. A Congress was then held at Chatillon. Negotiations went on, whilst Napoleon, placing himself between Blücher and Schwarzenberg, could prevent their junction, and attack either of them as he saw that opportunity might favour him. Lord Aberdeen, the negotiator for England, was anxious for peace. But Napoleon would not forego the condition that the Rhine should be the frontier of France. The four Powers then bound themselves by the treaty of Chaumont, of the 1st of March, to continue the contest with Napoleon if he should not agree to their conditions. By a rapid and daring movement, Napoleon placed himself in the rear of the Allied forces. But they marched boldly for the capital. They fought a hard battle; and on the 30th of March occupied the entire line of defence which protected Paris on the north-east. On the 31st of March, Paris capitulated.

Whilst this final struggle was proceeding in the north, Wellington was making head against Soult in the south. On the 27th of February was fought the battle of Orthez. Soult was beaten, and was pursued to the Adour. His losses in fight were great, but desertion thinned his ranks more extensively than the charges of the English bayonets. On the 8th of March, two divisions of the army of Wellington occupied Bourdeaux, which was laid open by the battle of Orthez. Soult had retreated to Toulouse, where Wellington attacked him in his entrenched camp on a range

of heights on the eastern side of the city. It was a useless battle; for the war was ended. The Senate had declared that Napoleon had forfeited the throne. A Provisional Government had been formed. The emperor of the French had abdicated on the 4th of April. The emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia had been in Paris four days.

On the 23rd of April, three days after Napoleon had left Fontainebleau a Convention between Count d'Artois and the Allied powers was signed at Paris, by which it was stipulated that all hostilities should cease; that the foreign armies should evacuate the French territory; and that the boundaries of France should be the same as on the 1st of January, 1792. On the 3rd of May, Louis the Eighteenth, who was to give the French a representative government, entered Paris amidst loud shouts of "*Vive le Roi!*" A Congress was to be held at Vienna, to confirm the conditions of the Peace of Paris, and to re-organize Europe.

When intelligence reached London that Napoleon had abdicated there were illuminations for three nights. Then followed three months of public joy in England. The people shouted at the top of their voices when Louis the Eighteenth made his solemn entry into London, previous to his departure for France. They shouted with redoubled ardour when the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia arrived in the capital. There was one public demonstration which the coldest reasoning could not despise. The duke of Wellington landed at Dover on the 28th of June, and he was borne on the shoulders of the men of Kent to his inn. There was a more solemn recognition of the feelings of the nation in an Address of Thanks and Congratulation from the House of Commons. When Wellington, at his own desire, came to the House in person, to tender the expression of his gratitude for the honour he had received, the House was crowded. The lobby was filled. Universal huzzas were heard as he approached. As he came within the bar the whole House rose. A seat was put for him, and the members resumed their places. The great general's modest expression of his gratitude was answered by a complimentary harangue from the Speaker.

CHAPTER LIX.

THE declaration of war against England of the American Senate and House of Representatives was made five days before our Government had unconditionally suspended the Orders in Council as regarded America. In a Remonstrance addressed to the Senate by the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts, it was contended that the perseverance in the war on the part of the United States after that repeal was known, "was improper, impolitic, and unjust." During the Presidency of Washington it was with great difficulty that he could prevent the sympathies of the people with Republican France from plunging America into a war with England. There had been a French and an English party since the Union of the

States in 1789. Before that Union each of the thirteen States had its separate legislature, each being, in fact, an independent republic assuming an absolute sovereignty. By the second constitution, framed by an assembly of fifty-five members, with Washington as its president, the authority was divided between the Federal Government and the States. The object aimed at was, that each State should continue to govern itself in whatever concerned its internal affairs, but that the Union should represent one compact body, providing for the general exigencies of the people. The Federal Government was endowed with legislative, executive, and judicial powers. All legislative authority was vested in a Congress of the United States, consisting of a Senate and a House of Representatives. The Senate was composed of two members from each State, whether large or small. The House of Representatives was composed of a varying number from each State, according to the amount of population. The executive power was vested in an elective President of the United States, who, in some particulars, was to act under the advice and with the consent of the Senate. This President might be once re-elected on the expiration of his first term of four years. In 1790, Vermont was added to the original Federation of thirteen States—indicated by the stripes of the American flag. Twenty years later, communities had risen up in regions almost unknown to the founders of the American republic, to claim their place in the Union as independent States, having a sufficient amount of population to entitle them to that distinction. These States added largely to the democratic element in the government. Of the old States, the four Southern, with Maryland, contained, almost exclusively, the Slave Population. The coloured race were soon abundantly found amongst the swarms of the new Western States. In the ratio of Representatives to Population, three-fifths of the slaves were added to the whole number of free persons in each State. The slaves, uncared for by legislation, augmented the legislative power of the slave-owners.

John Adams, the second President of the United States, was, like his predecessor Washington, opposed to the extreme Democratic party, of which Jefferson was the most distinguished representative. At the expiration of Adams's term of four years the contest between the Federalists and the Democrats was the most violent that the Union had beheld; and it ended by the election of Jefferson as President by a majority of one vote of the electoral body. Jefferson himself held that this event of 1801 had carried the vessel of the state into its natural course—the Republican and Democratic course. The weapons employed against England by Jefferson during the eight years of his presidency, and by Madison during the first three years of his tenure of office, were embargoes and tariffs. Gradually the war-party in the States became irresistible. The warlike impulses of this democracy were however sensibly mitigated by the effects of the war. The injury caused to the commerce of both countries was very great, although the Cotton cultivation of the Southern States was at this period most imperfectly developed, and the British imports of American cotton were comparatively trifling.

Within a fortnight after the declaration of war, the American general Hull set out for the invasion of Canada with a force of 2800 men. On the

12th of July he crossed the river Detroit, and captured the small open town of Sandwich. The English commander, major-general Brock, had collected a force of 700 British regulars and militia, and 600 Indians, with which he repulsed Hull in three attempts against Fort Amherstburg, and compelled him to recross the river to Detroit. On the 16th of August, Hull capitulated with 2500 men to Brock and his little army. On the 13th of October, the American general Wadsworth carried Queenstown with a large force. General Brock, the gallant English commander, was killed; but reinforcements of English troops having arrived, Wadsworth was totally defeated, and surrendered with 900 men. At the time of Hull's capitulation to Brock, the American fort in the small island of Michillimackinac was taken by a force of English, of Canadians, and of Indians.

The employment of Indians in the war of 1812 is denounced not only by American but by English writers as a stain upon our national reputation. The crime was not in arming these daring warriors, with the intent to bring them under the common subjection of the soldier to his officer; but in leaving them when they were armed to their own uncontrolled action, in which their warfare was marked by the reckless destruction of life and property, and by their accustomed cruelty to the vanquished enemy.

At the commencement of the war of 1812, the naval force of the United States consisted of four frigates and eight sloops, manned by 6000 seamen. The British navy comprised, of ships in commission for sea service, a total of 621; of these, 102 were ships of the line; of frigates, from 44 guns to 32, there were 111; of smaller frigates, sloops, gun-brigs, and cutters, there were more than 300. On the 19th of September, the American frigate Constitution, of 1533 tons, captured the English frigate Guerrière, of 1092 tons. On the 16th of October the American brig Wasp captured the British sloop Frolic, each being of 18 guns, but the American vessel much superior in tonnage. The British frigate Macedonian, after a most gallant fight, was captured by the American frigate United States. The tonnage of the Macedonian was nearly a third less than the tonnage of the enemy's frigate. Again, on the 29th of December, the Java, of 1092 tons, was captured by the Constitution. The British sloop Peacock struck to the American brig Hornet on the 14th of February, 1813. The people of this country were in astonishment, and almost in despair, at these unexpected disasters. The Admiralty was assailed by denunciations of its incapacity and neglect. Our Government was evidently ignorant of the great inequality in the comparative size of what were called American frigates. They believed that a frigate was a frigate, and ought to contend with any other frigate. As in the outset of every other war, and too often during its continuance, the British Admiralty was the slave of routine. The commanders and crews of ships in the Atlantic felt that the honour of the British flag would be impaired unless some achievement could restore its old prestige. Captain Broke, of the frigate Shannon, had, by careful training, brought his crew into the highest state of efficiency. He had been long watching the frigate Chesapeake in the harbour of Boston. These frigates were of nearly equal strength in their weight of metal and their number of men. Captain Broke despatched to captain Lawrence of the Chesapeake a courteous challenge to meet the Shannon in single combat. Captain

Lawrence immediately sailed out of the harbour, and, at half-past five in the afternoon, hauled up within hail of the Englishman on the starboard side. After two or three broadsides had been exchanged, the Chesapeake fell on board the Shannon, her mizen chains locking in with her adversary's fore-rigging. Broke immediately ordered the two ships to be lashed together, and the select men to prepare for boarding. "In two minutes' time the enemy were driven sword in hand from every post. The American flag was hauled down, and the proud old British union floated triumphant over it. In another minute they ceased firing from below, and called for quarter. The whole of this service was achieved in fifteen minutes from the commencement of the action." Captain Broke sailed off with his prize for Halifax, where captain Lawrence, who had fought his ship with real heroism, died of his wounds, and was followed to the grave by the officers of the Shannon.

In 1813 the British were compelled to evacuate York (now Toronto), the capital of Upper Canada. The Americans there burnt the public buildings. In an attack upon Burlington, the Americans were compelled to fall back upon Niagara, and lost a great part of their army in a series of unsuccessful actions. The British on the Detroit frontier were forced to retreat in confusion. On Lake Ontario our troops, under sir George Prevost, were repulsed in an attack upon Sackett's Harbour. On Lake Erie the superior force of the enemy destroyed our flotilla; and the Americans, obtaining the command of the lake, became masters of Upper Canada. Ten thousand men then marched from different points upon Lower Canada, where an action near Chrystler's Farm took place, and the American army, totally routed, precipitately crossed the St. Lawrence. General Hull sustained another severe defeat on the 25th of December. In this campaign, when the American general evacuated Fort St. George, by the express orders of his government he burnt the Canadian village of Newark. When the British troops under colonel Murray defeated the Americans at Buffalo, that village was burnt as well as the village of Black Rock; and the Indians were let loose on the surrounding country to take vengeance for the conflagration of Newark.

The naval successes of the United States were almost wholly at an end after the first year. The merchant service of both countries suffered severe losses; but American commerce suffered still more from the restrictive measures of both governments. The American Government had almost wholly lost, in the excessive falling-off of imports, its great source of revenue—the Customs. It resorted in 1814 to taxes on excisable articles, to licences, and to stamps. The system of loans, coupled with the issue of Treasury notes, was also adopted; and the public debt was very quickly doubled. The Democratic party was depressed, and almost hopeless. The New England States began openly to complain of that preponderance of the Southern States which had forced the Union into war. Very early in the contest Massachusetts and Connecticut had refused to send their contingents to the army of the Union; and now Massachusetts proposed to take measures calculated to break up the Union.

In June, 1814, two thousand four hundred gallant troops, the soldiers of Wellington in the Peninsula, sailed from the Garonne for Bermuda, where

they were joined by other forces. The troops, amounting to about 3500 men, were under the command of general Ross. Admiral Cockburn commanded the fleet. Having taken possession of the Tangier Islands in the Bay of Chesapeake, they invited the negroes in the adjoining provinces, with a promise of emancipation, to join the British forces. Seventeen hundred men fled from their plantations, and were marshalled in the English ranks. This unjustifiable measure entailed upon the British Government the payment of a fine of 250,000*l.* awarded at the treaty of Ghent to the owners of the slaves.

The British squadron having ascended the river Patuxent, the army was disembarked at the village of Benedict, and in three days had advanced to within sixteen miles of Washington. Admiral Cockburn had during this time taken and destroyed the whole of a flotilla of gun-boats. On the 23rd, general Ross determined to make an attempt to carry Washington. He put his troops in motion on the evening of the 23rd, and on the 24th defeated the American army, amounting to between eight and nine thousand men. He then marched upon Washington; set fire to and destroyed all the public buildings, as well as a frigate nearly ready to be launched, and a sloop of war. The object of the expedition being accomplished, he withdrew the troops, and commenced retiring on the night of the 25th. The indignation of the American people at general Ross's exploit was naturally extreme. In England there was a general feeling that, however brilliant had been the attack upon Washington, the destruction of non-warlike buildings was an outrage inconsistent with civilized warfare. In a battle on the 11th of September, which was the prelude to an attack upon Baltimore, general Ross was mortally wounded; and colonel Brooke who succeeded to the command, although gaining a victory, was compelled the next night to retreat to the ships which were intended to co-operate in the assault. The Americans had sunk twenty vessels in the Patapsco river, which effectually prevented the British squadron rendering any aid.

Our forces in Canada, under sir George Prevost, had been augmented till they had reached sixteen thousand regular troops. Nine thousand of the soldiers of the Peninsula were to attack the redoubts of Plattsburg, in co-operation with a flotilla on Lake Champlain. This little fleet of a frigate, a brig, a sloop, and twelve gun-boats, was ill manned and equipped. The American squadron on the lake was very superior in strength. Captain Downie led his ship, the Confiance, gallantly into action; but when a heavy fire opened from the American line, the gun-boats, which had few British sailors on board, took flight like scared wild fowl. The frigate, brig, and sloop were left to bear all the brunt of the contest. They made a brave fight, but were finally compelled to strike. Meanwhile, Prevost lingered in making the land attack; and his troops did not reach the point of assault till the fleet had surrendered. The command of the lake was lost; and therefore it was useless to attack Plattsburg. A violent outcry was raised against our commander of the forces in Canada. He resigned; and demanded a court-martial, but died before it commenced.

On Christmas-day, 1814, general sir Edward Pakenham, one of the most brave and skilful of the officers who had served under Wellington in Spain, arrived from England to take the chief command of the army, which was

encamped a short distance from New Orleans, preparing for an assault upon that city. New Orleans was an unfortified town, then containing only about 17,000 inhabitants. The forts on the Mississippi were too strong to enable an armament to sail up from its mouth in the Gulf of Mexico. But a hostile force, having passed from Lake Borgne into Lake Pontchartrain, might land at either of two creeks, the Bayou of St. John or the Bayou of Catiline. On the 13th of December the troops embarked in small boats, and began to enter Lake Borgne. They had here to encounter a powerful American flotilla, which was finally defeated. The whole army was now landed on a barren place called Pine Island, eighty miles distant from the creek where it was proposed to disembark. Only about one-third of the troops could be conveyed at once in the open boats, which only could navigate those shallow waters. The advanced division, consisting of 1600 men, under the command of general Keane, successfully disembarked at the Bayou of Catiline, having surprised the American sentinels. No enemy was to be seen. Everything appeared to promise safety, and general Keane marched into the open country without waiting, as had been arranged, for the other divisions to join him. He ordered the troops to encamp near the Mississippi. Suddenly a large vessel dropped her anchor in the river, and furled her sails opposite the camp. A cry was at last heard, "Give them this for the honour of America!" and a broadside of grape swept down numbers of our unprepared soldiers. The night was dark as the schooner continued to fire from the river, and our troops were soon surrounded by a superior land force. After a severe struggle, without any possibility of forming the men, the enemy retreated. We had lost five hundred killed and wounded in this deadly strife. By great exertions the whole army had been brought into position on the evening of the 24th. The next day Pakenham arrived to take the command.

The first object of the general was to construct a battery, by which, firing red-hot shot, he destroyed the schooner on the river. On the 27th he advanced his whole force to attack the American army. It was advantageously posted, being defended in front by a broad canal, and by formidable breastworks, constructed of earth and bags of cotton. The road by which the army marched was not only commanded by batteries, but by a flotilla on the Mississippi. The British ranks were greatly thinned by this conjoint fire. All this effectual resistance had been planned by general Jackson. The British army was inactive on the 28th, 29th, and 30th. The enemy's lines were so formidable, that Pakenham constructed breaching batteries, mounted with heavy cannon, brought up from the vessels on the lake. The material of these batteries was not earth, but hogsheads of sugar taken out of the warehouses on the plantations. It was soon found that these defences were wholly unavailing. In the first six days of January, a bold and ingenious attempt was made by the British commander to deepen a canal which ran across the neck of land lying beyond the Bayou of Catiline and the Mississippi, so that boats might be brought up from the lake, and a portion of the troops carried across the river to attack the battery on its right bank. The morning of the 7th was arranged for a general attack before daybreak. The army had been reinforced by the arrival of two battalions under general Lambert, and its

whole number was now little short of 8000 men. As the boats went up the canal, its banks crumbled in, blocked up the passage, and permitted only a few of the smaller boats to reach their point of destination. Pakenham waited till his patience was exhausted, and then determined to commence the assault without this support. It was broad daylight when the Americans saw the British column of three regiments marching on to the edge of the glacis. They were halted at the moment when a dash might have succeeded; for the scaling-ladders and fascines had been forgotten. A terrible fire drove them back in disorder. Pakenham rallied his troops, and leading them again to the attack, fell mortally wounded. General Gibbs and general Keane were also struck down. The command devolved upon general Lambert, who prudently resolved to draw off the troops. Our loss had amounted to two thousand men, killed, wounded, and prisoners. An armistice of two days was agreed upon for the purpose of burying the dead. On the 18th of January, the retreat of the British army commenced; and was so safely effected that the troops re-embarked on the night of the 27th, with all the artillery and stores, except eight heavy guns. An insignificant triumph in the capture of Fort Boyer, near Mobile, closed our military operations on the 12th of February. The news of the conclusion of peace at Ghent arrived the next day. By this peace, concluded by three British commissioners and by four American plenipotentiaries, the American government did not obtain any concession upon the two principles for which it went to war—that the flag covers the merchandize, and that the right of search for deserters is inadmissible. It was agreed that each government should use their efforts to put down the slave-trade. Difficult questions of boundary were left unsettled to give rise to future disputes.

On the 1st of March, 1815, Napoleon landed in the Gulf of St. Juan, midway between Cannes and Antibes, having successfully achieved his perilous voyage from Elba, from which he had embarked on the morning of the 26th of February, with his guards, in seven small vessels. The little army bivouacked that evening on some land outside the town of Cannes on the east. An attempt made to reduce the garrison at Antibes failed. A demand for six thousand rations for the troops from the mairie of Cannes was very unwillingly complied with. At four o'clock on the morning of the 2nd of March, the troops, in number about eight hundred, with Napoleon at their head, commenced their march north on the road to Grasse.

Since Napoleon's abdication there had been eleven months of false confidence and hollow peace. On the 4th of June, 1814, a Constitutional Charter was promulgated by the restored king; and, on the same day, the last of the allied troops quitted Paris. The Charter created a Chamber of Peers, of about one hundred and forty members, named for life by the king. The composition of this new body was an approach to impartiality in the union of members of the old noblesse with a remnant of the Senate, and of generals of the army before the revolution with marshals of the empire. A Representative body was also created, with very sufficient authority, and especially with the power of determining the taxes to be levied on the people. The electors, however, were limited to those

who paid 300 francs direct taxes yearly, thus restricting the nomination wholly to the more opulent class. The Charter also provided for civil and religious freedom, for trial by jury, for the liberty of the press. But a quarter of a century of revolution and military despotism had really unfitted the French to comprehend the value of the partial liberty which they had regained. A Constitutional Monarchy, represented by a gouty old man who could not mount his horse, was a poor compensation to the national vanity for the glory of living under a ruler who, for the greater period of his power, had only gone forth to new conquests. It was natural that the restoration of the ancient dynasty should be associated with a return to the ancient territorial limits of France. But this association made the Bourbons obnoxious to a generation incessantly familiar with conquest. The one surpassing folly of the restored government was the belief that France, and especially Paris, could forget Napoleon, and that the Bourbons could re-enter the Tuileries as if they had been excluded for twenty years by a mere dominant usurpation which had died out. This egregious folly was exhibited in the attempt to destroy every symbol of the rule of Bonaparte. The Government very properly desired that a decent show of respect for religion should take the place of the old licence; yet it was not so easy to change the habits of a generation. The discontent of the idle pleasure-seeking Parisians would not have brought back Napoleon, had not offence been given to the army. That power which had so long dominated over France was injudiciously reduced; its vanity was outraged by unnecessary affronts.

The labours of the Congress at Vienna were approaching their termination, when the duke of Wellington, who had succeeded lord Castlereagh as the British minister, received a despatch from lord Burghersh, the British minister at Florence, announcing the astounding fact of the return of the ex-emperor to France. The position of Napoleon at Elba was that of an independent sovereign. He had many soldiers around him devoted to his interests. He had cruisers by which he could keep up a correspondence with Italy and with France. During the sitting of the Congress, the evident danger arising out of his vicinity to the Continent was constantly present to the minds of some of the diplomatists, and there was serious talk of conveying him to some more secure place. The emperor of Russia, however, insisted upon the literal fulfilment of the Treaty of Fontainebleau. Upon the 13th of March the Congress at Vienna published a declaration that "by thus violating the convention which had established him in the Island of Elba . . . . Napoleon Bonaparte has placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations, and that, as an enemy and a disturber of the tranquillity of the world, he has rendered himself liable to public vengeance."

On the 4th of April, Wellington had arrived in Brussels to devise measures for the defence of the Netherlands. Napoleon had marched from Cannes to Grenoble without encountering any opposition. At Grenoble he was joined by Labedoyère, an officer of the garrison, with whom he had been in communication, and also by a detachment of soldiers sent out to meet him by general Marchand, the governor, who was firm in his allegiance to the sovereign of the restoration. Napoleon entered Grenoble

amidst the cheers of the soldiery and the citizens. On the 12th of March he was at Lyon. From this city he issued decrees, by which the Chambers of Peers and Deputies were dissolved; the returned emigrants were banished; titles of honour, except for national services, were abolished; and emigrant officers who had received commissions from the restored government were struck off the list of the army. On the 14th of March marshal Ney, who on the 7th had taken leave of the king with the assurance that he would bring back Bonaparte in an iron cage, published a proclamation to the army at Auxerre that the cause of the Bourbons was irrevocably lost. The troops in Paris could no longer be relied upon. On the 19th of March the king, by proclamation, dissolved the Chambers. On the 20th, after midnight, Louis and the royal family left the Tuileries. On the 25th, his court was established at Ghent. Napoleon was at Fontainebleau on the 19th. On the 21st he slept in the palace of the Tuileries, having been borne up the grand staircase by an enthusiastic crowd, and welcomed in the familiar saloons by ladies of his old court.

The Treaty of Vienna of the 23rd of March had bound the Allied Powers to make war together upon Napoleon, and to conclude no separate peace with him. The resistance in the British Parliament to the determination to engage in this war was very feeble. The enormous sums demanded by the Government were voted almost without inquiry.

Napoleon, on the 30th of April, had issued a decree convoking the Electoral Colleges for the nomination of Deputies to the Chamber of Representatives. The greater number of the people abstained from voting. Napoleon then determined to revive the old revolutionary fête of the Champ de Mai. In this assembly of two hundred thousand of both sexes he announced that, the wishes of the nation having brought him back to the throne, his whole thoughts were turned to the "founding our liberty on a Constitution resting on the wishes and interests of the people." This Constitution was a very literal copy of the Charter of Louis XVIII., and had been forced upon the emperor by a party who believed that a limited monarchy, with representative institutions, might be a successful experiment whether under a Bourbon or a Bonaparte. The Chambers commenced their functions, not in the old spirit of the empire, but as if they were really trusted with power, as portions of that Constitution to which the emperor had sworn in the Champ de Mai. Napoleon had addressed letters to the European potentates, professing his moderate and peaceful intentions. No faith could be placed in his professions, and his letters were unanswered. He was very soon prepared with a bold plan of warlike operation. On the 11th of June, having appointed a Provisional Government to act in concert with the Chambers, he left Paris in the evening. On the 13th he was at Avesnes. On the 15th he had crossed the frontier, and was at the head of 122,000 men, at Charleroi in the Netherlands. Most of the garrisons of the Netherlands had been strengthened by the vigilance of the duke of Wellington; Charleroi was amongst the weakest. The uncertainty as to the line of operations which Napoleon would choose, if he determined on the offensive by an invasion of the Low Countries, forbade a concentration of force upon any assailable points of the frontier. The four Prussian corps of

Blücher were at Charleroi, at Namur, at Dinant, and at Liège. The army of Wellington, consisting of British, Netherlanders, and Hanoverians, was distributed in cantonments, a reserve occupying the environs of Brussels, where the duke had established his head-quarters.

At half-past nine on the evening of the 15th, Wellington wrote to the duke de Berri, that the enemy attacked the Prussian posts at Thuin that morning, and appeared to threaten Charleroi. "I have ordered our troops to prepare to march at break of day." For the troops, who were immediately under his eye, the order was "to be in readiness to march from Brussels at a moment's notice:" that moment arrived even before the break of day. The duke had quietly supped with a gay assembly at the duchess of Richmond's; he and his generals gradually retired; the drums beat the alarm; the bugle-call gave the signal for "mounting in hot haste;" and the whole scene was changed from revelry to war before the "last light had fled" from that "banquet-hall." The reserve at Brussels were all on the march through the forest of Soignies, on the road to Quatre Bras, in the morning twilight.

There was an interval only of a few hours before the march from Brussels, and the gathering of other divisions on the roads which led to Quatre Bras, were succeeded by a battle. The Prussians, under general Ziethen, who had been driven from Charleroi on the 15th, had retired upon Fleurus. Marshal Blücher had concentrated the Prussian army upon Sombref, with the villages of St. Amand and Ligny in front of his position. Nearly all the corps had come up to join Blücher, when Napoleon attacked him in front, expecting that Ney would also have attacked him in the rear. The movement of Ney was interfered with by the timely arrival of sir Thomas Picton's division at Quatre Bras, in company with the Brunswickers and the contingent of Nassau. The battle between the French and the Prussians lasted for three or four hours. Although Blücher maintained his position, he was so weakened by the severity of the contest, that he marched in the night and concentrated his army upon Wavre. The British also maintained their position at Quatre Bras, "and completely defeated and repulsed," says the duke, "all the enemy's attempts to get possession of it." Our loss was severe, amounting in killed, wounded, and missing, to more than 2,500 men. The movement of Blücher rendered a correspondent movement necessary upon the part of Wellington. At ten o'clock on the morning of the 17th he retired from Quatre Bras upon Waterloo, a distance of about seven miles. Between Waterloo and Wavre was a distance of about ten miles, through a country of difficult defiles. A large body of French cavalry followed the English cavalry under lord Uxbridge; and at Genappe they were charged by the First Life Guards. In the course of the day Napoleon moved forward his army upon the same road over which Wellington had marched earlier in the morning. On the night of the 17th, and early in the morning of the 18th, Napoleon collected his whole army, with the exception of a corps which had been sent under Grouchy to observe Blücher, on a range of heights in front of the British position.

On the ground near Mont St. Jean, about a mile and a half in advance of the village of Waterloo, Wellington had taken up his position, with a certain knowledge, derived from several previous examinations, of its

capabilities for defence. The first care of the duke was to occupy with sufficient force the two angles, Hougoumont, near the Nivelles road, in front of the right centre, and the farm of La Haye Sainte, close to the Genappe road, in front of the left centre. The right of his position was thrown back to a ravine near Braine Merbes, which was occupied; and its left extended to the chateau of Frichermont, situated on a height above the hamlet of La Haye. The undulating plain upon which the army of English, Belgians, and Germans looked from the ridge on which they stood on the evening of the 17th was covered with crops of grain, of potatoes, and of clover. It had rained incessantly through the day; as night advanced the torrents of rain were accompanied with thunder and lightning. The troops had to bivouack upon the wet crops, whilst the generals and their staff obtained shelter in the adjacent villages. Wellington had his head-quarters in a house opposite the church at Waterloo. His army was a little superior in number to that of Napoleon, but it was inferior in artillery. There was however a far greater disparity. Wellington commanded an army of various nations, who had never before fought together; and even some of his British troops were new levies. Napoleon, on the contrary, had an army which he could wield with the most perfect assurance of unity of action.

There was a drizzling rain on the morning of Sunday, the 18th; but occasionally the sun broke through the clouds, and displayed the French columns deploying to take up their ground. Amidst the inspiriting airs of numerous bands, three lines were formed, of infantry and cuirassiers and lancers, with the artillery on the crest of the ridge. The greater number of the British army were concealed from the French by the undulations of the ridge on which they stood. They had taken their ground silently in two lines, with the artillery in front, and the cavalry in the rear. They stood noiselessly, except when one loud hurra was raised as the duke rode along the lines between nine and ten o'clock. Large detachments were in the inclosures of Hougoumont and La Haye Sainte. The clock of Nivelles struck eleven as the first cannon was fired from the French centre. On the left of their line the quick fire of musketry was soon heard from the column advancing to attack Hougoumont. This property was a comfortable residence of a Flemish yeoman, with farm buildings, and a garden of about two acres, which was inclosed by a wall on the east and south sides. Six thousand French, under the command of Jerome Bonaparte, commenced their attack upon the English light troops which were in the wood around the chateau. This wood was defended with obstinacy, but was, however, carried by the French, and the light troops had now to defend the walls of the garden and the gates of the yard. This deadly contest was prolonged without any result till two o'clock, when Napoleon ordered that a battery of howitzers should play upon the building. It was soon in flames, but there was no relaxation in the resolute defence of the farm-yard by the 1st and 2nd Foot Guards, which had a decided influence in deranging the plans of Napoleon. The attack upon Hougoumont was accompanied by a very heavy cannonade upon our whole line. Repeated attacks of cavalry and infantry, either mixed or separate, were made upon us. In one of these the enemy carried the farm-house of La Haye Sainte. The enemy repeatedly

charged our infantry with his cavalry, but these attacks were uniformly unsuccessful.* To a personal friend, lord Beresford, Wellington writes, "Napoleon did not manœuvre at all. He just moved forward in the old style, in columns, and was driven off in the old style. The only difference was, that he mixed cavalry with his infantry, and supported both with an enormous quantity of artillery. I had the infantry for some time in squares, and we had the French cavalry walking about us as if they had been our own. I never saw the British infantry behave so well." This devoted endurance during seven or eight of the most trying hours was sustained throughout by the presence of the duke at every point of danger, and by his constant care to spare his troops as much as possible, by repressing the natural anxiety of men in battle to be actively employed. The duke had placed several regiments behind the ridge on which the British line stood, the men lying down concealed from the French, who were advancing to attack. "Up, Guards, and at them!" were the words that in a moment presented a wall of bayonets to the confident French. The British commander had counted upon Blücher debouching upon the left of his position about one in the afternoon, according to a message which he had received when the battle had begun. At six o'clock the expected aid had not arrived. General Picton had been killed before the battle was half over. When Wellington was told that of Picton's division of 7000 men only 1500 remained, he replied, "They must stand in their place till the last man," and they did stand. A general officer asked that his brigade, reduced to a third, should be relieved. "It is impossible," said the duke; "he, and I, and all of us, are called upon to die in the place which we occupy at this moment." Surrounded by his men in a square charged by the French cavalry, he exclaimed, "Stand fast, 95th! we must not be beaten, my friends. What would they say of us in England?"

At six o'clock in the evening there was no point at which the allied army had yielded, or which had not been recovered from the possession of the French. At seven o'clock the emperor made a desperate effort to force our left centre. The duke rapidly collected his men from all points to meet this apparently overwhelming force. Having observed that the French retired from this attack in great confusion; that the arrival of general Bulow's corps had begun to take effect; and that marshal Blücher had joined in person with the corps of his army, he determined to attack the enemy, and immediately advanced the whole line of infantry, supported by the cavalry and artillery. The attack succeeded at every point. An observer of the scene says, "To the most dinning and continual roar of cannon and musketry I have ever known, there succeeded a sudden pause and silence. It was but momentary,—they had turned, and now fled, pursued by our troops." The rout and panic of the French became universal. For a moment Napoleon hoped to arrest this flight by forming a square of the last regiment of his Guards, and by raising a battery with some dismounted cannon. In the obscurity of the twilight the fugitives saw not this rallying point, and hurried on, a disorganized and helpless crowd. In the last square formed by the Guard, Napoleon was about to throw himself, there

* Wellington's Official Despatch.

in all likelihood to die. Soult turned Napoleon's horse, exclaiming, "Ah, Sire! our enemies are already too fortunate." The emperor fled with the mass. The square, however, held firm, to allow time for their leader to escape. One last cry of "*Vive l'Empereur*" was heard amidst the smoke and clash of arms. "Nothing more is heard; the Guard is dead, the Empire is finished."*

The Prussian general Gneisenau pursued the flying French, to whom all chance of rallying was impossible. Wellington joined in the pursuit, but the fatigue of his men compelled him to stop between Rossomme and Genappe. The total loss of both armies in this tremendous battle is thus stated:—British and Hanoverians, 11,678; Netherlanders, 3547; troops of Brunswick, 1000; of Nassau, 1000; Prussians, 7454. Total, 24,679. Of the French army, 18,500 were killed or wounded, and 7800 made prisoners. Wellington, in his official despatch, attributes "the successful result of this arduous day to the cordial and timely assistance" he received from Blücher and the Prussian army.

After the fatal night of the 18th of June, Napoleon travelled with all haste to Paris, where he arrived at four o'clock on the morning of the 21st. The Chamber of Representatives met at noon on that day, and declared its sitting permanent. During the 22nd Napoleon was urged to abdicate. He yielded at last, and dictated his abdication in favour of his son Napoleon II., inviting the Chambers to organize a Regency. Instead of appointing a Council of Regency, it was determined by the Chambers that the government should be put into the hands of a Commission of five members. This was indirectly to set aside Napoleon the Second. The provisional government required that Napoleon should leave France, and embark at Rochefort for the United States. Two frigates were placed at his disposal, and their commanders were ordered to set sail within twenty-four hours after he was on board, if the English cruisers were not in the way. Bonaparte arrived at Rochefort on the 3rd of July. Finding that he had no chance of escaping by sea, he sent to captain Maitland, who commanded the Bellerophon, to ask for leave to proceed to America, either in a French or a neutral vessel. The reply of Captain Maitland was, that his instructions forbad this; but that if Napoleon chose to proceed to England, he would take him there, without entering into any promise as to the reception he might meet with. The Bellerophon, with Napoleon and his suite, sailed from Rochefort on the 14th of July. Whilst the British government was in a state of indecision as to the final disposal of its fallen enemy, he was not permitted to land, nor was any person from the shore allowed to enter the vessel. The Bellerophon remained a fortnight in Plymouth Roads, and then Napoleon was removed to the Northumberland, which sailed for St. Helena. Blücher had desired that Napoleon should be shot in the place where the duke d'Enghien was killed, but Wellington had insisted upon his being disposed of "by common accord." As early as May 1814, the plenipotentiaries at the Congress of Vienna had decided, in a secret conference, that if Napoleon should escape from Elba, and should fall into the power of the Allies, a safer residence should be assigned him, at St. Helena or at St. Lucia.

* Brialmont.

On the 7th of July the English and Prussian armies entered Paris, and took military possession of all the principal points, under a convention signed on the 3rd of July, by which the French army was to evacuate Paris and to retreat beyond the Loire. Louis the Eighteenth made his public entrance, escorted by the National Guards, on the 8th of July. To the firm moderation of Wellington it is wholly due that the Parisians were not doomed to suffer any humiliation beyond that of the presence of foreign armies. The greatest mortification which the French had to endure was the determination of the Allied Powers that the works of art which had been plundered from various countries should go back to the churches and the museums from which they had been forcibly taken. By the definitive treaty between France on the one part, and Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, on the other, the boundaries of France were left, with a very slight alteration in her frontier lines, the same as agreed at the Peace of 1814. It was, nevertheless, resolved to keep possession of the frontier fortresses for a term not exceeding five years, and to maintain an army of occupation, to be paid and supported by France during the same period.

To France alone did this treaty apply. The settlement of Europe, as it was hopefully called, had been effected by the general treaty signed in Congress at Vienna, on the 9th of June. It had been agreed by secret articles of the Treaty of Paris, that a kingdom, under the title of the Netherlands, should be formed by the union of Belgium with Holland; Prussia was to obtain the Rhenish Provinces; Sweden and Norway were to be united; Hanover was to be restored to the king of England, with an accession of territory taken from Westphalia; Lombardy and Venice were to return to the rule of Austria; Savoy to that of Piedmont. The annexation of Saxony to the kingdom of Prussia was one of the questions debated at the Congress of Vienna. The British minister, lord Castlereagh, who strenuously contended for the independence of Poland, had at first been a consenting party to the annexation of Saxony, which was opposed by Austria and by France. The policy of lord Castlereagh with regard to Saxony was however changed as the negotiations advanced. On the 3rd of February, 1815, a secret treaty was concluded between Austria, England, and France, to act in concert, each with an army of 150,000 men, to carry into effect the Treaty of Paris, "holding it necessary, in consequence of pretensions recently manifested, to look to the means to resist every aggression." Prussia finally obtained one-half of Saxony, with a portion of the duchy of Warsaw. Russia secured the kingdom of Poland in undisputed sovereignty. The new kingdom of Poland was to have a constitution with national institutions and national representation. But these promised advantages were to be bestowed upon the people in the manner which the government should think most suitable. Murat, by joining the Allied Powers, after the battle of Leipzig, appeared to have secured his position as an independent sovereign. But in the Congress there was no advance towards his recognition, as in the case of Bernadotte. He entered into correspondence with the ex-emperor at Elba, thus precipitating his own fall, and then rashly plunged into hostilities against Austria. The old misrule of the Bourbon in Naples and Sicily was no impediment to the determination of the Allies to restore that miserable dynasty. The Grand

Duchy of Tuscany was restored, as well as smaller states. Italy returned to its old condition of disunion.

During the Congress of Vienna the emperor of Russia had assiduously laboured to obtain converts to a political union, which should be founded, as was stated in a manifesto from St. Petersburg, upon "the precepts of the holy religion of our Saviour, namely, the precepts of justice, Christian charity, and peace." This Convention, known as "The Holy Alliance," was concluded at Paris, on the 26th of September, 1815, between the emperor of Russia, the emperor of Austria, and the king of Prussia. When asked to sign it, the duke of Wellington said, that the English Parliament would require something more precise.

In the settlement of Europe, the representatives of Great Britain manifested a praiseworthy abnegation of merely selfish interests. They had laboured strenuously, and they had laboured with tolerable success, for the abolition of the Slave Trade. At the peace of 1814, the restored government of France had refused to consent to the immediate abolition. Bonaparte, amidst his memorable acts of the Hundred Days, abolished the hateful traffic by a stroke of his pen. The Bourbon government, a second time restored, dared no longer refuse this one demand of Great Britain. Other nations had promised. But Spain and Portugal still maintained the trade.

Ney, Labedoyère, and Lavalette were proscribed by an ordinance of the 24th of July, for the part they had taken in the return of Bonaparte in March. Labedoyère was tried by court-martial; and was shot. Lavalette, who had been condemned to death by the Cour d'Assise, escaped through a stratagem of his wife, and was assisted to pass the frontier by the generous friendship of three Englishmen—Sir Robert Wilson, Mr. Bruce, and Mr. Hutchinson; who were tried for this offence, and sentenced to three months' imprisonment. Ney was tried before the Chamber of Peers, and was executed.

At the Congress of Vienna it was proposed that a general European crusade should be undertaken against the infidel corsairs of the Barbary States, who, for three hundred years, had been the terror of Europe, warring against every flag in the Mediterranean, and carrying off Christian slaves from every shore. In the spring of 1816, lord Exmouth, with a squadron under his command, proceeded to Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, where he effected the release of seventeen hundred and ninety-two Christian slaves, and negotiated treaties of peace and amity on behalf of the minor powers in the Mediterranean. From Tunis and Tripoli a declaration was obtained that no Christian slaves should in future be made by either of those powers. The Dey of Algiers, however, refused to agree to the abolition of slavery without permission from the Sultan. Lord Exmouth acceded to a suspension for three months of the Dey's decision, and returned to England. He had consented that the governments of Sicily and Sardinia should pay ransom for the release of their subjects. His fleet was dismantled; the crews were paid off and disbanded, when a sudden outrage, which occurred even before lord Exmouth quitted the Mediterranean, but which did not then come to his knowledge, made the British Cabinet determine upon an expedition against Algiers. Under a treaty of 1806, we occupied, for the protection of the coral fishery, Bona, a town in the regency of Algiers.

On the 23rd of May, the fishers who had landed were massacred by a large body of troops; the British flag was torn down and trampled under foot, and the house of our vice-consul was pillaged. It was alleged that this outrage was a fanatical movement of the licentious Algerine soldiery. Lord Exmouth left Plymouth on the 28th of July, with a fleet consisting of twenty-five sail of large and small ships. The crews were collected from the different guard-ships, and volunteers invited to serve upon this particular enterprise. At Gibraltar he was joined by the Dutch admiral, Van Cappellan, with five frigates and a sloop. The winds being adverse, the fleet did not arrive in sight of Algiers till the 27th of August. During his course, lord Exmouth learnt that the British consul had been put in chains. As the fleet was nearly at Algiers, he sent his interpreter forward with a letter to the Dey, which demanded the entire abolition of Christian slavery; the delivery of all Christian slaves in the kingdom of Algiers; the restoration of all the money that had been paid for the redemption of slaves by the king of the Two Sicilies and the king of Sardinia; peace between Algiers and the Netherlands; and the immediate liberation of the British consul, and two boats' crews who had been detained with him. No answer being given, the fleet immediately began to bear up, and every ship to take her position. Lord Exmouth's ship the Queen Charlotte passed through all the batteries without firing a gun, and took up a position within a hundred yards of the Mole-head batteries. At the first shot, which was fired by the Algerines, the order to fire was given. The miserable barbarians, who were looking on as at a show, were swept away by hundreds by the fire from the Queen Charlotte. From a quarter before three o'clock till nine, the most tremendous firing on both sides continued without intermission, and the firing did not cease altogether until half-past eleven. Eight hundred and fifty-two officers and men were killed in the British squadron, and sixty-five in the Dutch. The Algerine batteries around lord Exmouth's division were silenced about ten o'clock, and were in a complete state of ruin and dilapidation; but a fort at the upper angle of the city continued to annoy our ships, whose firing had almost ceased. Our means of attack were well-nigh expended; the upper batteries of the city could not be reached by our guns; the ships were becalmed. "Providence, at this interval," says lord Exmouth, "gave to my anxious wishes the usual land-wind common in this bay, and my expectations were completed. We were all hands employed warping and towing off, and by the help of the light air the whole were under sail, and came to anchor out of reach of shells about two in the morning, after twelve hours' incessant labour." Nine Algerine frigates and a number of gunboats were burning within the bay; the storehouses within the Mole were on fire. The next morning, lord Exmouth wrote a letter to the Dey, in which the same terms of peace were offered as on the previous day. They were accepted. The Dey made apologies, and treaties of peace and amity were finally signed, to be very soon again broken. The enduring triumph of this expedition was the release, within three days of the battle, of a thousand and eighty-three Christian slaves, who arrived from the interior, and who were immediately conveyed to their respective countries.

CHAPTER LX.

WHEN the Parliament assembled on the 1st of February, 1816, the debates on the Treaties, in which lord Liverpool moved the Address, made men really think that the old English spirit of freedom was about to be trampled upon. In the House of Commons the debate lasted two nights, the Address being finally carried by a majority of 163. The presumption of the Government at this period was calculated to produce a violent reaction throughout the land. When the Chancellor of the Exchequer declared his intention to continue the Property or Income Tax, on the modified scale of five per cent., it was the signal for one of the chief battle-cries which were to lead on the scanty forces of Opposition. The Corporation of London took the lead in the national expression of opinion against the Property Tax. The dislike of the rural population was as fixed as that of the towns. The inquisitorial character of the tax had some influence in producing the popular hostility to its continuance. The Government employed an army of common informers, through whose agency the system of surcharges and penalties was enforced. For six weeks the Opposition, headed by Mr. Brougham, availed themselves of all the possible means of delay. It was the 17th of March before the resolutions for the continuance of the tax were presented to the House. They were rejected by a majority of 238 to 201. After this defeat of the Government the Chancellor of the Exchequer voluntarily abandoned the war-duties upon malt, amounting to about 2,700,000*l.*, saying that the decision of the House as to the Property Tax would compel him to raise a loan, and that "it was of little consequence that the loan should be increased by the amount of the calculated produce of the malt-duty." The debates upon the Army Estimates, which eventually caused some reduction—the rejection of the Property Tax—the searching inquiry into the Civil List—the agitation of the question of sinecure offices—were indications of the feeling which the Government would have to encounter. When, however, the same ministers proposed the magnificent establishment for the Princess Charlotte and Prince Leopold, upon their marriage, not a dissentient voice was heard in Parliament. This marriage—a marriage of affection—of the presumptive heiress of the Crown was hailed as a public blessing. It took place at Carlton House, on the evening of the 2nd of May.

During a season of wonderful abundance, amidst the best and the worst species of opposition—the power of argument and the weakness of tumult—a Bill was in 1815 hurried through Parliament which absolutely closed the ports till the price of wheat rose to 80*s*. The war-and-famine price of 1812 was again reached in the latter part of 1816, in 1817, and in 1818. The landed interest of this time had but one remedy for every evil—unequal remission of taxation conjoined with protection. In 1816 they demanded the repeal of so much of the Act of 1815 as should allow foreign corn to be warehoused, so that only British corn should be stored; and urged an advance of money by the Government to such individuals as

might be inclined to buy up our native produce. These unconditional demands were received not only with tolerance but with respect. The landed interest was all-powerful in the House of Commons, the commercial and manufacturing interests being most imperfectly represented. The Government, however, had really very little left to offer as a further boon to the country gentlemen.

When the destruction of the power of Napoleon in 1814 had opened the ports of the Continent to our vessels, it was universally thought that there could be no limit to the demand for British manufactures and colonial produce. The shipments to European ports were accordingly doubled. The ordinary course of trade was forsaken, and small capitalists as well as large, at the outports as well as in London, eagerly bought up colonial produce, and looked for golden returns. They soon found their mistake. The continent was wholly exhausted by the long course of war. The people had little to spare for the secondary necessaries—nothing for indulgence. The continent, exhausted as it was, had its native commodities, but those we refused. Agriculturists and manufacturers, landowners and shipowners, equally shouted for protection. We went farther with the United States in the recognition of just commercial principles than with any European nation. We shut out their corn, but we did not shut out their cotton.

In England, as on the continent, the means of purchase amongst all classes were exhausted. The partial return to a real standard of the currency at the period of peace was considered by many to have been a main if not the sole cause of this distress and embarrassment. Nevertheless, the Bank of England at the peace scarcely contracted its issues at all. A vast amount of paper-money was withdrawn from circulation at this period, by the failure of many country-banks, and the contraction of their advances by all that were stable. This was a consequence of the great fall of agricultural produce—a consequence of the diminished credit of the producers. The paralysis of industry was most felt by the working population. There was a surplus of labour in every department of human exertion. Discharged sailors and disbanded militiamen swelled the ranks of indigence. If the unhappy agricultural population crowded to the cities they encountered bodies of workmen equally wretched, wholly deprived of work, or working at short time upon insufficient wages. This distress was aggravated by the most ungenial season that had occurred in this country since 1799. Early in May, symptoms of insubordination and desperate violence were displayed among the agricultural population of the Eastern Counties, who combined in the destruction of property with fierce recklessness. The most serious demonstration of the spirit of the peasantry arose in what is called "the Isle of Ely." The high prices of wheat from 1810 to 1814 had tempted the farmers to raise exhausting crops. The great fall in the prices of grain had driven the land out of cultivation, and cast off the labour of the peasantry. It was under such circumstances that, on the 22nd of May, a great body of insurgent fen men assembled at Littleport, a small town on the river Lark. After various riotous proceedings, they finally marched to Ely, where they continued their lawless course of drunkenness and plunder. For two days and nights these scenes of violence did not cease; and the parish of Littleport was described as resembling a town

sacked by a besieging army. The military were called in, and a sort of skirmish ensued, in which blood flowed on both sides. A large number of the riotous were finally lodged in Ely gaol. A Special Commission was issued for the trial of the culprits. Thirty-four persons were convicted, and sentenced to death, on charges of burglary and robbery, of whom five were executed.

At the beginning of July, a body of colliers, thrown out of employment by the stoppage of iron-works at Bilston, set out to London, for the purpose of submitting their distresses in a petition to the Prince Regent, and presenting him with two waggons of coals, which they drew along with them. One party advanced as far as St. Alban's, and another reached Maidenhead Thicket. The Home Office sent a strong body of police, with magistrates, from London, to meet these poor fellows, and induce them to return; and they were successful. The distresses of the workmen in the iron trade were quite appalling. Utter desolation prevailed in districts where iron-works had been suspended. Later in the year, the miners and colliers connected with the great iron-works in the neighbourhood of Merthyr assembled in a tumultuous manner, and their numbers gradually swelling till they reached ten or twelve thousand, they finally extinguished the blast at several works, but did little other damage. In 1816 the Luddite insurrection broke forth with new violence. Armed bands, under the orders of a chief, held the inhabitants in nightly terror, commanding them to put out their lights and keep within their houses under penalty of death. Then, in the silence of night, would houses and factories be broken open, frames and other machines be demolished, unfinished work be scattered on the highways, furniture be wholly destroyed.

The sufferings of the poor were too manifest not to call forth an unusual amount of public sympathy, displayed in subscriptions for relief, and in schemes for providing employment. The higher benevolence which goes to the root, as far as possible, of the evils of society, was then little understood and less practised. The notion that had been engendered by the French Revolution that to innovate was to destroy, that to reform was to revolutionize, was the creed of the majority from the close of the war to the end of the reign of George the Fourth. There were a few earnest labourers, who, amidst much suspicion and some ridicule, rested not till they had done something for the amelioration of the lot of their fellow-men. Samuel Romilly was the foremost amongst these courageous spirits. In 1808, Romilly carried his first reform in the criminal laws,—a Bill for the abolition of the punishment of death for picking pockets. Again and again he attempted the repeal of the Statutes which punished with death mere thefts, unaccompanied by any act of violence. Most of the Bills he brought forward passed the House of Commons, but all, with one exception, were rejected in the Lords. The Lord Chancellor Eldon was foremost amongst those who resisted every approach to improvement. The capital sentence was now constantly evaded by juries committing a pious fraud, and finding the property of less value than was required by the statute. The consequence, if severe laws were never executed, was, that crime went on to increase, and the crimes of juvenile offenders especially. The machinery for the prevention and detection of crime was exactly accommodated to the

machinery for its punishment. On the 3rd of April, 1816, a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the state of the police of the metropolis. The Committee was resumed in 1817; and two Reports were presented which exhibited the frightful evils of the system.

A Committee of the House of Commons was appointed in 1815 to inquire into the state of mendicity and vagrancy in the metropolis and its neighbourhood; and they continued their sittings in 1816. Beyond their reports no legislative measure was adopted. The evidence went rather to show the amount of imposture than of destitution. The Committee had some glimpses of real wretchedness, but the evil was exhibited and forgotten. The adventurers in gas-light did more for the prevention of crime than the Government had done since the days of Alfred. Pall Mall was lighted by gas in 1807. The persevering German, who spent his own money and that of subscribers to his scheme, had no reward. The original gas-company was first derided, and then treated in Parliament as a body of rapacious monopolists, intent upon the ruin of established industry.

Very much of what was called the vagrancy of the metropolis was a natural consequence of the administration of the Poor Laws throughout the kingdom. A large proportion of the money raised for the relief of the poor was expended in shifting the burthen of their relief from one parish to another. One of the greatest evils attending the parochial terror of new settlers, was the filthy and ruinous state of the dwellings of agricultural labourers. Cottages were not built or properly upheld; for what capitalist would speculate in houses for the labourers, when the most industrious might be hurried away at the bidding of the overseer? The average annual expenditure for the relief of the poor had gradually increased from about two millions at the commencement of the war, to seven millions at its close. Pauperism had been fostered during the war years by parish allowances in aid of wages, and it is difficult to conceive a more complete state of degradation than the allowanced labourers exhibited in 1816. The old workhouse system was as productive of evil, in principle though not in amount, as the allowance system. Habits were formed in the workhouse which rendered the path to respectability almost inaccessible. In 1807, Mr. Whitbread had proposed to the House of Commons a very large and comprehensive measure of Poor-Law Reform, in connection with a plan of general national education, and with a method under which the savings of the poor might be properly invested in a great national bank. From that time to the close of the war, the Legislature heard no word on the education of the people. On the 21st of May, 1816, Henry Brougham moved for the appointment of a Select Committee "to inquire into the state of the Education of the lower orders of the people in London, Westminster, and Southwark." The motion was unopposed. The Committee made its first report on the 20th of June, having conducted its inquiries with more than usual activity. In 1818 the powers of inquiry granted to the Committee were no longer confined to the metropolis. Then the larger question of the extension of education was merged in a furious controversy as to the amount of abuses in endowed charities, and finally the Education Commission was merged in the Charity Com-

mission. The education of the people made small legislative progress for twenty years.

In the Session of 1816, Mr. George Rose brought in a Bill for the regulation of Savings Banks, which was subsequently withdrawn for revision. Mr. Rose had, as early as 1793, legislated for the encouragement of Friendly Societies. In 1798, the experiment of a savings-bank was tried at Tottenham. The example was soon followed by other places, but the first London savings-bank did not commence its operations till January, 1816.

In this Session one step was made towards some improvement in the game-laws, the attention of the House of Commons having been called to the subject in consequence of the murder of colonel Berkeley's gamekeeper by a gang of armed poachers. The removal of the qualification to kill game was contemplated by the Committee appointed in 1816, though it was not then carried out.

The call for Parliamentary Reform seems to have made itself very feebly heard in the Session of 1816. From this time the cause passed away from the patronage of a few aristocratic lovers of popularity, to be advocated by "Cobbett's Weekly Political Register," and after the 2nd of November, 1816, by his "Twopenny Register;" and to be discussed and organized by "Hampden Clubs" of hungering philanthropists and unemployed "weaver-boys." In a Report of a Secret Committee of the House of Commons the Hampden Clubs are described as "associating professedly for the purpose of Parliamentary Reform, upon the most extended principle of universal suffrage and annual Parliaments;" but that "in far the greater number of them . . . nothing short of a Revolution is the object expected and avowed." William Cobbett advocated Parliamentary Reform as the corrective of whatever evils the lower classes suffered. Never before had any single writer in England wielded such a power. His cheap Registers did much to repress riot and outrage, but they gave the discontent of the labouring classes a new direction.

In 1800 a Mr. Spence, a schoolmaster in Yorkshire, was prosecuted for the promulgation of a plan for making the nation happy, by causing all the lands of the country to become the property of the State, which State should divide all the produce for the support of the people. In 1816, "Spence's Plan" was revived, and the Society of Spencean Philanthropists was instituted, who held "sectional meetings," and discussed "subjects calculated to enlighten the human understanding." Amongst other notable projects, they petitioned Parliament to do away with machinery. Amongst these fanatics some dangerous men had established themselves, and some, also, who were clearly in communication with the police, and who hounded on the weak enthusiasts to acts of more real danger to themselves than to the public safety. On the 15th of November, the Spenceans Philanthropists held a meeting in Spafields, then a large unenclosed place, utterly neglected and useless. The first meeting passed off very innocently; but the 2nd of December, the day to which the first meeting was adjourned, closed not so peaceably. Violent addresses were delivered, and then a young madman, Mr. Watson the younger, after declaiming against the uselessness of petition, seized a tri-coloured flag, and away

rushed the mob to take the Tower. Two resolute men, the chief clerk of Bow-street and a Bow-street officer, had the boldness to attack this mob, and destroyed one of their banners, without any injury to themselves. In the shop of a gunsmith on Snow-hill, where the mob had rushed in demanding arms, a gentleman was shot by Watson. The assassin was secured; but the mob, who destroyed and plundered the shop, soon released him, and proceeded along Cheapside, where they fired their recently-acquired arms. They marched through the Royal Exchange, where they were met by the Lord Mayor, with two other gentlemen and five constables. This small force secured several of the rioters. After a further plunder of gunsmiths' shops in the Minories, and the summoning of the Tower by some redoubted and unknown champion, the insurrection fell to pieces, altogether from the want of cohesion in the materials of which it was composed. The only blood shed was that of the gentleman in the gunsmith's shop, who eventually recovered. A wretched sailor was convicted of the offence of plundering at the shop on Snow-hill, and was hanged. The younger Watson escaped from his pursuers. His father was tried for high treason on the 9th of June. The exposure of Castle, a spy, the principal witness against the Spenceans, was so complete, that the jury, without hesitation, returned a verdict of Not Guilty. Four other prisoners, who were to have been tried upon the same evidence, were at once acquitted.

On his return from opening Parliament on the 28th of January, 1817, the windows of the Prince Regent's state-carriage were broken by some missile. This insult to the representative of the sovereign, which was at first asserted to be an attempt upon his life, gave a decided tone to the proceedings of both Houses. On the 3rd of February, lord Sidmouth presented a message from the Prince Regent on the subject of the alleged disaffection of large bodies of the people. This message was referred to a Secret Committee in each House, and under the influence of the Reports of these Committees, Bills were brought in, and passed by large majorities, to guard against and avert the dangers which they had so alarmingly proclaimed. The first of these renewed the Act for the prevention and punishment of attempts to seduce soldiers and sailors from their allegiance; the second extended to the Prince Regent all the safeguards against treasonable attempts which secure the actual sovereign; the third was for the prevention of seditious meetings; the last of the four gave to the executive power the fearful right of imprisonment without trial. This suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, however, was limited to the ensuing 1st of July.

Within a week after the passing of this Act, and before the magistrates had received any accession to their powers as to the dispersion of tumultuous assemblies, a meeting took place in St. Peter's Field at Manchester, called the Blanket Meeting, because many of the vast body of workmen who attended were observed to have blankets, rugs, or large coats, rolled up and tied knapsack-like on their backs. The magistrates came upon the field and read the Riot Act; the meeting was dispersed by the military and constables; three hundred commenced a straggling march, followed by a body of yeomanry, and a hundred and eighty reached Macclesfield at nine o'clock at night. Some were apprehended, some lay in the fields. The next morning the numbers had almost melted away. All the persons

connected with this meeting were discharged before trial. The avowed Reform-leaders were now under perpetual terror. Public meetings were at an end, but secret ones ensued. At the Leicester assizes, on the 1st of April, eight men were tried and convicted of the most daring outrages at Loughborough, and six of these offenders were executed on the 17th of the same month. There was not the slightest attempt at this trial to connect the crimes of these men with any political opinions. But in the Midland Counties, which had been in a disturbed state for several years, the materials for political insurrection were abundantly accumulated. The secret operations of "the Spy System," by which the spy frequently became the tempter, were admirably calculated to put the spark to these inflammable materials.

On Sunday, the 8th of June, there was a remarkable assemblage at Penkridge, a village in the hilly and thinly peopled district to the west of the river Derwent. Amongst this assemblage there was a man named Brandreth, who was called "The Captain." This man told the people there would be no good to be done except a complete overthrow of the Government. All the country was to rise at one time. They had plenty of pikes; and they would go and take Nottingham wholly to themselves; and when they got to Nottingham, every man would have a hundred guineas and plenty of rum, and it would be nothing but a journey of pleasure. This extraordinary assembly lasted six or seven hours. Having agreed to meet on the night of the 9th after dark, the people separated. The next night Brandreth assembled twenty men, who had pikes and guns, in an old barn at South Wingfield, and they went forward, stopping at solitary houses and demanding guns, and dragging unwilling men out of their beds and hiding-places, and compelling them to march with them. At the farm-house of a widow, Brandreth fired in at a window, and killed one of her servants, upon arms being refused to him. Some of the pressed men ran away in the darkness. By the morning the number of the insurgents amounted to about a hundred and fifty. Mr. Rolleston, a magistrate, becoming aware of their approach, procured some troops from the barracks at Nottingham, eighteen privates, commanded by a captain and a subaltern. Upon hearing that the soldiers were coming, the insurgents fled. A number of prisoners were taken, and about forty guns and other arms were collected together. For "the Derbyshire insurrection" three men were executed; eleven were transported for life; four were transported for fourteen years; and five were imprisoned for various terms.

The second suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was passed by large majorities in both Houses. A month later, lord Sidmouth issued a Circular Letter to the Lords-Lieutenants of Counties, by which he entrusted the administration of the law of libel to the Justices of the Peace. Such a proceeding as this, was, perhaps, the most daring invasion of public liberty that had been attempted since the time of the Stuarts. The only successful result was that William Cobbett fled to America, suspending the publication of his "Register" for four months.

On the morning of the 18th of December there was a considerable crowd round the avenues of Guildhall. William Hone, an obscure bookseller, was to be tried for libel—for a political squib in the shape of a parody

upon the Catechism, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. The defendant pleaded his own cause, his poverty preventing him obtaining counsel. He was surrounded by old books, from which he drew his defence. The gist of that defence was that there were two kinds of parodies: one in which a man might convey ludicrous or ridiculous ideas relative to some other subject; the other, where it was meant to ridicule the thing parodied. This latter was not the case here, and therefore he had not brought religion into contempt. He worked this argument during six hours, by reading passage after passage from the current literature of the time—from forgotten volumes of old theology and polemical controversy—to prove the universality of religious parodies. The judge charged the jury in vain. William Hone was acquitted, after a quarter of an hour's deliberation.

But the Lord Chief Justice was resolved that the libeller should not go unpunished. He rose from a sick-bed to preside in Court next day himself. Again Mr. Hone entered the court with his load of books, on Friday, the 19th of December. He was this day indicted for publishing an impious and profane libel, called "The Litany, or General Supplication." On this day the defendant spoke for seven hours, battling his judge with a firmness and moderation that rode over every attempt to put him down. The Chief Justice gathered up his exhausted strength for his charge, and in concluding, almost besought the jury to return a verdict of Guilty. The jury, in an hour and a half, returned a verdict of Not Guilty.

On the 20th of December, lord Ellenborough again took his seat on the bench. This third indictment was for publishing a parody on the Creed of St. Athanasius, called "The Sinecurists' Creed." At the commencement of his defence, which lasted eight hours, Mr. Hone protested against the interruptions to which the Lord Chief Justice had subjected him on the previous day, and begged the jury not to suffer their verdict to be influenced by the judge's charge. Towards the close of this remarkable trial, the defendant quoted Warburton and Tillotson, as doubters of the Athanasian Creed. "Even his lordship's father, the bishop of Carlisle, he believed, took a similar view of the Creed." And then the judge, who came eager to condemn, sued for pity to his intended victim. Grave and temperate was the charge to the jury this day; and in twenty minutes they returned a verdict of Not Guilty. Lord Campbell says, "The popular opinion was, that lord Ellenborough was killed by Hone's trial, and he certainly never held up his head in public after." As to the three acquittals of Hone, three juries, consisting of respectable London merchants, would have assuredly convicted the defendant, had they not felt that the real sting of the alleged profaneness was the severity of the political satire.

There was at this unhappy period a general feeling growing up in the nation that Government was a power antagonistic to the governed—an oppressive and not a protective power—a power of separate interests from the interests of the people. The most solemn disclaimer, however, of the calumny against the people, that they were desirous of a vital change in the form of government, was uttered through the universal mourning which broke forth when, on the 6th of November, the Princess Charlotte died, after the birth of a dead child. From the highest to the lowest this

death was felt as a calamity that demanded the intense sorrow of domestic misfortune. The national expression of feeling on this occasion—called forth as it was in great measure by disappointed hope in a future reign—presented a forcible contrast to the small measure of enthusiasm towards him who was in the actual exercise of the sovereign power. Either the consciousness of this contrast, or natural grief at the sudden calamity, had a great influence upon the health and spirits of the Prince Regent, and was, probably, a reason for his not opening the Parliament in person, on the 27th of January, 1818.

The general tone of the Royal Speech was hopeful and confiding. The peace and tranquillity of the country had been restored. The Government announced their intention of bringing in a Bill for the immediate repeal of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act. The question of Parliamentary Reform was revived in the House of Commons by sir Francis Burdett, who, in accordance with the views of the London Hampden Club, of which he was the chairman, brought forward resolutions for universal male suffrage, equal electoral districts, vote by ballot, and annual parliaments. The seconder of the resolutions, lord Cochrane, was their only supporter on the division, in addition to the mover. The advocates of Reform out of doors were damaging a cause which once had the support of Pitt and Fox, of Grey and Erskine. Canning had been recalled to power in 1817, and had then been put forward as the eloquent anti-reformer, to deny that the existing state of the representation was a grievance; to confound the most moderate projects of reform with the doctrines of universal suffrage and annual parliaments.

In this Session there were long debates as to the sums to be voted by Parliament in consequence of three projected royal alliances. On the 1st of June was solemnized the marriage of the duke of Cambridge to the Princess Augusta Wilhelmina Louisa of Hesse; on the 13th of July, those of the duke of Clarence to the Princess Adelaide Louisa Theresa Caroline Amelia of Saxe Meiningen, and of the duke of Kent to her Serene Highness Mary Louisa Victoria, daughter of the duke of Saxe Coburg Saalfeld, widow of Enrich Charles prince of Leiningen, and sister of prince Leopold.

On the 10th of June, the Prince Regent announced from the throne his intention forthwith to dissolve the Parliament. The word prorogation was not mentioned. The motive for this extraordinary proceeding was, apparently, that no delay should arise in summoning a new Parliament, it being undesirable, in the view of the ministry, that the same Parliament should re-assemble in consequence of the demise of the Crown, which then appeared to be an event very likely to happen. The elections were all over by the middle of July. There probably never was a general election in which there was a more revolting display of the violence which too often attended protracted contests. Sydney Smith wrote to earl Grey, "I congratulate you on the general turn of the elections, and the serious accession of strength to the Whigs." For Westminster, the stronghold of popular opinions, Romilly was returned with Burdett, though he had not spent a shilling, nor solicited a vote, nor made his appearance on the hustings. He never took that place in Parliament which the reverence

of his fellow citizens had awarded him. He died by his own hand on the 2nd of November, in a paroxysm of insanity, brought on by grief at the death of his wife.

On the 2nd of October, the evacuation of the French territory by the troops of the Allies was unanimously agreed upon at the Congress of the Allied Sovereigns and of the ministers of the several powers, at Aix-la-Chapelle. The duke of Wellington, who, associated with lord Castlereagh, represented Great Britain in this Congress, was satisfied with the state of things which he had witnessed in France during the occupation of that country by the troops of which he was generalissimo.

On the 17th of November took place the death of queen Charlotte, at the age of seventy-five. A Bill was brought into the new Parliament, which assembled on the 14th of January, 1819, appointing the duke of York as a successor to the Queen in the office of the King's Custos. In a committee on the Civil List it was proposed that the sum of 10,000*l.*, which her Majesty had received on account of this office, should be continued to the duke of York. The repugnance to this measure was not confined to the ordinary parliamentary Opposition, and was shared by the duke himself, whose scruples, however, were overruled by the Regent.

The state of the currency, and the question of the resumption of cash payments, were subjects of paramount importance in the deliberations of this Session. Secret Committees of both Houses had been appointed to inquire into the state of the Bank of England. Mr. Peel, the member for the University of Oxford, was chosen chairman of the Committee of the House of Commons. Early in April, both Committees presented Reports, recommending that a Bill should be forthwith passed to prohibit the continuance of the payment in gold by the Bank of their notes issued previous to the 1st of January, 1817, in conformity with the voluntary notice to that effect of the directors. This measure had for its object to facilitate the final and complete restoration of cash payments. Founded upon the resolution thus proposed, the Act for the gradual resumption of cash payments, commonly known as Peel's Act, was passed on the 23rd of June. The Bank anticipated by one year the period assigned by the Act,—resuming the payment of its notes in specie on the 1st of May, 1821.

On the 2nd of March, sir James Mackintosh moved for a Select Committee "to consider of so much of the Criminal Laws as relates to capital punishment in felonies." His object was to bring the letter of the law more near to its practice, under which the remission of the law formed the rule and the execution the exception. The proposition of sir James Mackintosh was opposed by the Government; but, upon a division, the numbers in favour of the motion were 147; against it, 128. The Report of the Committee recommended the repeal of many capital punishments. Six bills, embodying some of these recommendations, were introduced by Mackintosh in the Session of 1820.

In this Session, the question of Parliamentary Reform was again agitated by sir Francis Burdett. He proposed that, early in the next session, the House should take into its consideration the state of the representation. On this occasion lord John Russell first declared himself for a moderate

reform. At the close of the Session, lord John announced his intention, which he fulfilled in the session of 1820, of proposing the disfranchisement of Grampound, the corruption of which borough had become notorious, and the adoption of the principle of admitting the unrepresented large towns into a share of the representation. The moderate Reformers became hopeful when these resolutions were met in a conciliatory spirit by the Government.

On the 3rd of May, the fervid eloquence of Mr. Grattan was heard for the last time in the House of Commons in support of the measure nearest his heart, that of Catholic Emancipation. His proposal that this measure should be taken into consideration by a Committee of the whole House, was rejected by a majority of 243 to 241. Grattan died on the 14th of May, 1820, having travelled to London, in a state of much debility, for the purpose of submitting to the House a motion for the removal of the Roman Catholic disabilities.

There had been considerable interruption to the prosperous state of trade from February to July. The number of bankruptcies was unusually great; credit was very generally impaired; the demand for labour was of course proportionably affected, and the rate of wages was necessarily lower. At the same time the price of food had been steadily advancing. There had been meetings of the operative classes in Lancashire and at Glasgow, in which gradually the peaceably disposed were borne down by the turbulent, and the speeches assumed a character of political violence. Parliament, however, separated without any expectation that serious mischief was at hand.

At a great open-air meeting at Stockport, seditious words were spoken by the chairman, sir Charles Wolseley, bart., who was afterwards elected "legislatorial attorney and representative" for Birmingham. Wolseley and a dissenting preacher were indicted. Wolseley was arrested at his own house, Wolseley Park, in Staffordshire. At a great assembly in Smithfield, Harrison was arrested; and on being conveyed to Stockport, the constable who arrived there with him was attacked and shot. A public meeting had been called at Manchester by the Reformers, who had now taken the name of Radicals, for the 9th of August, to elect a "legislatorial attorney" as representative of that place. The magistrates, in consequence, issued a notice declaring such a meeting to be illegal, and requiring the people, at their peril, to abstain from attending it. The design was relinquished; and another meeting was advertised to be held in St. Peter's Field, in Manchester, for the purpose of petitioning for a Reform of Parliament. In preparation for this great gathering, the Reformers held meetings for drill, which were a great cause of alarm to the Lancashire magistrates. Mr. Hunt—Orator Hunt, as he was called—took the chair at the meeting of the 16th of August, at which eighty thousand persons were assembled. Detachments, each of several thousand persons, had come from the neighbouring manufacturing districts, most of them bodies enrolling in that military order for which they appear to have had a considerable aptitude. Mr. Hunt began to address the assembly amidst a profound silence. After a few sentences he paused; there was a pressure from the verge of the field towards the hustings; a body of cavalry was

striving to make way through the terrified multitude. The magistrates had been taking depositions, and deliberating upon some course of action, through the Saturday and Sunday which preceded the meeting. They had been in communication with lord Sidmouth, who had told them "that he expected occasion to arise for their energy to display itself, and that they might feel assured of the cordial support of the government." They had a warrant ready for the arrest of the leaders of this meeting. They delayed its execution till Hunt and the others to be arrested were surrounded by a multitude, wedged together in the narrow area of St. Peter's Field. A small body of constables were stationed close to the hustings, and a continued line of the same civil force maintained a communication with the magistrates, who were assembled at a private house on the south side of the Field.* A troop of Manchester Yeomanry Cavalry, whose ranks were chiefly filled by wealthy master-manufacturers, were stationed in Moseley Street. Two squadrons of the 15th Hussars were in waiting at a distance. When the warrant for the apprehension of the Reform leaders was given to the chief constable of Manchester to execute, he declared that he could not carry his orders into effect with the civil power at his command. It was immediately determined that he should have military aid. The Yeomanry dashed forward into the crowd. They could not penetrate that compact mass, and they fell into confusion, being powerless either to make an impression, or to escape. The four troops of Hussars were called up, and a panic-struck magistrate gave the order to disperse the crowd. The trumpet sounded the charge. The Hussars swept the mingled mass of human beings before them. "People, yeomen, and constables, in their confused attempts to escape, ran one over the other, so that, by the time we had arrived at the end of the field, the fugitives were literally piled up to a considerable elevation above the level of the ground." "In ten minutes," says Bamford, the 'Radical,' "from the commencement of the havoc, the field was an open and almost deserted space. . . . . The hustings remained, with a few broken and hewed flag-staves erect, and a torn and gashed banner or two dropping; whilst over the whole field were strewed caps, bonnets, hats, shawls, and shoes, and other parts of male and female dress; trampled, torn, and bloody." The number of those killed on this unhappy day did not exceed six, of whom one was a special constable, and another one of the Manchester Yeomanry. About seventy persons were received in the Infirmary, suffering from sabre wounds, fractures, or contusions. Many more are supposed to have returned to their homes without proclaiming their injuries. In the evening the people assembled in great numbers at the end of Oldham-street, using menacing language. Some troops who were stationed there as a night piquet, were assaulted with stones as the darkness came on. A magistrate having read the Riot Act, about thirty shots were fired, wounding three or four persons. Hunt, and eight or ten of his companions, having been seized upon the hustings, were brought before the magistrates upon a charge of high treason. The government having abandoned that charge, they were held to bail, or detained for the want of bail, to be tried for a misdemeanour, upon the

* Sir W. Jolliffe's account.

charge of having conspired to alter the law by force and threats. They were tried at York on the 10th of March, 1820, and nine following days. Hunt, Bamford, and three others, were found guilty, and being brought up for judgment in the Court of King's Bench, were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. The Manchester affray produced a very widely spread feeling of indignation, both against magistrates and military, in every part of the kingdom. The government alarmists of that period were in a condition of almost helpless terror. "The country," said the Chancellor, "must make new laws to meet this state of things, or we must make a shocking choice between military government and anarchy." Parliament was called together, with the very unwilling assent of lord Liverpool, to make these new laws, which were known as the Six Acts. They were Acts to prevent delay in the administration of justice in cases of misdemeanour; to prevent the training of persons in the practice of military evolutions; to authorize justices of the peace to seize and detain arms, private houses being searched for that purpose; to more effectually prevent seditious meetings and assemblies, by forbidding public meetings to be held without the licence of magistrates; to prevent and punish blasphemous and seditious libel,—transportation being the punishment decreed on a second conviction for libel; and to subject certain publications to the duties of stamps upon newspapers. These measures were eventually passed, although resisted at every stage. Lord Campbell describes "the unconstitutional Code called the Six Acts," as "the latest violation of our free Constitution."

On the 29th of December the Houses adjourned to the 15th of February. 1820. They were called together at an earlier period by an event, not unexpected at any time during the last year or two. On the evening of the 29th of January, George the Third died at Windsor Castle, in his eighty-second year, having been for nine years secluded from the world, a sufferer under the most fearful of human infirmities. Six days before the death of the king, his fourth son, the duke of Kent, expired at Weymouth, after a feverish illness of three days. His infant daughter was then eight months old, having been born on the 24th of May, 1819. Neither of the three elder sons of George the Third had any child to succeed. It seemed probable that Alexandrina Victoria might wear the crown; and on this probability those who knew the admirable qualities of the duchess of Kent, felt hopeful and confident that the nurture of the royal child would fit her for her high destiny.

CHAPTER LXI.

THE great outburst of the French Revolution has always been associated with the Literature which preceded it. This Literature took the form of a fanatical and intolerant irreligion. English Literature, reflecting the general public opinion, received but a very feeble infusion of the destructive force that had rent the French people and the French Church and State asunder. Yet it was manifestly affected by this upheaving of the whole crust of society. A new power and a wider truth were especially marked in the highest expression of ideas, that of Poetry. The precursor of the poetical school that sprang up amidst the excitement of the French Revolution was William Cowper, in whose manifestation of the power of earnestness and simplicity, the conventionalities of most of the poets who had preceded him were to be cast aside and forgotten. From the first publication in 1786 of a volume of Poems, chiefly in the Scottish dialect, by Robert Burns, Scotland felt that a great spirit had arisen to shed a new lustre on the popular language and literature. What Burns produced under all the disadvantages of imperfect education, of continuous labour, of uncongenial employment, of corrupting society, made him emphatically the national poet of Scotland in the twelve years which were allotted to his life after his first publication. In their early career, Rogers and Crabbe belonged to the generation of Cowper and Burns; in their latter period they belonged to the same age as Byron and Moore.

A little before the beginning of the convulsions of France, and during the first year or two of the war, a school of poetry called Della Cruscan, originated with an English coterie at Florence. William Gifford says "the epidemic malady was spreading from fool to fool;" and "from one end of the kingdom to another all was nonsense and Della Crusca." Gifford, in destroying this tribe by his ridicule, did something to make room for another school,—for Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey. The Lake School, so called, which this illustrious trio founded, has survived, and will survive, the doubts and scoffs of their contemporaries. With "The Lay of the Last Minstrel," published in 1805, and "Marmion," published in 1808, commenced the new era of narrative poetry, which has almost wholly superseded the merely didactic and descriptive orders of verse. The popularity of Walter Scott as a narrative poet was equalled, if not exceeded, by that of lord Byron, when he reluctantly turned from satire to write verse romances. Whilst Byron was in the full blaze of his reputation, and Wordsworth was slowly establishing an enduring influence upon the popular mind, two young poets appeared,—Shelley and Keats, whose inspiration was fitted to attract fervent votaries, but only amongst a comparatively small class—those "of imagination all compact." The narrative character was now adopted by writers whose earlier productions were more in conformity with the tastes of a generation passing away. Campbell, Rogers, Leigh Hunt, Moore, Crabbe, took their places amongst the narrative poets at this period. The poetical tendencies of the age

were not dramatic. The poets who wrote plays did not conceive them in the spirit of plays to be acted. No original tragedy was produced, even when the theatres possessed such actors as Mrs. Siddons and John Kemble, or Miss O'Neil and Edmund Kean.

The Novel, at the beginning of the century, was beginning to assert its legitimate claims to be the reflector of manners as well as "the mender of hearts." The age of epics was past; but the charms of poetical or prose narrative were to impart higher pleasures than those of luxurious indulgence to a new race of readers. The series of novels, of which "Waverley" was the first, surprised the world into a new source of delight. The success of the Waverley novels made the greater portion of the literature of the Circulating Library a drug in the market. The Inchbalds, and Burneys, and Radcliffes held their places for a little while. The six novels of Jane Austen, who arose amidst this revolution, will never be swept away with the rubbish of her "Minerva Press" compeers.

The rapid development of a nobler order of popular literature is in some degree to be ascribed to the influence of a higher school of criticism. "The Edinburgh Review" of Francis Jeffrey stimulated a healthful spirit of inquiry, and altogether contributed largely to raise the standard of public intelligence. The "Quarterly Review" came in 1809 to supply what was deemed a necessary antidote to the political opinions of the "Edinburgh." Its editor, William Gifford, could marshal Canning, and Southey, and Scott, and Croker, in the rival ranks against Brougham, and Sydney Smith, and Francis Horner, and Mackintosh. Following in the wake of the great reviews, there came, in due course, a higher order of Magazines. Out of the new race of monthly Miscellanies issued other prose writers who made their mark upon their own time, and will long continue to have a niche in fame's temple. Amongst the foremost are Charles Lamb, William Hazlitt, Leigh Hunt, Thomas de Quincey. The "Essays" of John Foster, a Baptist minister, which first appeared in 1805, constituted one of the most treasured volumes of this period, and will not readily be neglected even in an age which seeks the excitement of less natural writing.

Four or five years before the French Revolution there were seventy-nine newspapers published in Great Britain and Ireland. Flourishing with morning papers and evening papers, there were papers of thrice a week and twice a week. During the war newspapers became valuable properties. In 1788 the name of "The Daily Universal Register" was changed to "The Times." The first sheet of paper printed by cylinders and by steam, was the "Times" newspaper of the 28th of November, 1814. The maker of that Printing Machine was Mr. Koenig, a native of Saxony. Without this invention the most popular daily paper could only produce, with the most intense exertion, five thousand copies for the demand between sunrise and sunset. Sixty thousand copies of a London morning paper can now be distributed through the country in two or three hours after the first sheet has been rolled.

Jeffrey attributes the demand at this period for more profound speculation and more serious emotion than were dealt in by the writers of the former century, partly to "the rise or revival of a more evangelical spirit

in the body of the people." The "more evangelical spirit"—which many good and earnest men condemned as sectarian—had penetrated into the Church. The orthodox Divinity of this period was distinguished for its scholarship and speculative ability rather than for any spiritual gifts. Of those who maintained the intellectual reputation of the English Church, Paley was the foremost. Of pulpit orators, England could claim no one supreme. Scotland had Chalmers, unrivalled both as a preacher and a writer, and another writer of Sermons, Hugh Blair, whose popularity for a while was far greater than that of any modern divine of the Church of England.

The school of Political Economists that succeeded Adam Smith—Malthus, James Mill, and Ricardo—had important influences on the political action of their time. So also had the great philosophical jurist, Jeremy Bentham. Of a different school was Dr. Thomas Chalmers, who advocated the belief that the wants of the poor might be provided for without the machinery of the English poor-laws.

In the field of Scientific Discovery, sir William Herschel was still pursuing his observations at the age of eighty, when the first encourager of his astronomical pursuits, George III., died. It has been said of him, that "no one individual ever added so much to the facts on which our knowledge of the solar system is founded." The discoveries in Chemistry, and their applications to the Arts, in the earlier portion of the reign of George III. were principally derived from the experiments of Black, Cavendish, and Priestley. To these philosophers at the beginning of the present century, succeeded the most original of inquirers and the most popular of teachers, Sir Humphry Davy. Dalton in 1808 produced his Atomic Theory. Wollaston followed Dalton in a course of similar research, and in other walks made his experiments the bases of large additions to the Industrial Arts. But first of all those who by Science diminished the amount of domestic sorrow, and enlarged the average term of human life, was Edward Jenner, the physician who for half a century had been striving in vain to make the medical world feel confidence in his discovery of Vaccination. With the striking exception of Mungo Park, no remarkable traveller had gone forth from England to enlarge the bounds of geographical discovery during the period of the war. Henry Martyn, Claudius Buchanan, and other zealous men were then missionaries in India, and prepared the way for the noble labours of the second bishop of Calcutta, Reginald Heber.

About the first decade of the nineteenth century, there was a real beginning in Great Britain of that mode of navigation which was destined to change the whole system of water communication. Henry Bell had his steam passage-boat running on the Clyde in 1811. In a few years steamboats were plying on the Thames, and in 1816 they ventured as far as Margate.

In Architecture the style of imitative Greek art culminated during the Regency and then collapsed. James Wyatt, however, one of the most conspicuous of the professors of Greek architecture at this period, secured a large measure of his celebrity by the practice of Gothic. Samuel Wyatt, a brother of James, had also a considerable reputation, and his works are not wholly devoid of invention. Sir John Soane has to serve as the

representative of the highest order of architectural ability of this period. Soane's chief building is the Bank of England, which was greatly enlarged and entirely remodelled by him. At the time of its erection it was commonly regarded as a masterpiece. It is now as commonly condemned. A sort of scenic ingenuity is the highest merit the work of Soane possesses. Holland, the first to employ the true Ionic order, enjoyed a large reputation in his day, but little is left of his more important buildings. Sir Robert Smirke was the first to erect a Doric portico in the metropolis. It satisfied classical connoisseurs, and the architect at a bound became famous. Another of the travelled architects of the classic Greek epoch was Wilkins, who died professor of architecture to the Royal Academy in 1839. Wilkins also attempted Gothic. Nash, one of the most conspicuous of the architects of the latter portion of this period, commenced his career as a builder as well as an architect. He was a poor architect, but he has given us the finest street we yet have in London,—Regent Street; and one of the pleasantest parks,—the Regent's Park. Scarce any churches were erected during the period before us. There were indeed several of the "proprietary chapels," then the popular class of new churches, but they were usually plain brick buildings of the cheapest description. Towards the end of the period there came about a change. In March, 1818, Parliament voted a million for the erection of new churches; and a Commission was appointed to direct the expenditure of the money. The result of the labours of the Commission soon became evident. One class of structures, bridges, about this time passed definitively out of the hands of the architect into those of the civil engineer. The transfer may indeed be said to have originated with Thomas Telford, who was a bridge-builder, if he would not be called an architect, before he became an engineer. Telford was employed upon engineering works of enormous extent, in the course of which he had to erect many hundred bridges, and he employed iron or stone indifferently according to the nature of the locality, and the greater economy or fitness of either material in each particular case. James Rennie, the elder, settled in London as an engineer about 1782. His magnificent engineering works are proofs of the amazing growth of the country in wealth and commerce, and of the great increase of engineering skill.

In Sculpture the leading artists were Flaxman, Banks, Bacon, and Nollekens, all of whom have been spoken of in a previous chapter, and Chantrey and Westmacott, who belong more particularly to a later period. The taste in sculpture of both artists and the public was no doubt much influenced by the purchase and exhibition of three important collections of ancient marbles,—the Townley, Phigaleian, and Elgin Marbles. A national collection of sculpture was thus commenced as early as 1805; but it was not till 1824, that a national gallery of painting was founded. In 1805, a small body of noblemen and gentlemen who felt an interest in art, succeeded in establishing the British Institution, the primary object of which was declared to be "to encourage the talents of the artists of the United Kingdom;" and with this view the Shakspeare Gallery, built by alderman Boydell, was purchased and appropriated to exhibition and sale of the productions of British artists, and the

exhibition of pictures by the old masters. The directors at the same time sought to encourage living artists, by offering annual premiums for pictures of a high character, and by occasionally purchasing their pictures. Among the painters to whom premiums were awarded were Hilton, Haydon, Alston, Bird, Linnell, Martin. The interest in art no doubt also received a considerable impulse from the opening to the public in 1812 of the collection of paintings, chiefly of the Dutch and Flemish schools, bequeathed to Dulwich College by sir Francis Bourgeois. From 1792, when Reynolds died, West, as president of the Royal Academy, was nominally at the head of the British school of painting. His friendly rival was John Singleton Copley. Fuseli, too, painted, lectured, and taught, but it may be doubted whether his spasmodic compositions ever were in any degree popular. Stothard was delighting a narrow circle with his elegant but rather feeble paintings, and spending his real strength in making vignettes of almost matchless grace for engraving. In portraiture, from the early part of the nineteenth century to his death in 1830, Lawrence was regarded as the undisputed successor to Reynolds. Northcote, Opie, Hoppner, Beechey, and Jackson, were portrait painters of considerable ability, and followers more or less of Reynolds. In a certain broad and vigorous delineation of a male head, Lawrence was surpassed by Raeburn, at this time the principal portrait painter in Scotland. Of a wholly different stamp to Raeburn, was the elegant Harlow, who might in time perhaps have rivalled his master, Lawrence, but who died in opening manhood. At this period a great change was made in the painting of scenes of domestic life by David Wilkie, who was the first to paint with thorough artistic skill, and a gentle genial humour and quiet appreciation of character, the pleasant side of the everyday life of the peasant and the yeoman. From the outset Wilkie achieved an almost unbounded popularity. Far greater and probably more permanent was the influence on English art of the genius of Turner, than that of either of the painters we have yet noticed. Turner commenced his career by making coloured drawings, in which he aimed at little more than correct topographical representation. Long after he began to paint in oil he continued to study and imitate the manner of his predecessors. But year after year he showed more and more self-reliance and originality; an ever increasing knowledge of the capabilities of landscape art, and extended acquaintance with the phenomena of nature. From almost the very outset of his artistic career, his superiority was admitted both by his professional brethren and such of the public as then took an interest in art. Collectors bought his pictures at constantly increasing prices, and engravers and publishers eagerly outbid each other for his drawings. During the later years of this period, there were several other admirable landscape painters:—Callcott, Constable, Nasmyth, Hofland, and Collins. Animal painting had in George Morland, at the early part of this period, a representative of great ability. He was succeeded by James Ward, a clever painter, but superseded while still young, by a yet younger rival, Edwin Landseer, who very early attained celebrity.

In the catalogues of the earliest exhibitions of the Royal Academy we find entries of "stained drawings." These belong to the first crude stage

of the art. Turner and his friend and fellow-student, Thomas Girtin, originated an improved method of water-colour painting. Turner early turned aside to oil-painting, but many able artists devoted themselves wholly to the rising art, and brought it to the perfection which it ultimately reached. Among these may be mentioned Prout, and David Cox. So rapidly did the new art become popular that, in 1805, its professors formed themselves into a Society of Painters in Water Colours.

The great extension of a taste for art was in no way more clearly shown than in the increased demand for engravings and for illustrated publications. This demand had an inevitable tendency to stimulate their more rapid and cheaper production. The consequent employment of mechanical appliances, and of the system of journey-work, undoubtedly interfered with the development of the highest individual excellence. At the head of the line engravers, at the commencement of this period, was William Sharp. Other line engravers of ability, his contemporaries and successors, were Fittler, Sherwin, Warren, John Landseer the father of the painter, James and Charles Heath, Raimbach, and John Burnet. The landscape engravers in line were very numerous, and the later ones especially brilliant executants. Among them were Middiman, Byrne, Cooke, John Pye, the Findens, and others. In mezzotinto engraving, landscape was most successfully cultivated during this period, as portraiture had been in the preceding. Earlom, Lupton, Charles Turner, and S. Reynolds, were eminent in this branch of art. Aquatinta, now almost a lost art, was at this time successfully practised by F. C. Lewis, Daniell, and others. From this period wood-engraving dates its revival, almost entirely to be ascribed to the rare application and ability of Thomas Bewick. Lithography was invented by Alois Senfelder, towards the end of the eighteenth century. It was introduced into England in 1801, by M. P. H. André, but a really good lithograph can hardly be said to have been produced in London as early as 1820.

When the Parliament which had been called together by the death of George the Third was prorogued on the 28th of February, 1820, with a view to its immediate dissolution, the Speech of the Royal Commissioners alluded to "the flagrant and sanguinary conspiracy which has lately been detected." The proceedings of a knot of sanguinary madmen had for some time been well known at the Home Office. Arthur Thistlewood, the leader of the gang, was one of the persons engaged in the Spafields riot; and, in company with Dr. Watson, was tried for high treason. Upon his acquittal he sent a challenge to lord Sidmouth, for which folly he was convicted of a misdemeanour and underwent a year's imprisonment. This term of confinement expired about the period of the affray at Manchester. Upon his trial he declared that his indignation at this occurrence prompted him to take his resolution of murderous vengeance. He adds, "In this mood I met with George Edwards," the principal informant against him, whom he terms "the contriver, the instigator, the entrapper." On the 23rd of February, lord Harrowby, the President of the Council, was to have had a Cabinet dinner at his house in Grosvenor-square, to which, as is usual, none but members of the Cabinet were invited. One of the conspirators, Wilson,

asked a cow-keeper, named Hidon, to come forward and be one of a party to destroy his Majesty's ministers, when they were assembled at dinner, by hand grenades thrown under the table, and by the sword if any escaped the explosion. Hidon revealed the plot to lord Harrowby. The plans of Thistlewood had been also communicated to an Irishman named Dwyer, who revealed at the Home Office what he had heard. The evidence of Hidon and Dwyer sufficiently agreed to make the Cabinet determine not to dine at lord Harrowby's house, but that the preparations for dinner should go on as if no alarm had disarranged them. At seven o'clock, the appointed dinner hour, Mr. Birnie, the police magistrate, with a strong party of police-officers, proceeded to Cato-street, where a loft had been engaged by the parties to the plot. A detachment of the foot-guards had been ordered to turn out for the purpose of accompanying the police, but through some mistake the civil officers had to enter the loft to execute their warrant without the military support. Twenty-four of the conspirators were assembled. Four of the police-officers were stabbed or shot. The lights were put out, and in the confusion, Thistlewood, with about fourteen, escaped. The leader, however, was arrested the next morning, the government having offered a reward of a thousand pounds for his apprehension. When the soldiers arrived they captured nine of the party, with arms and ammunition. Thistlewood and four of his principal accomplices were tried for high treason in April, and were executed on the 1st of May.

On the 13th of February, lord Sidmouth wrote to earl Talbot, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, "The Government is in a very strange and I must acknowledge in a precarious state." The king had for his confidential private adviser Vice-Chancellor Leach, who, in 1813, had arranged the Milan Commission, for the purpose of making inquiries into the conduct of the Princess of Wales. Six months before the death of George III., the Cabinet had a full sense of the difficulty and danger that would arise if Caroline of Brunswick should return to England as Queen Consort. But they steadily refused to meet the difficulty by acceding to the Prince Regent's passionate desire for a divorce. On the 10th of February they communicated to the king their opinion, that the notoriety of what had been and still were the situation and conduct of the Princess of Wales upon the Continent, would induce Parliament to give a ready consent to any measure calculated to prevent the return of the princess to England, and at the same time to avoid discussions and disclosures offensive to public decency, and likely to disturb the peace of the country. They proposed, therefore, a Bill to make provision for the queen by an annuity, payable only during her continued residence abroad. They thought that the king would be fully justified in withholding those distinctions which it was in the option of his Majesty to confer upon her,—to be named in the Liturgy, and to be crowned. On the 17th the king yielded to the unanimous opinion of his ministers. On the 21st there was a short debate in the House of Commons on the subject of queen Caroline. Mr. Hume, the member for the Montrose burghs, having pressed to know whether any distinct provision was to be made for the queen. He complained, also, that the queen was slighted, and asked why her name was not inserted in the Liturgy.

The king opened the session of the new parliament in person on the 27th of April, and had a brief popularity in declaring that he left entirely at the disposal of Parliament his interest in the hereditary revenues, and that he had no wish that any addition whatever should be made to the settlement adopted by Parliament in 1816. In the last days of May, while preparations were making for the king's coronation, in which it appears to have been understood as a matter of course that the queen was not to appear, the people in public places were betting on the chances of the queen's arrival. On the 1st of June she was at St. Omers, having rapidly travelled thither, accompanied by alderman Wood. She had previously despatched a courier with letters to London, demanding that a yacht should be sent to convey her to England, and that a palace should be provided for her reception. The Cabinet authorized lord Hutchinson immediately to proceed to St. Omers to make the proposal of an annuity according to the arrangement of February. The proposition was rejected by the queen under the advice of her attorney-general, Mr. Brougham, who accompanied lord Hutchinson. Her Majesty, with her civic councillor, hurried off to Calais, was quickly on board a packet, landed at Dover amidst the shouts of the populace, and entering London on the evening of the 6th surrounded by huzzaing thousands, took up her abode at the house of alderman Wood in South Audley Street. On that same evening a message from the king was presented to both Houses, accompanied by certain papers respecting the conduct of her Majesty since she left this country. In the House of Lords, after some discussion, it was agreed that the papers should be referred to a Secret Committee. In the House of Commons, Mr. Brougham, in the queen's name protested against the formation of a Secret Committee to examine documents probably prepared by her adversaries. Mr. Brougham commented in the most unqualified terms upon the proposition made to the queen, which was nothing more nor less than to ask her to say, "Give me fifty thousand a year, and I will plead guilty."

On Wednesday, the 7th of June, the House of Commons gave its cordial assent to a motion made by Mr. Wilberforce, that the debate should be adjourned to the following Friday. The proceedings of the House of Lords were also suspended. After some preliminary negotiation it was agreed that the duke of Wellington and lord Castlereagh on the part of the king, and Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman on the part of the queen, should meet to frame an arrangement for settling the necessary particulars of her Majesty's future situation, upon the condition of her residence abroad. This attempt to avert a public proceeding failed through the want of concession on either side upon the point of the insertion of the queen's name in the Liturgy. The concessions made by the king's servants on other points were very great. On the 19th of June this negotiation was announced to Parliament as having failed. Again Mr. Wilberforce attempted to put an end to this unfortunate conflict, by moving a resolution on the 22nd of June, in which the House declared its opinion that forbearance on the queen's part would by no means be understood to indicate any wish to shrink from inquiry. The motion was agreed to by a very large majority. Mr. Wilberforce, as a part of a deputation of members, waited the next morning upon the queen with this resolution. He and his companions were saluted by the groans

of the populace. The answer of the queen rejected the proposed mediation. There was now an end of all attempts at compromise. Mr. Canning, not desiring to take part in any criminatory proceedings towards the queen, went abroad, and on the 12th of December he resigned his office of Secretary of the Board of Control. Upon the death of the queen, the king stoutly resisted the re-admission of Mr. Canning to the Cabinet.

The House of Commons adjourned on the 26th, that the initiatory proceedings upon the Green Bag might take place in the Upper House. On the 4th of July the Secret Committee of the Lords made its Report, declaring, that the evidence affecting the honour of the queen was such as to require a solemn inquiry, which might be best effected in the course of a legislative proceeding. Lord Liverpool then proposed a Bill of Pains and Penalties, which had for its object to deprive her Majesty of the title and rights of Queen Consort, and to dissolve her marriage with the king. The second reading of the Bill was fixed for the 17th of August, and on that day commenced what is popularly known as The Queen's Trial. On the 3rd of August the queen had taken up her residence at Brandenburgh House at Hammersmith. For four months from that day there never was a cessation of processions marching to Hammersmith, led by the radical Sheriff of Middlesex in his state carriage, or by enthusiastic committeemen with white wands.

If the scenes that were passing in the streets were extraordinary, certainly the appearance presented by the House of Lords, on any one of the days of this trial, was no less remarkable. Galleries had been erected on each side of the House for the accommodation of the unusual number of peers who were expected to attend. A chair of state was placed for the queen a little beyond the bar, fronting the throne and the woolsack. The places for her counsel were immediately behind her, On the 21st of August the queen had taken her seat when Teodora Majocchi was called in. The queen turned suddenly round, uttered a loud exclamation, and rushed out of the House. This man had been one of her domestic servants. The examination of witnesses for the Bill proceeded till the 6th of September. The Solicitor-General summed up on the 7th, and on the 9th, upon an application from the queen's counsel, an adjournment took place till the 3rd of October. The examinations and cross-examinations of the witnesses for the Bill, gross and revolting as were many of the details, were signal exhibitions of legal acuteness. On the 3rd of October, Mr. Brougham entered on the queen's defence. His speech on that day and the following may be cited amongst the greatest examples of forensic eloquence. From the 4th to the 24th of October, the examination of witnesses on behalf of the queen was continued. Mr. Denman then summed up the evidence in an address, which lasted two days. His denunciations were so unmeasured, that some noble lords complained of the extraordinary licence used by the queen's counsel, who did not even spare one of the brothers of the king, nor, by implication, the king himself. The impression of the character of the queen, produced upon all impartial persons by the publication of the evidence, was pretty much the same as that expressed by Sydney Smith after the proceedings had closed:—"The style of manners she has adopted does not exactly tally

with that of holy women in the days that are gone, but let us be charitable and hope for the best."

The peers, on the 2nd of November, came to the question of the second reading of the Bill of Pains and Penalties. The question was debated for five nights; when the motion for the second reading of the Bill was carried by 123 against 95. The majority was smaller than the Government had expected. But the majority was still more reduced when the divorce clause came under consideration. Some peers were willing to pass the Bill if this clause were removed. The Opposition saw clearly that the way to defeat the Bill was to press for retaining the divorce clause; and that it should be retained was carried by a majority of 129 to 62. On the 10th of November, on the motion that the Bill be read a third time, the majority was only nine—108 to 99. Lord Liverpool then moved, "That the further consideration of the Bill be adjourned to this day six months." Those who looked carefully into the matter did not think with the excited multitude that this result was an acquittal of the queen; but all rejoiced at the termination of these painful proceedings.

On the 23rd of November, Parliament was prorogued. On the 29th the queen went in procession to St. Paul's, to return thanks for her deliverance from a great peril and affliction. In the next session of Parliament there were violent discussions on her Majesty's affairs, particularly on her continued exclusion from the Liturgy. An annuity of fifty thousand pounds was provided for her by Act of Parliament. Her popularity gradually declined, and in April, 1821, it was written—"The Queen is gone by as a topic of inflammation; and her taking quietly the fifty thousand pounds a year, after her protest and declaration that she would not till her right was acknowledged, was a *coup de grace* to her."* The Coronation took place on the 19th of July. The Privy Council, on the 10th of July, had decided against a claim of the queen's right to be crowned at the same time as the king. The next day she wrote to lord Sidmouth to declare her intention to be present at the ceremony. Between six and seven o'clock in the morning, she presented herself at every entrance to the Abbey, and at each was denied admission. The same refusal attended her demand to enter Westminster Hall. A few of the populace huzzaed, and a few hissed, but the prevailing sentiment was indifference. At the beginning of August the queen was attacked with internal inflammation, and she died on the night of the 7th. Her remains were to be conveyed to Brunswick for interment. The mourning cavalcade was to avoid the crowded streets; but a mob determined to force it through the city. The Life Guards were rudely assaulted by the populace, of whom two were shot. From this time there was an end of all excitement about the queen.

On the 5th of May, 1821, died Napoleon Bonaparte. The death of him who had so long filled the world with the terror of his name, produced no great sensation in England or in Europe. There had been strong differences of opinion expressed in parliament as to the character of the measures which had been adopted to render his detention secure. But at the period

* Wilbraham to Lord Colchester, in the "Diary of Lord Colchester."

of his death there was a larger question presenting itself to the minds of thoughtful men than that which arose out of the contests between the captive of St. Helena and the keeper who was set over him. The sovereigns of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, had assembled at Laybach, and they addressed a circular despatch of a most despotic tendency to their ministers at foreign courts. The two great monarchs of Germany had denied to their own subjects the representative government which they had promised. They were now engaged, with the support of the autocrat of Russia, in putting down by military force the insurrections in Naples and Piedmont which had given these portions of Italy constitutions in which the popular voice might have expression. Spain had again obtained her Cortes, and had shaken off for awhile the tyranny of Ferdinand the Seventh. The old irresponsible principles of legitimacy were to be re-established by the three monarchs who were united in "The Holy Alliance." On the 19th of January, 1821, lord Castlereagh delivered a note to the Holy Allies, expressing in courteous terms, the dissent of the English Government from the measures proposed by them.

In January, 1822, the Grenvilles joined the ministry. Lord Grenville had retired from private life, but his party was represented in the Cabinet by Mr. Charles Williams Wynn, who filled the office which Mr. Canning had resigned at the end of 1820. A more important accession to the ministry was the substitution of Mr. Peel for lord Sidmouth, as Secretary of State for the Home Department. By the coalition with the Grenvilles there was an accession of official support to Catholic Emancipation. But this was neutralised by the appointment of Mr. Peel, who was opposed to that measure. Some hope for Ireland was derived from the nomination of the marquess Wellesley as Lord-Lieutenant, in the place of earl Talbot. In the King's Speech at the opening of Parliament on the 5th of February, his Majesty mentioned that in Ireland a spirit of outrage had led to daring and systematic violations of the law. It was also stated in the royal speech that the agricultural interest was deeply depressed. Wearisome debates ensued, in which the real remedies for Irish outrage and agricultural distress were kept out of view. A renewal of the Insurrection Act, and a suspension of the Habeas Corpus, were determined on, for tranquillizing Ireland. The relief of agriculture was to be effected by a loan to parishes for the mitigation of local distress, and by the repeal of the Malt-Tax. The great measure of Catholic Relief, which was carried in the House of Commons in 1821, but was rejected by the Lords, was on the 30th of April in the present session proposed by Mr. Canning in a modified form. The motion was carried in the House of Commons, but was rejected in the Lords.

On the 10th of August the king had embarked at Greenwich for the purpose of visiting Scotland, as he had visited Ireland in the previous year. On the 12th of August, lord Londonderry (Castlereagh) died by his own hand in a fit of temporary insanity. He was about to depart for a Congress at Vienna, when he thus miserably died. Mr. Canning was on his way to Liverpool for the purpose of taking leave of his constituents before he sailed for India as Governor-General. On the 11th of September the Foreign Office was offered to him by lord Liverpool, the king's objec-

tion to his appointment having been overcome through the influence of the duke of Wellington.

The duke of Wellington was the successor chosen to represent Great Britain at the Congress. His Grace set out on his mission on the 17th of September. The French government had assembled an army on the frontiers of Spain, under the pretence of establishing a *cordon sanitaire* to keep out a fever that was raging at Barcelona. It was acknowledged at the Congress that the real object was to enable Ferdinand the Seventh to put down the constitution under which his subjects were more content to live than under his absolute rule. Mr. Canning had written to the duke of Wellington, "If there be a determined project to interfere by force or by menace in the present struggle in Spain, . . I am to instruct your Grace at once frankly and peremptorily to declare, that to any such interference, come what may, his Majesty will not be a party." This declaration prevented any open support being given to the project by the other powers. In opening the Chambers at the end of January, 1823, Louis XVIII. announced that he had recalled his minister at Madrid, and that a hundred thousand Frenchmen, commanded by a prince of his family, were ready to march to preserve the throne of Spain to a descendant of Henry the Fourth. Mr. Canning wrote to our ambassador at the French court protesting against the principle involved in this announcement, but he declared in Parliament that the king's government would abide by a system of neutrality, except in the case of Portugal being attacked, or of Spain making any cession of her colonies, over which she had in fact lost all power.

The spectacle of the South American colonies was calculated to awaken the sympathies of every English statesman of large and liberal views. But it was imperatively necessary for the minister directing the foreign affairs of England to proceed with the utmost caution. The French armies marched to Madrid, which they occupied on the 24th of May. They overran Spain, they accomplished the release of Ferdinand, who had been detained at Cadiz; the Cortes were overturned. At the opening of the Session of Parliament on the 3rd of February, 1824, the Royal Speech announced that, with respect to the provinces of America which had declared their separation from Spain, "His majesty has appointed Consuls to reside at the principal ports and places of those provinces, for the protection of the trade of his subjects. As to any further measures, his Majesty has reserved to himself an unfettered discretion, to be exercised as the circumstances of those countries, and the interests of his own people, may appear to his Majesty to require." At the end of November, 1824, lord Sidmouth withdrew from the Cabinet, upon the ground of his inability to reconcile his opinions to that of so many of his colleagues, who advocated the immediate recognition by his Majesty of the independence of Buenos Ayres. On the 27th of January, 1825, the king, acting undoubtedly under foreign influence, addressed a long letter to lord Liverpool, for the purpose of its being laid before the Cabinet. His Majesty complained of "the Liberalism of late adopted" by his government, and desired distinctly to know whether the great principles of policy established by his government in 1814, 1815, and 1818, were, or were not, to be abandoned. Lord Liverpool, in his

answer, stated that an entire agreement now subsisted between his Majesty's servants on the subject of Spanish America, and gave it as "their unanimous opinion, that the measures in progress respecting Spanish America are in no way inconsistent with any engagement between your majesty and your allies; that those measures are now irrevocable; and that the faith and honour of the country are pledged to all their necessary consequences." The king yielded with a tolerable grace. The recognition of the South American Republics was confirmed by theking's Speech on opening the Session of Parliament on the 3rd of February, 1825. The form of recognition consisted in concluding treaties of amity and commerce with the new States of South America. By this recognition the general wish of the mercantile community was accomplished, as well as the paramount object of separating the policy of England from any subservience to the absolutism of the Continent. It was accomplished without war. But when, a year later, the adoption by Portugal of a constitutional government was an offence to the Spanish despot, and he sent an army into Portugal to make the one rule of irresponsible power prevail throughout the Peninsula, Mr. Canning took the attitude of a great War Minister, and by that attitude prevented a war. On Tuesday, December 12th, 1826, Mr. Canning stated, in a most eloquent speech, the manner in which the Government had received the news of the Spanish aggression. It was only on the previous Friday night that precise information on the subject arrived. "On Saturday his majesty's confidential servants came to a decision. On Sunday that decision received the sanction of his majesty. On Monday it was communicated to both Houses of Parliament; and this day, sir, at the hour in which I have the honour of addressing you, the troops are on their march for embarkation." The British troops were in the Tagus in less than a fortnight after these words were spoken. Not a shot was fired. The Spanish troops retired from the Portuguese frontier. The British armament returned home.

As the foreign relations of this country had received a marked change during the four years since the accession of Mr. Canning to office, an equal change was wrought upon its commercial policy during the same period. In January, 1823, Mr. Huskisson became President of the Board of Trade. He was held to be a political adventurer, and it was not till 1825 that his great talents and vast financial and commercial knowledge gave him a seat in the Cabinet. Liverpool, in 1823, had not hesitated to accept him as its representative. In the Session of 1823 Mr. Huskisson developed a broader system of commercial policy than any previous Government had dared to propose, in opposition to the prejudices of generations. He carried through Parliament a measure known as the Reciprocity of Duties Bill, which struck a heavy blow at the old navigation laws. On the 5th of March, 1824, he attacked the prohibitory duties on the silk trade. In thus making the first advances towards that great system of Free Trade which has raised this country to a height of prosperity which could scarcely have been contemplated in his time, Mr. Huskisson had to endure an amount of opprobrium somewhat in excess of that which usually attaches to all reformers. Mr. Canning steadily upheld his friend, being of opinion that "they who resist indiscriminately all improvement

as innovation, may find themselves compelled at last to submit to innovations although they are not improvements."

Negro Slavery in the West Indies was the subject of animated debates in the House of Commons in 1823 and in 1824. A few of the first Abolitionists still remained. Younger men had joined their ranks, with the determination to banish slavery from our own colonies, and if possible, to unite all Christendom in a league against the hateful traffic. On the 15th of May, 1823, Mr. Thomas Fowell Buxton moved the gradual abolition of slavery throughout the British colonies. Mr. Canning met this resolution by proposing other resolutions, to the effect that decisive measures should be taken for ameliorating the condition of the Slave population of the British Colonies, in order to prepare them for a participation in civil rights and privileges. Mr. Canning's proposal was unanimously agreed to by the House. The West Indian interest at home was greatly alarmed. The resident proprietors were in a state of indignant terror when the Colonial Secretary issued a Circular which announced the determination of the British Government to regulate the conduct of the owner to his slave. In Demerara the negroes entertained a belief that orders had come from England for their complete emancipation, and on the 18th of August a rising took place amongst some of the slaves, who imprisoned their masters but shed no blood. On the 19th martial law was proclaimed, and under sentences of courts-martial forty-seven negroes were executed, and a great number were tortured by the most merciless flogging. Mr. John Smith, a missionary of the Independent persuasion, was tried upon a charge of having incited the negroes to revolt. He was convicted, and sentenced to death. The governor did not venture to execute the sentence, but left the decision to the British Cabinet, who rescinded the sentence, but decreed Mr. Smith's banishment from the colony. The missionary, who had been cast into a loathsome dungeon, in a weak state of health, died after some weeks of severe suffering. Mr. Brougham brought the whole case before the House of Commons, on the 1st of June, 1824. In this debate Mr. Wilberforce spoke for the last time in Parliament.

Of the six Bills for the repeal of Capital Punishments which sir James Mackintosh introduced in the Session of 1820, three eventually became laws. In 1822 he obtained a pledge from the House that it would proceed to a general consideration of the Criminal Laws in the next Session. On the 21st of May, 1823, he proposed nine resolutions, which went at once to do away with capital punishment in a number of offences to which they referred. Mr. Peel, who was now Secretary of State for the Home Department, objected to the extent of these proposed changes, but intimated his intention to propose measures which should embrace several of the improvements which sir James Mackintosh contemplated.

When the Session of Parliament was opened on the 3rd of January, 1825, the royal Speech declared "There never was a period in the history of this country when all the great interests of the nation were at the same time in such a thriving condition." There can be no doubt whatever that at this period the sanguine views of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which obtained for him the name of "Prosperity Robinson," were really justified by whatever was apparent in the material condition

of the country. In June of that year an article appeared in the "Quarterly Review" which, after going very carefully into the proofs of the general prosperity, says that the vast increase of wealth "may be fairly inferred from the low rate of interest in the floating public securities, from the prices of the funds, from the avidity with which every project for the employment of capital is grasped at, and from the general complaint, almost the only complaint heard, that there is now no way of making interest for money." As a cure for this complaint Joint Stock Companies suddenly rose up, some for provident schemes of home industry, but others holding forth the prospect of enormous wealth by working the mines of South America. The South American mining schemes required large remittances in money, and an equal expenditure in stores and machinery for the operations to be carried on. The new South American States asked and obtained considerable loans. Speculations in goods were carried forward to an extent, and with a temporary amount of profit, previously unknown. The rush of purchasers had for a while the effect of producing a general rise of prices. Very soon after Parliament had separated, cheered by the official announcement of public prosperity, a reaction commenced. The price of every article that had been the subject of this overtrading began to fall. More precipitous was the downward tendency of the loan and share market; for no dividends came from the South American loans; no remittances in the precious metals. The Bank of England, which had ten millions of bullion and coin in its coffers in April, had only one million three hundred thousand pounds in November to meet the rapid drain that was going forward. The directors, in their alarm, suddenly diminished their circulation to the extent of 3,500,000*l.* In the general want of confidence, the country bankers, who had assisted the speculative tendencies of their customers by an almost unlimited circulation of their notes, now saw these promises to pay return rapidly to their source. In London, large balances in the hands of the bankers were suddenly withdrawn. Bank after bank stopped payment. Before the close of the year seventy-three banks had failed, of which seven were metropolitan. During the three weeks of alarm and misery which preceded the Christmas of 1825, the Cabinet was daily deliberating upon measures to be pursued to stop the disorder and to mitigate its consequences. The Bank Directors came forward to lend money upon any description of property; and relaxed all their accustomed regulations for the discount of bills. Sovereigns were coined at the Mint at the unprecedented speed of 150,000 daily. At the Bank of England notes were printed with equal promptitude; for with the sanction of the Cabinet it was determined that one and two pound notes, which the Bank of England had called in, should again be issued for temporary purposes. A box containing about seven hundred thousand pounds of one pound notes, which had been put aside unused, was accidentally discovered at the Bank. The timely issue of these notes is said to have "saved the credit of the country."

The credit of the country was saved; but the destruction of private credit, the consequent ruin of many commercial firms, and the terrible struggle of others to keep their position, were widespread consequences of the panic of 1825. Towards the end of January, 1826, important mercan-

tile failures began to create alarm, and continued to a vast extent throughout the whole year. The total number of bankruptcies in 1825 was a little above eleven hundred; in 1826 the number was nearly two thousand six hundred. The destruction of capital and credit paralysed all the exertions of industry, and produced excessive distress amongst the manufacturing population. There were riotous proceedings and destruction of property in most places where the operatives were suffering distress. The complaints and violence of the manufacturing districts alarmed the Government, and at the beginning of May the release of the bonded wheat was proposed and carried, with a discretionary power to admit foreign grain to the extent of five hundred thousand quarters, in the event of the new harvest proving unfavourable. These concessions were not obtained without great difficulty.

When the Session of Parliament had been opened on the 2nd of February, 1826, lord Liverpool stated the measures by which Government proposed to place on a more firm foundation the currency and circulating credit of the country. One of those measures was a regulation by which one and two pound bank-notes should be gradually withdrawn from circulation, and a metallic currency substituted for them. The other measure had reference to the exclusive privileges of the Bank of England, which prevented the establishment of any banking concern with a greater number of partners than six. This proposal resulted in the great measure of 1826, sanctioning the establishment of Joint-Stock Banks; under which enactment a banking firm might include any number of partners except within sixty-five miles of London. This year was also the date of the establishment of Branch Banks of the Bank of England. Scotland was exempted from the prohibition of the small note currency. It is worthy of note, that during the panic not a single Scotch bank failed.

At the close of the Session on the 31st of May, the royal intention was announced "to dissolve without delay the present Parliament." This dissolution simply had regard to the convenience of the time for a general election. The leading question upon which men's minds would be most stirred throughout the kingdom, and especially in Ireland, would be that of Catholic Emancipation. Catholic Emancipation was what is called "an open question," upon "the principle of treating it as a question out of the ordinary course of ministerial business." Lord Liverpool, as the head of the government, was opposed to the Catholic claims, but his opposition was qualified by the moderation of his character. Lord Eldon's opposition was not thus qualified. Mr. Canning was as obnoxious to the Lord Chancellor, and the Anti-Catholic party in general, as Mr. Peel was popular with them. Upon the great "open question," the party of Mr. Canning in the Cabinet obtained in 1825 a majority in the House of Commons upon a Catholic Relief Bill. The Bill was rejected in the Lords by a majority of forty-eight. This result was, no doubt, influenced by a declaration which the duke of York made to the House of his own strong Anti-Catholic views. In the Session of 1826 the question of Catholic Emancipation was not agitated in Parliament.

On the 5th of January, 1827, the duke of York died. His funeral took place at Windsor on the night of the 20th. The night was bitterly cold

The Cabinet ministers were marshalled by the heralds in the nave of St. George's Chapel two hours before the arrival of the funeral procession. Mr. Canning caught a cold there which resulted in an illness from which he never really recovered.

On the 17th of February, lord Liverpool was seized with a fit of apoplexy. Under the circumstances of the premier's hopeless illness, the Catholic question was the chief barrier which opposed Canning's natural claim to be the head of the ministry. On the 5th of March sir Francis Burdett had moved that question. In the adjourned debate on the 6th, Mr. Secretary Peel and Mr. Secretary Canning were distinctly marshalled against each other; and each, without any direct personal allusions, sufficiently expressed his own views for the guidance of his followers. The king desired to reconcile these differences of opinion under a premiership which might allow the continuance of a system of compromise. He consulted the duke of Wellington, Mr. Peel, and Mr. Canning. These ministers had repeated conferences with each other, but no solution of the difficulty could be arrived at. Finally, on the 10th of April, his Majesty gave his commands to Mr. Canning to prepare, with as little delay as possible, a plan for the reconstruction of the administration. Six of Mr. Canning's late colleagues in the Cabinet resigned their offices before or on the 12th—the Lord Chancellor, the duke of Wellington, lord Westmoreland, lord Bathurst, lord Bexley, and Mr. Peel. Lord Bexley afterwards withdrew his resignation. Lord Melville retired from the office of First Lord of the Admiralty, and the duke of Clarence was appointed Lord-High-Admiral. The duke of Wellington, contrary to the desire of the king and his minister[1] subsequently resigned, in addition to his seat in the Cabinet, his office of Commander-in-Chief. When the Houses met, after the Easter recess, on the 1st of May, Mr. Canning had completed the formation of his ministry. The House of Commons on that night presented an unusual spectacle. Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Tierney sat immediately behind the minister. Mr. Brougham took his seat on the ministerial side; with other members who three weeks previously had sat on the benches of Opposition. In the House of Peers, lord Lyndhurst was on the woolsack. Three new peers took the oaths, viscount Goderich (late Mr. Robinson), lord Plunkett, and lord Tenterden. In the House of Commons, Mr. Canning, with his friend Huskisson by his side, was well able to hold his ground against "that species of orators called the yelpers," who were perpetually pestering the minister "to give some explanation of the circumstances which led to the dissolution of the late and the formation of the present administration." The opposition in the House of Peers was more serious. The impotent rage of the duke of Newcastle carried its own antidote. But Mr. Canning was deeply wounded at being attacked by lord Grey "with haughty and contemptuous violence."[*] Lord Holland stood up boldly to defend himself and his friends from the charge of having given an unworthy support to the minister thus assailed. The incessant exhibition of personal hostility to Mr. Canning rendered it impossible for the minister either to make a triumphant display of his oratorical power, or to carry through any measure

[*] Guizot—"Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel," p. 31.

of great public importance. He spoke for the last time on the 18th of June, on the subject of the Corn-trade. The Session was closed on the 2nd of July. On the 31st of July Mr. Canning was attacked with internal inflammation, which terminated in his death on the 8th of August. He was buried in Westminster Abbey on the 16th in the most private manner. But the universal display of sorrow told more than any funereal pomp that a great man had departed.

The settlement of a treaty between Great Britain, France, and Russia, on the subject of the affairs of Greece, was the latest, as it was amongst the most important, of the official acts of Mr. Canning. That treaty was signed on the 7th of July, 1827. The position of Greece since 1821 was such as to arouse the deepest sympathies of every Englishman who knew anything of her ancient story. The Greeks in that year, seizing the opportunity of a war between the sultan and Ali Pasha, rose in revolt. For six years a cruel and devastating war had gone on, in which the Greeks, at first successful, had more and more quailed before the greater force which the Porte was able at last to bring against them, by employing the disciplined troops of the pasha of Egypt. In September, 1826, the Divan having obstinately refused to enter into negotiations with those over whom they considered themselves the absolute masters, the British Government proposed to Russia that the Porte should be apprised that the result of this obstinacy would be the recognition of the independence of Greece. Upon the conclusion of the treaty of July, 1827, it was agreed to present a joint declaration to the Divan stating that as it was no longer possible to admit that the fate of Greece concerned exclusively the Ottoman Porte, the three contracting Powers offered their mediation between the Sublime Porte and the Greeks to put an end to the war, and to settle by amicable negotiation the relations which ought for the future to exist between them. If the Ottoman Porte returned no answer in a month, or if an evasive answer were given, the three Powers would themselves interfere to establish an armistice. In all the complicated negotiations for the pacification of Greece, Mr. Canning had been most anxious to avoid any course of action which would lead to direct hostilities, and especially to avert the possible danger of a policy of absolute neutrality on the part of Great Britain, which might have placed the Turkish empire at the feet of Russia.

CHAPTER LXII.

At the beginning of 1807 India was at peace. On the death of the marquess Cornwallis, the powers of the Governor-General were exercised by sir George Barlow, until he was recalled by the Grenville administration, in direct opposition to the Board of Directors. The debates in Parliament on this subject were continued and violent. The conflict was finally settled by the appointment of lord Minto. The tranquillity of lord Minto's government was after a while seriously disturbed by war with the Rajah of Travancore, which originated in a dispute between his Dewan

or chief minister, and the British resident. The Rajah's troops were beaten in the field during 1808, and the lines of Travancore being stormed at the beginning of 1809, and other forts captured, relations of amity between the Company and the Rajah were restored. A more serious danger arose out of a mutiny amongst the officers of the Madras army, who had long been stirred up to discontent on account of the various and contradictory regulations existing in the several Presidencies. Some of the insubordinate officers were suspended by an order of the 1st of May, and then open mutiny burst out at Hyderabad, Masulipatam, Seringapatam, and other places. On one occasion only was blood shed in this extraordinary revolt. The misguided men gradually returned to habits of obedience. In September lord Minto published an amnesty, with the exception of eighteen officers, nearly all of whom chose to resign rather than to abide the judgment of a court-martial. During this alarming period the king's troops had manifested the most entire obedience to the orders of the Governor-General.

During the administration of lord Minto a number of successful operations were undertaken in the Eastern Archipelago, which, in 1810, gave us possession of Amboyna and the Banda isles, of the island of Bourbon, and of the Mauritius. The most important of these conquests was the rich island of Java, which, after a severe battle with the Dutch troops near the capital, capitulated in 1810. Java passed out of our hands at the peace. The usual term of a Governor-General's residence being completed, lord Minto resigned in 1813, and proceeded to England. In March, 1813, the House of Commons resolved itself into a Committee to consider the affairs of the East India Company. The debates in both Houses on the Resolutions proposed occupied four months of the session. A Bill was finally passed by which the trade to India was thrown open, on certain conditions; the territorial and commercial branches of the Company's affairs were separated, and the king was empowered to create a bishop of India, and three archdeacons, to be paid by the Company.

Lord Minto was succeeded as Governor-General by the earl of Moira, afterwards marquess of Hastings, who took possession of the government on the 4th of October, 1813. The Gorkhas,—so called from that portion of Nepaul which surrounded Gorkha, the capital,—at this period were subjecting all the smaller states to their dominion, and were able to maintain an army of twelve thousand disciplined men, who were clothed and accoutred like the British sepóys. In 1814 they exhibited their ill-will against the Company's troops by attacking two police-stations in the districts of Goruckpoor and Sarun, and by massacreing all the troops in the garrisons there. The first operations of the British troops were unsuccessful; but in 1815 Sir David Ochterlony was enabled to dislodge the Gorkhas from their hill-forts, and to compel their commander, Ameer Singh, to capitulate. A treaty of peace was ratified, and the war concluded at the beginning of 1816. Some portions of territory were ceded to the Company; but for the most part the chiefs who had been expelled by the conquering Gorkhas were restored to their ancient possessions.

The Governor-General, at the conclusion of the peace with Nepaul, applied to the authorities at home for permission to carry on the war with

the Pindarees upon a great scale. The province of Malwa was the chief seat of this body of freebooters, who lived in separate societies of one or two hundred, governed each by its chief, but were always ready to combine under one supreme chief for the purposes of their marauding expeditions. They seized the opportunity of our troops being engaged in the Nepaulese war, not only to plunder and devastate the territories of our allies, but within the Company's frontiers to plunder more than three hundred villages and to put to death or torture more than four thousand individuals. The Governor-General had obtained certain information that the Pindarees were secretly supported by a confederacy of Mahratta potentates. At the end of September, 1817, orders were issued for a simultaneous movement of the army of Bengal under the command of the Governor-General, of the army of the Deccan under the command of sir Thomas Hislop, and of various corps from different stations, each marching to points from which the Pindarees could be surrounded, and at the same time their Mahratta and other supporters prevented from uniting their forces. The war was terminated in the spring of 1818, with the entire destruction or dispersion of these terrible marauders. The Mahratta confederacy was also utterly broken up by the successes of the British. The Rajah of Nagpore, after a battle of eighteen hours, was defeated, and his town of Nagpore taken on the 26th of November. Holkar was beaten on the 21st of December at the battle of Meehudpoor, and peace was concluded with him on the 6th of January, 1819. The Peishwa of the Mahrattas surrendered to the English in the following June, agreeing to abdicate his throne, and become a pensioner of the East India Company. During the war with the Pindarees, whilst the British army was encamped in low ground, on the banks of a tributary of the Jumna, the Indian cholera morbus broke out in the camp, and destroyed in little more than a week one-tenth of the number there crowded together.

During the period of the administration of the marquess of Hastings Ceylon was entirely subjected to the British dominion. In 1796 the maritime provinces had been wrested from the Dutch by a British armament. The interior, known as the kingdom of Kandy, was governed by native princes. In 1815 the king of Kandy had rendered himself so obnoxious to his subjects by a series of atrocities that his deposition took place, and the British were invited by Kandian chiefs to take possession of his dominions. The British administration of Ceylon was not connected with that of the East India Company; it was a distinct possession of the Crown, having been formally ceded by the Treaty of Amiens. On the small island of Singapore, in 1819, sir Thomas Raffles established a factory, on the south shore, and in 1824, a cession in full sovereignty of this and the neighbouring islands was obtained by purchase from a person who claimed to be king of Jahore, and was afterwards raised to that throne. Malacca was ceded to the British in 1824 by treaty with the government of the Netherlands.

In March, 1823, lord Amherst embarked for India as Governor-General. Within six or seven months of his arrival he found himself engaged in war with the Birman empire. Before the middle of the eighteenth century the name of Birman signified a great warlike race that had founded various

kingdoms, amongst which were Siam, Pegu, Ava, and Aracan. Ava had been conquered by the Peguers when, in 1753, a man of humble origin but of great ability, raised a small force, which, constantly increasing, expelled the conquerors and placed Alompra on the Birman throne. For nearly seventy years the British from the Ganges, and the Birmese from the Irawaddi, pushed their conquests, whether by arms or negotiation, till they met. Their inevitable rivalry soon led to hostilities. In March, 1824, the Birmese seized an island on which we had established a small military post, and when the Governor-General mildly complained to the king of Ava of this outrage, a force came down from Ava, "threatening to invade our territory from one end of the frontier to the other, and to re-annex the province of Bengal to the dominions of its rightful owner, the Lord of the White Elephant."

At the beginning of April the Bengal army embarked for Rangoon, the chief seaport of the Birman dominions. This important place was taken possession of almost without striking a blow. Sir Archibald Campbell, who occupied Rangoon, felt the immediate necessity of fortifying it against the probable attack of a bold and persevering enemy. An enormous pagoda, more than three hundred feet high, became a citadel, garrisoned by a battalion of European troops, and the smaller Buddhist temples assumed the character of fortresses. During June and July the Birmese made repeated attacks upon the British positions, but were as constantly repelled. On the night of the 30th of August, a body of troops called Invulnerables advanced to the northern gateway. A terrible cannonade was opened upon these dense masses, and they fled at once to the neighbouring jungle. The Birmese were more successful in their offensive operations in Bengal. Under the command of an officer called Maha Bandoola, the Aracan army advanced to Ramoo, and completely routed a detachment of native infantry. They, however, did not advance to Calcutta. The British had taken some important places of the Birman territory, and Maha Bandoola was recalled by the Lord of the White Elephant for the defence of his Golden Empire. In December Maha Bandoola brought sixty thousand fighting men to make one overwhelming attack upon Rangoon. For seven days there was severe fighting. The Birmese troops were repeatedly driven from their stockades, and at last, when they advanced for a grand attack on the great pagoda, they were driven back into their entrenchments, and after severe fighting were chased into the jungle.

In February, 1825, sir Archibald Campbell began to move up the Irawaddi into the interior of the Birman empire. On the 25th of March, he undertook the siege of Donoopew. For a week there had been an incessant fire from our mortars and rockets, and the breaching batteries were about to be opened, when the chiefs and all the Birmese army fled, Maha Bandoola having been killed by one of our shells. By the possession of Donoopew the navigation of the Irawaddi became wholly under our command. The army continued to advance, supported by a flotilla on the rivers. In the naval assistance thus rendered, steam was for the first time introduced into war. Prome was occupied at the end of April. In the middle of November and beginning of December there were two great

battles, in the latter of which the Birmese were thoroughly discomfited. Repeated defeats and the approach of a conquering army, at last compelled the king to sue for peace when the British had reached Yandaboo, only forty-five miles from the capital. The treaty of Yandaboo was signed on the 24th of February. By this treaty the king of Ava agreed to renounce all claims upon the principality of Assam and its dependencies; to cede in perpetuity the conquered provinces of Aracan, of Yeh, of Tavoy, of Mergui, and of Tenasserim; and to pay the sum of one crore of rupees towards the expenses of the war. He further agreed that accredited British ministers should be allowed to reside at Ava; that an accredited Birmese minister should reside at Calcutta; and that free trade to British subjects should be allowed in the Birmese dominions.

During the last year of the Birmese war the East India Company became engaged in a new conflict for the purpose of protecting a native prince, the Rajah of Bhurtpore with whom we were in alliance, against an usurper who had expelled him from his dominions. Lord Combermere, who had just come to India to succeed sir Edward Paget in the chief command, travelled upwards of a thousand miles in ten days, in order that he might begin the operations against Bhurtpore at a proper season. On the 23rd of November, the bombardment commenced. On the morning of the 18th of January the assault began at the signal given by the explosion of a mine, which utterly destroyed the whole of the salient angle of the fortress. Our troops rushed in at the breaches. In two hours the whole rampart, though obstinately defended, was in our possession, and early in the afternoon the citadel surrendered. The formidable works of Bhurtpore were afterwards destroyed; the rightful prince was reinstated; and the people returned to their allegiance.

The regulation of the Press in India at this period was a matter of important controversy. In 1799, under the administration of the marquess Wellesley, orders were issued for a censorship of the newspaper press, which has been described as a great nuisance in its indecorous attacks upon private life, and its ignorant censures of public measures. The penalty for contravening the regulations imposed was immediate embarkation for Europe. In 1818 the marquess of Hastings promulgated new regulations, which did not attempt to establish a censorship, but prohibited animadversions on certain subjects. A tribunal was established to watch the statements and opinions of the Indian newspaper press, and to give a warning to their conductors, which, if neglected, would be followed by the deportation of the offending proprietor, if not by a total suppression of the journal in which he had embarked his property. Mr. James Silk Buckingham, the editor of "The Calcutta Journal," had received three such warnings for his strictures upon Indian affairs, previous to the marquess of Hastings resigning his administration. Mr. Adam, who administered the government previous to the arrival of lord Amherst, annulled Mr. Buckingham's licence to remain in India, adding the threat that if he were found in the country after two months he should be sent to England as a prisoner. Mr. Buckingham transferred his paper to a British-born subject of the name of Arnot. At the period of lord Amherst's arrival, by a series of arbitrary proceedings the deportation of

Mr. Arnot was effected; "The Calcutta Journal" suppressed; and its circulation merged in a Calcutta newspaper, over which the government had efficient control by its appointment of an editor. Mr. Buckingham appealed to the Privy Council against the regulations of the Bengal government on the subject of the Press, and made England resound with the story of his wronga. Under lord Amherst "the Press enjoyed a freedom unknown to it for forty-four years, and experience showed, as it had done before, that that freedom was as safe as it was beneficial."*

The death of Mr. Canning placed lord Goderich at the head of the administration. Mr. Huskisson became Colonial Secretary, Mr. Herries, Chancellor of the Exchequer. The greatest accession of strength to the Government seemed to be in the acceptance of the office of Commander-in-chief by the duke of Wellington.

On the 10th of November news came of a great naval battle in the bay of Navarino. The Divan had declined to recognize any interference with its conduct towards its rebellious subjects. The Greeks readily accepted the armistice proposed by the Treaty of London. Ibrahim Pasha had come from Alexandria with the Egyptian fleet during the period of the discussions at Constantinople. The Allied fleets were lying off Navarino, their admirals being without authority to prevent the junction of the Egyptian fleet with the Turkish, already moored in that harbour. The Egyptian commander was informed by sir Edward Codrington that if he entered the harbour he would not be suffered to come out. Ibrahim Pasha made his choice to join the Turkish fleet. A verbal agreement having been entered into for a suspension of hostilities during twenty days, the English and French commanders sailed to Zante to obtain fresh provisions. Ibrahim Pasha then came out of the harbour, with the object of carrying his warfare to some other point in the Morea. Sir Edward Codrington met him near Patras with a small force, and compelled him to return. The troops of the Pasha then commenced a more destructive warfare, "to complete the devastation of the country." The Allied admirals agreed to enter the port in order to induce Ibrahim Pasha to discontinue this brutal war of extermination. They took up their anchorage about two o'clock on the afternoon of the 20th of October. The Turkish ships were moored in the form of a crescent. The combined fleet was formed in the order of sailing in two columns, the British and French forming the weather or starboard line, and the Russian the lee line. The stations of the French and Russian squadrons were marked out by the English admiral, who was the chief in command. "I gave orders," says sir Edward, "that no gun should be fired unless guns were fired by the Turks, and those orders were strictly observed." At the entrance of the harbour were six Turkish fire vessels, which a portion of the English squadron were appointed to watch. On the Dartmouth sending a boat towards one of these vessels, her crew was fired upon by musketry. The fire was returned from the Dartmouth, and from the flagship of the French admiral, de Rigny. An Egyptian ship

* "Edinburgh Review."

then fired a cannon-shot at the French admiral's vessel, which was immediately returned; "and thus," says sir Edward Codrington, "very shortly afterwards the battle became general. This bloody and destructive battle was continued with unabated fury for four hours, and the scene of wreck and devastation which presented itself at its termination was such as has been seldom before witnessed." Of the Egyptian and Turkish fleets, which numbered about a hundred and twenty men-of-war and transports, one-half were sunk, burnt, or driven on shore. The Allied admirals published a notice after the battle, threatening that if there were any new acts of hostility, they would immediately destroy the remaining vessels and the forts of Navarino.

The differences upon financial measures between Mr. Herries and Mr. Huskisson could not be reconciled by lord Goderich, and he therefore tendered his resignation to the king on the 9th of January, 1828. His majesty immediately desired the duke of Wellington to form a government of which he should be the head. The duke applied to Mr. Peel, who returning to his post of Secretary of State for the Home Department desired to strengthen the government by the introduction of some of the more important of Mr. Canning's friends into the Cabinet, and to fill some of the lesser offices. The earl of Dudley, Mr. Huskisson, lord Palmerston, and Mr. Charles Grant became members of the new administration. Mr. William Lamb, afterwards lord Melbourne, was appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland. The ultra-Tories were greatly indignant at these arrangements for a mixed government.

On the 29th of January Parliament was opened by Commission. In the debate upon the Address in the House of Commons, Mr. Brougham raised very strong objections to the appointment of the duke of Wellington as the head of the Government. He thought it unconstitutional that almost the whole patronage of the State should be placed in the hands of a military premier, although "he was perfectly satisfied that there would be no unconstitutional attack on the liberties of the people." He considered that any such attack had been rendered impossible by the improved moral and intellectual character of the community. On the ninth day of the meeting of Parliament, Mr. Brougham took that position which he has ever since maintained, of being the most indefatigable and persevering of Law reformers. The reformation of the Criminal Law was no longer opposed, except by a few whose opinions had very speedily come to be considered as worthless as they were obsolete. A Commission had been appointed to inquire into abuses in Courts of Equity. Mr. Brougham now desired to promote an inquiry into the defects in the Courts of Common Law. He introduced his motion in a speech of nearly six hours, during which the attention of the House was uninterruptedly sustained. The Government so far concurred in Mr. Brougham's motion as to consent that separate Commissions should issue—one for inquiry into the progress of suits at Common Law; the other into the state of the Laws affecting Real Property.

The House of Commons was now fairly engaged in the work of improvement. On the motion of Mr. Peel, a Select Committee was appointed to inquire into the Public Income and Expenditure. Early in the Session

Mr. Peel also proposed that a Committee should be appointed to inquire into the state of the Police of the Metropolis. In the next Session of Parliament, Mr. Peel carried his great plan for abolishing the local establishments of nightly watch and police, for forming the Metropolitan Police District, and for appointing a sufficient number of able men under the direction of the Secretary of State to be the police force for the whole of this district. For several years a prodigious clamour was raised against the new Police, which was to be "the most dangerous and effective engine of despotism."

On the 26th of February, lord John Russell moved for a Committee of the whole House to consider the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts. The motion was opposed by Mr. Huskisson, lord Palmerston, and Mr. Peel,—by Mr. Huskisson, upon the principle that concessions to the Dissenters would be the means of arraying an additional power against the Catholic claims. Mr. Peel eventually proposed a measure of compromise—that a declaration should be substituted in place of the Sacramental Test. The Bill as amended passed the House of Commons, and met with very little effectual opposition in the House of Lords, the two archbishops and three bishops speaking in its favour.

There were two cases of borough corruption before the House of Commons, those of Penryn and East Retford, which imperatively called for disfranchisement. It had been proposed that the seats of these offending boroughs should be transferred to Manchester and Birmingham. The Ministry opposed the proposition for giving both seats to these great communities. Mr. Huskisson, having, upon the ground of consistency, voted with the minority against the Government, immediately wrote to the duke of Wellington, offering to resign the office of Colonial Secretary, "as the only means in my power of preventing the injury to the king's service which may ensue from the appearance of disunion in his majesty's councils." The duke accepting this as an absolute resignation, the rest of the Canningites felt that it was desired to get rid of them altogether. Lord Dudley, Mr. Grant, lord Palmerston, and Mr. Lamb resigned their offices. Sir George Murray succeeded Mr. Huskisson; sir Henry Hardinge became Secretary at War; the earl of Aberdeen Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald President of the Board of Trade. Other changes in civil and diplomatic appointments were the necessary consequence of this rupture.

A little more than a week before the discussion on the disfranchisement of East Retford, sir Francis Burdett had obtained a majority of the House of Commons in favour of the Roman Catholic claims. After the retirement of Mr. Huskisson and his friends, the Cabinet appeared to be wholly constructed upon the principle of hostility to the Catholic claims. In the House of Lords the majority against the motion which had passed in the House of Commons was forty-four. But the admissions made by the Lord Chancellor and the duke of Wellington, that the Catholic question was a great difficulty, were as important as a majority in favour of the resolution. The appointment of Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald to a ministerial office caused a vacancy in the representation of the county of Clare. Mr. Fitzgerald had conciliated the Roman Catholics by a constant advocacy in

Parliament for the removal of their disabilities. Yet the whole power of the Catholic Association was called forth to prevent his return, and to secure the election of Mr. O'Connell, who, by his faith, was disqualified from sitting in Parliament. Mr. O'Connell, whose power as a demagogue was probably never exceeded by any Irishman or Englishman, stirred up his countrymen to a madness of which the Clare election was the type. On the 5th of July, Mr. O'Connell was elected, but he did not attempt to take his seat during the three weeks which elapsed between his return and the prorogation of Parliament on the 28th of July.

The efforts of the duke of Wellington to obtain the sanction of the king, that the whole subject of Ireland, including the Catholic question, should be taken into consideration by his confidential servants, were not successful during the remaining months of 1828. In his interviews with the duke, his majesty manifested much uneasiness and irritation. Mr. Peel, very early in the course of these discussions, had expressed his opinion that whenever it was once determined that an attempt should be made by the Government to settle the Catholic question, the settlement should be, if possible, a complete one. Mr. Peel, however, proposed to retire from the government, although he was willing to support it, but unwilling to undertake the management of this business in the House of Commons; but he yielded to the earnest solicitation of the duke of Wellington, who wrote that he did not see the slightest chance of getting rid of the difficulties with the king, and with certain of the bishops, if Mr. Peel should not continue in office. When the draft of the Speech from the throne was submitted to the king, he gave a reluctant assent to the passage which implied an intention on the part of the Government to make a decisive effort to adjust the Catholic question. The Parliament was opened by commission on the 5th of February, 1829. In the House of Peers the duke of Wellington announced that the measures which it was the intention of the Government to propose for the adoption of Parliament, would extend to the removal generally of all civil disabilities under which the Roman Catholics laboured, with exceptions solely resting on special grounds. In the House of Commons Mr. Peel made a similar announcement.

The day before the meeting of Parliament Mr. Peel had vacated his seat for the University of Oxford. He was persuaded to allow his name to be put in nomination for re-election, his friends not sufficiently estimating the power of a party cry. Sir Robert Inglis, his opponent, was finally returned by a majority of one hundred and forty-six votes, although Mr. Peel polled twice as many first-class men as sir Robert Inglis, and he had three hundred and thirty-three clergymen amongst his supporters. Mr. Peel took his seat for Westbury on the 3rd of March. A Bill for suppressing the Catholic Association had passed during the Secretary's absence from Parliament. In that interval several thousand petitions were presented to Parliament,—the greater part against the proposed measures of concession. In the House of Commons Mr. Peel gave notice on the 3rd of March, that on the 5th he would call attention to that part of the speech from the throne which referred to the civil disabilities of the Roman Catholics. On the 5th, from ten o'clock in the morning, all the

avenues of the House of Commons were crowded by persons who hoped to gain admission to the gallery. The doors were not opened till six o'clock; for, according to a notice previously given, the House was called over. To put an end to all possible cavil on the part of the king, the ministers had required and received a distinct authority to say to Parliament that the measures in contemplation were proposed with the entire sanction of his majesty. As Mr. Peel, after vindicating his own change of policy, proceeded to explain the proposed measures, the cheers of the House were occasionally heard in Westminster Hall. Connected with the Bill of Relief, there were securities and restrictions proposed; and by a separate bill the qualification for the freeholder's electoral franchise in Ireland was increased from forty shillings to ten pounds. The conflict lasted to the 10th of April, when the Relief Bill was read a third time in the House of Lords by a majority of one hundred and four. It had been passed in the House of Commons, on the 30th of March, by a majority of a hundred and seventy-eight. Amongst the virulent assailants of the measure was the earl of Winchelsea, who published a calumny against the duke of Wellington, which led to a hostile meeting between the two peers in Battersea fields. The earl finally tendered a written apology to the duke. Mr. Peel had to endure insults even more galling than those with which the duke was assailed. The Catholic Relief Bill received the royal assent on the 13th of April, in spite of lord Eldon's efforts to induce the king to peril everything by an obsolete exercise of the royal prerogative.

When Mr. O'Connell was introduced to the House of Commons for the purpose of taking his seat for Clare, he claimed to take the oath set forth in the Relief Act, although he had been elected before the passing of that Act. He was heard at the bar the next day, when his courtesy, his moderation, his legal knowledge, surprised the House. Upon a division a new writ was ordered for Clare. A large subscription was entered into for securing Mr. O'Connell's second return, which took place on the 30th of July. His violence at that election almost induced a general apprehension that the great measure of Catholic Emancipation had been too readily yielded to that sense of an overwhelming necessity which had converted opposing statesmen into its responsible promoters.

The Parliament was prorogued on the 24th of June. When it met again on the 4th of February, 1830, the king's Speech lamented that notwithstanding the indication of active commerce afforded by increased exports, distress should prevail amongst the agricultural and manufacturing classes. The summer and autumn had been wet and cold; the harvest was protracted; the crops were ill got in, and were hurried to market. They were found to be of inferior quality, and prices suffered temporarily a great depression. One effectual mode of mitigating the pressure upon industrial capital was announced in the intention to propose a considerable reduction in the amount of public expenditure. The Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed, on the 15th of March, the total remission of the excise duties on beer, cider, and leather. Increased duties on spirits were to supply a portion of the deficiency. The propositions of the Government were finally agreed to. Motions for Reform of Parliament were brought forward, with the usual fate of every previous attempt to carry a sweep-

ing or a partial measure. One measure of great importance was proposed this session by Mr. Brougham, who, on the 29th of April, moved for leave to bring in a Bill to establish Local Jurisdiction in certain districts in England.

On the 26th of June, at three o'clock in the morning, King George the Fourth expired at Windsor Castle, after an illness of more than a month. The duke of Wellington has said of this prince, whose sovereignty, either as Regent or King, formed one of the most important eras in the annals of our country, "He was indeed the most extraordinary compound of talent, wit, buffoonery, obstinacy, and good feeling—in short, a medley of the most opposite qualities, with a great preponderance of good—that I ever saw in any character in my life."

During the remaining three weeks of the session, there was much sharp discussion in both Houses. Several years had passed since the House of Commons had heard such unmeasured language as now proceeded from the orator who was the real leader of the Opposition. On the 6th of July Mr. R. Grant moved an Address to his majesty, touching the expediency of making provision against the dangers to which the country might be exposed by a demise of the crown. The motion was rejected by a majority of a hundred and fifty-four. In the new Parliament a satisfactory measure was passed, by which the personage in whom the nation could place the utmost confidence—the duchess of Kent,—was nominated sole Regent in the event of the Princess Victoria becoming Queen before she had attained the age of eighteen. The king, on the 23rd of July, prorogued Parliament in person. The royal Speech contained a congratulation "upon the general tranquillity of Europe." On the 24th Parliament was dissolved by proclamation. Within forty-eight hours a revolution burst forth in France which had a most decided influence upon the elections for the new Parliament.

The good sense of Louis XVIII., and his desire to govern as far as possible in an enlightened and liberal spirit, preserved France during his reign from any popular convulsion. When Charles X. came to the throne, he manifested a solicitude that the people should accept him as a constitutional king. His first act was to abolish the censorship of the journals, which had been re-established by a royal ordinance a month only before the decease of Louis. The people had soon to learn how little dependence could be placed upon the professions, and even upon the liberal actions, of their new king. The elections of 1829 were unfavourable to the government, and M. de Villèle, not having the cordial support of the whole Royalist party, was compelled to retire from office, after having been the presiding spirit of the Government for six years. M. de Martignac became the head of the Cabinet which replaced that of M. de Villèle. His tendencies were liberal and constitutional; his talents had not their proper influence either with the king or the Chambers. In August, 1829, a royal ordinance appeared changing the whole of the Ministry, and appointing Prince Jules de Polignac President of the Council. In the choice of Polignac as his prime minister, "Charles X.," says M. Guizot, "had hoisted upon the Tuileries the flag of the counter-revolution." When the Chambers were opened, on the 2nd of March, 1830, there was a half menace in the

Royal Speech, which appeared to presage some exercise of arbitrary power. The Address of the Chamber of Deputies, which was carried by a majority of 221 to 181, affirmed that there no longer existed a concurrence between the mind of the sovereign and the interests of his people. The next day the chambers were prorogued till the 1st of September. On the 16th of May they were dissolved. New elections were ordered for June and July, and the parliament so elected was to meet on the 3rd of August. On the 12th of July the news arrived of the capture of Algiers by a formidable expedition, which had sailed from Toulon on the 25th of May. In some respects, this triumph made the electors more determined that a military glory should not encourage the tendencies to Absolutism at home. The elections being completed, it was ascertained beyond a doubt that a very large majority of the Chamber of Deputies would be opposed to the administration of the prince de Polignac.

On the 21st of July a Report, signed by the prince de Polignac, was presented to the king in council, in which he was stimulated to have recourse to desperate measures to restore what he believed to be his legitimate rights. On the 25th three ordinances were signed in Council by which the liberty of the periodical press was suspended, the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved and the number of deputies was lessened, and their term of office regulated. These ordinances were kept profoundly secret till nearly midnight, when copies of them, and also of the memorial of the ministers to the king, were sent to the responsible editor of the "Moniteur," to be published in his paper of the following morning.

On Monday morning, the 26th of July, Paris was shaken to its centre as by a political earthquake. Before the doors of the Bourse were opened, the holders of stock were crowding thither to sell. The proprietors and editors of the chief opposition papers consulted the most eminent lawyers, who gave their opinion that the ordinances were illegal, and ought not to be submitted to. Forty-four conductors of newspapers signed a protest in which they declared their intention to resist the ordinances as regarded their own interests, and invited the deputies to meet on the 3rd of August as if no decree had gone forth for new elections. On that Monday there was no appearance of popular insurrection. There was occasionally a cry in the streets of "Long live the Charter.!—Down with the ministers!" The next day a more ominous cry went forth—"Up with Liberty—Down with the Bourbons." Four of the most popular journals had been printed without the licence which was required by the ordinance. Sentinels were placed around the offices to prevent their sale; but copies were thrown out of the windows, and were quickly circulated throughout Paris. The doors of the offices where these papers were printed were broken open by the police, and the presses rendered unserviceable. The printers thrown out of their employ joined the crowds in the streets. In the course of that Tuesday the deputies were beginning to arrive in Paris. On the 28th, they adopted a protest against the decrees, which was signed by sixty-three deputies. Its tone was moderate, and did not close the door against conciliation. The house in which the deputies were assembled was surrounded by a crowd of combatants of every kind, who demanded an instant adhesion to their revolutionary proceedings. M. Guizot says, that the revolutionists

at any price had rapidly thrown themselves into the movement, and became hourly more influential and exacting. The great body of the bourgeoisie entered almost with one accord into the contest with unconstitutional power, although they had everything to lose by the spread of anarchy. On the 28th there was fighting throughout the day in almost every quarter of Paris. From daybreak, multitudes had begun to assemble, armed with sticks and pikes, old guns and sabres. They unpaved the streets; they threw up barricades of timber and of carts filled with the paving-stones; they seized the Hôtel de Ville; they hoisted the tri-coloured flag on its roof, and on the towers of Nôtre-Dame. Paris that morning had been declared by the government to be in a state of siege. There were ten thousand soldiers in the city under the command of Marmont, who, however, had not begun to act before the insurgents were in possession of the chief part of the capital. He finally formed his troops in four columns, which were directed upon different points. It was not long before the sanguinary conflict began. When night came on, the firing was still continued; the tocsin was rung from every church; the lamps were extinguished in the streets. Neither mail nor diligence left Paris. The communication with the provinces by telegraph was cut off. On the morning of the 29th, hostilities again commenced by seven o'clock. On the previous day the working classes had almost exclusively borne the brunt of the battle. National Guards, young students, and even deputies, were now at the barricades. The Faubourg St. Germain joined with the dingy Faubourg St. Antoine. At an early hour some royalists endeavoured "to bring about an arrangement between the inert royalty at St. Cloud and the boiling revolution at Paris."* From Charles X., whose inconsistency in this trying hour of his destiny was as remarkable as in all his previous actions, they at last extorted a promise for the dismissal of the Polignac ministry, the appointment of the duke de Mortémart as President of the Council, and for other appointments which would be a guarantee for constitutional government. In the meantime the battle was raging all around Marmont at the Tuileries. The Swiss were driven from the Louvre. Some of the troops went over to the side of the insurgents. The spread of defection in the army proclaimed to Marmont that it was impossible to continue this contest. The insurrection had become a revolution. He hastily quitted the Tuileries with his troops to repair to St. Cloud. The populace as quickly broke into the palace. The deputies who had met in the morning had determined to establish a provisional government. Lafayette, who had received from them the command of the forces in Paris, had gone to take possession of the Hôtel de Ville. A municipal commission, that had been formed by ballot, with authority to take all measures that the public safety might require, installed themselves at the Hôtel de Ville, surrounded by dead bodies heaped up on the Place. In a few hours the National Guard was organized; the administration of finance was provided for; the post-office was again set in action; the mails and the diligences left Paris bearing the tri-colour flag. When the Royalists who had been at St. Cloud came to negotiate for the preservation of the Crown to

* Guizot.

Charles X., they were interrupted by cries of "It is too late!" The sovereignty of France had vanished from the grasp of the elder branch of the Bourbons.

On the 30th of July, forty deputies came to a resolution of soliciting the duke of Orleans to assume the functions of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. On the 1st of August the duke was at the Palais Royal, had accepted the office, and proceeded on horseback to the Hôtel de Ville, as a mark of courtesy to the National Guard, and to their commander Lafayette. The deputies accompanied the duke on foot across the barricades. Women and children surrounded them, dancing and singing the Marseillaise. In the Great Hall the proclamation of the deputies was read, and received with cheers. The Lieutenant-General of the kingdom advanced to the window, holding Lafayette by the hand and waving the tri-colour flag. He then appointed provisional ministers, of whom M. Guizot was Minister of the Interior. On the 2nd of August, Charles X. addressed a letter to the duke of Orleans, inclosing a formal act of abdication in favour of his grandson, the duke of Bordeaux. Three commissioners were sent to confer with Charles at Rambouillet, and to urge him to depart. Their recommendations were backed by the presence of six thousand of the National Guard, and by vast numbers of Parisians on foot and in vehicles of every description. The king consented to leave, and to proceed to Cherbourg, escorted by the Garde-du-Corps. He and his family embarked for England on the 16th, and were carried to the coast of Devonshire, the king having decided that England should be his place of refuge. For a short time he resided at Lulworth Castle. He subsequently occupied Holyrood House.

On the 3rd of August the duke of Orleans opened the legislative session in the Chamber of Deputies. The Charter of Louis XVIII. received some alterations, and then it was declared by a large majority, that, subject to the acceptance of the modified Charter, the universal and urgent interests of the French nation called to the throne the duke of Orleans. On the 9th of August the duke of Orleans in the Chamber of Deputies declared his acceptance of the Crown, with the title King of the French, and took an oath, "To observe faithfully the constitutional charter, . . . and to act in all things only with a view to the interest, the happiness, and the glory of the French people."

The Revolution of France necessarily produced a great effect upon the popular feeling throughout Europe, and especially in the kingdom of the Netherlands. The union with Holland, effected by the settlement of Europe at the Congress of Vienna, had imparted an extraordinary impulse to the commerce and manufactures of Belgium, but this material prosperity could not blend the two peoples into one nation. For fifteen years there had been constant dissensions between the Belgian and Dutch subjects of William Frederick I. In April, 1830, Messrs. Potter, Tielmans, Bartells, and others, were tried at Brussels on a charge of conspiring against the government of the Netherlands. The three named were found guilty, and sentenced to be banished. On the 25th of August, and again in September, the populace of Brussels were in insurrection. The contest went on in various sanguinary conflicts, until the five great Powers imposed a cessation of

arms on both nations, and recognized the independence of Belgium by a protocol of the 4th of November.

The autumn of 1830 witnessed in England the most remarkable contrast between the disgraces of ignorance and the triumphs of intellect. In the Southern Agricultural Counties there was a war of the labourer against the farmer, in the shape of the destruction of barns and corn-stacks, and of all implements of industry beyond the commonest tools. On the 15th of September, the first Railway for the conveyance of passengers was opened.

On the 2nd of March, 1825, there had been a debate in the House of Commons on the motion for the second reading of the Bill for the Liverpool and Manchester Railway. The subscribers to this undertaking were the bankers, merchants, traders, and manufacturers of Liverpool and Manchester, whose great object was the increase of commerce. The Bill passed in spite of the most strenuous opposition from canal companies, and from proprietors of land through or near which the line was intended to run. For four years the works went on, under the superintendence of George Stephenson, by whose skill and perseverance difficulties were overcome which then appeared insuperable. Stephenson persuaded the directors of the railway to offer a prize for the best locomotive. The Rocket engine, constructed by him, with the aid of his son Robert, won the prize. The old modes of transit were from the hour of that experiment changed throughout the whole civilized world. The railway was opened with a magnificent ceremonial. Eight locomotive engines with their attached carriages formed a procession to proceed from Liverpool to Manchester. On quitting the tunnel at Liverpool the Northumbrian engine, which drew the three carriages containing the directors and their most distinguished visitors, took the south line of the railway, the seven other engines with their carriages proceeding along the north line. At Parkside there was a stoppage, and many of the gentlemen in the Northumbrian carriages got out, Mr. Huskisson amongst the number. Suddenly a cry was heard—"Get in—get in." The Rocket was coming. Mr. Huskisson lost his presence of mind; fell upon the north rail as he attempted to escape; and his right leg being crushed by the Rocket, he felt at once that the injury was fatal. He died that night after nine hours of agony; and was buried in the cemetery at Liverpool, followed to the grave by thousands of his sorrowing constituents.

On the 2nd of November, King William the Fourth opened the Parliament in person. The sympathy of the British population with the revolution of France was too manifest to be set at nought by the government of this country, and "the ready manner in which ministers recognized the new government of France" was cordially approved by earl Grey. In the Royal Speech it was indirectly but unmistakeably intimated, that a reform in parliament, for whose necessity public opinion had been so loudly expressed in the recent elections, would have no sanction from the government. All possible doubt on this head was soon dissipated by the announcement of the duke of Wellington that "He was not only not prepared to bring forward any measure of this nature, but he would at once declare that as far as he was concerned, as long as he held any station in the government

of the country, he should always feel it his duty to resist such measures when proposed by others." In the House of Commons not a moment was lost by Mr. Brougham in declaring his determination to bring the great question of reform to an immediate practical issue. Men's minds in the metropolis and throughout the country were in a most unusual and in some respects alarming state of ferment. In Parliament it was sufficiently evident that upon the first important question the government would be in a minority.

The king having promised to dine with the Lord Mayor on Tuesday, the 9th of November, the Lord Mayor elect wrote to the duke of Wellington to suggest the propriety of his grace coming strongly and sufficiently guarded. The king was advised upon this warning to decline fulfilling the promise which he had made to the Lord Mayor. The most industrious attempts had been made to inflame the public mind against the new police, and the ministers feared that this force would not have been sufficient to keep the peace in the event of his majesty visiting the city. It was contended in Parliament that the unpopularity of the duke of Wellington, produced chiefly by his declaration against reform, ought not to have cast a doubt upon the universal popularity of the king.

On the 15th of November, in a debate on the Civil List, the government was in a minority of twenty-nine, in a house of four hundred and thirty-seven members. The next day the resignations of the Ministers were formally announced in both Houses. "I was defeated," the duke subsequently said, "on the Civil List. . . . I admit I resigned next morning because I did not wish to expose his Majesty and the country to the consequences that might result from the government going out on the success of the question of Parliamentary Reform." Earl Grey was sent for by the king. His administration was readily completed when Mr. Brougham had been, with great difficulty, induced to accept the Great Seal. Lord Grey, in the House of Lords, made his statement, as Prime Minister, of the principles which would determine the conduct of his government. Moderate Reform; Economy and Retrenchment; repression of Outrage and Relief of Distress; the preservation of Peace with Foreign Powers. In the course of a fortnight all the minor offices were filled up, and were printed in the Gazette. On the 23rd of December, earl Grey, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, moved the adjournment of the Houses to the 3rd of February.

CHAPTER LXIII.

WHEN the Legislature re-assembled on the 3rd of February, 1831, numerous petitions were presented to the House of Commons praying for Reform of Parliament. Lord Althorp, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, then informed the House that on Tuesday the 1st of March, the government

plan for the improvement of the representative system would be brought forward by lord John Russell. In the House of Lords earl Grey made a corresponding announcement. A Committee of four members of the government — lord Durham, sir James Graham, lord John Russell, and viscount Duncannon,—had been selected by lord Grey to consider the manifold details connected with so large a change, and to prepare a Bill. The measure, which was finally adopted by the Cabinet, was submitted to the king on the 30th of January. In the interval between the announcement of the 3rd of February, and the bringing forward the Reform Bill, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had introduced his budget. The duties on newspapers and advertisements were to be reduced; those on coals, on candles, and on printed cottons were to be abolished. The propositions to reduce the duty on glass and the duty on tobacco were withdrawn; for some of the taxes offered as substitutes had been strenuously opposed.

During the month of February the scope of the Reform Bill had been kept profoundly secret. On the 1st of March, in a remarkably full House, with every empty seat bearing a label of the name of its proposed occupant, not a dozen of that crowd had the slightest conception of the nature of the measure which they might be called upon to support or to oppose. The speech with which lord John Russell introduced the proposition of the government was lucid, slightly argumentative, entirely free from rhetorical ornament. It caused both wonder and ridicule when it was proposed to a House of Commons, of which one hundred and sixty-eight members for England were returned by boroughs, that sixty boroughs should be wholly disfranchised, as having each less than two thousand inhabitants. Forty-seven boroughs, having less than four thousand inhabitants each, were to return one member instead of two; and a single borough which had formerly returned four members was to be reduced to half its number of representatives. The existing number of six hundred and fifty-eight members was to be curtailed to five hundred and ninety-six. Seven unrepresented large towns were to have the right of returning two members each; twenty smaller towns unrepresented were to return one member each. London was to be divided into four districts, each having two members. Fifty-four members were to be added to the county representation. Instead of the old rights of election in boroughs, a household franchise of 10*l.* was substituted. Corporations were deprived of the exclusive privileges which some possessed of returning members. The duration of elections was to be reduced to two days by a previous registration. When lord John Russell proceeded to read the names of the boroughs to be disfranchised wholly or in part, then indeed was the excitement of the House at an unprecedented height. For many members it was a personal question of the last importance. Statesmen, too, who looked beyond individual interests were aghast at a proposal so sweeping, so revolutionary as they were warranted in believing. Sir Robert Inglis, the member for the University of Oxford, was the first to reply to the arguments of lord John Russell. His speech was an able one, anticipating most of the arguments which were employed for the seven wearisome nights of debate on the introduction of the Bill. He maintained the impossibility of the co-

existence of a monarchy with a free press and a purely popular representation. The destruction of the monarchy was to involve the simultaneous destruction of the House of Peers. The abolition of the House of Lords was the most stirring and practical of the prophecies of the alarmists. In or out of Parliament the cry was that the destruction of the aristocracy by the passing of the democratic Reform Bill was inevitable. The second night of the debate was memorable for the speeches of Mr. Macaulay and Mr. Stanley, of which sir James Mackintosh said, they were "two of the finest speeches ever spoken in Parliament." M. Guizot says Macaulay's "powerful language carried some disturbance into the soul of Peel." The debate being closed on the seventh night without a division, the Bill was read a first time on the 14th of March. On the 21st of March, lord John Russell moved the order of the day for the second reading of the Reform Bill. Sir Richard Vivian moved, as an amendment, that the Bill be read a second time that day six months. The second reading was carried by a majority of one only in a house of six hundred and eight. In ordinary times this bare majority would have compelled the retirement of a Ministry from office. On the 18th of April the House went into Committee on the order of the day, to consider the provisions of the bill for the amendment of the representation. General Gascoigne, following lord John Russell, moved an amendment, on which the ministry were beaten by a majority of eight, in an adjourned debate on the 19th. On the 21st, in the House of Peers, lord Wharncliffe gave notice that he should the next day move that an address be presented to his Majesty praying that he would be graciously pleased not to exercise his undoubted prerogative of dissolving Parliament. On the same evening in the House of Commons, ministers were again defeated by a majority of twenty-two on a question of adjournment. The next morning, the Prime Minister and the Lord Chancellor were with the king. They had come either to lay the resignations of the ministry at his Majesty's feet, or to request him to dissolve the Parliament. His Majesty was startled at their proposition of a dissolution, but the "daring Chancellor," as Mr. Roebuck terms him, overcame all obstacles. He had even ventured so far as to give orders for the attendance of the troops. The speech to be read by his Majesty was in the Chancellor's pocket; and the ministers were dismissed with something like a menace and a joke upon the audacity of their proceedings. The Lords had begun to assemble at two o'clock. Lord Wharncliffe was just completing the reading of his resolution when there were cries of "The King, the King." Lord Londonderry rose in fury, and exclaimed, "I protest, my Lords, I will not submit to——" The Chancellor, hearing the king approaching, clutched up the seals and rushed out of the House. There was terrible confusion, amidst which lord Mansfield proceeded to deliver a general harangue against the Reform Bill. The king entered the House, cut short lord Mansfield's oration, and after the Speaker of the House of Commons and about a hundred members had attended at the bar, commenced his speech with these very decisive words:—"My Lords and Gentlemen, I have come to meet you for the purpose of proroguing this Parliament, with a view to its immediate dissolution." The House of Commons, before the Usher of the Black Rod had tapped at the door,

had been a scene of turbulence and confusion—even outrivalling that of the Lords—which the Speaker had vainly endeavoured to repress. On the dissolution of Parliament there was an illumination in London, sanctioned by the Lord Mayor, which was attended with more mischief from the turbulence of a mob—who broke the windows of the duke of Wellington and other anti-reformers,—than productive of any real advantage to the popular cause. After the Edinburgh election the Lord Provost was rudely assaulted, and was with difficulty rescued by the soldiery. Such proceedings seriously damaged the just cause of peaceable Reform, and became to the government a source of anxiety and alarm, producing distrust and desertion amongst the ranks of Reformers.

The appeal to the people was signally triumphant. Parliament opened on the 14th of June, when Mr. Manners Sutton was chosen Speaker for the sixth time. On the 24th, lord John Russell again brought in the Reform Bill, with a few alterations. The measure thus proposed was confined to England. There was to be a separate bill for Scotland, which was brought in by the Lord Advocate on the 1st of July; and a separate bill for Ireland, which was brought in by Mr. Stanley on the 30th of June. On the second reading of the English Bill, which was moved by lord John Russell on the 4th of July, there were three nights of debate. On the third night the House divided: For the second reading, 367; against it, 231. On the 12th of July the House went into Committee. During thirty-nine sittings there were debates upon every clause of disfranchisement and every clause of enfranchisement. The leader of this mode of opposition was Mr. John Wilson Croker, whose power of mastering the most obscure details was perhaps unrivalled, and, we fear we must add, whose application of his minute researches was not always quite honest. The minister who was always ready to repel his attacks was one of very different character. Lord Althorp subdued his adversaries, and was a buckler to his supporters, by his singleness of purpose. Before the bill came out of Committee, an important alteration was carried by the marquis of Chandos,—that tenants-at-will paying fifty pounds per annum for their holdings should have a vote for the county. This proposal, which involved other amendments of a similar tendency, was carried by a majority of eighty-four. Freed from the Committee, having been read a third time, the Reform Bill passed the House of Commons on the 21st of September, the numbers being three hundred and forty-five for the measure, and two hundred and thirty-six against it. On the 22nd of September the House of Lords presented an unusual attendance of peers. Peeresses were accommodated at the bar, and the space allotted to strangers was thronged to an overflow. Lord Althorp and lord John Russell, bearing the Reform Bill in their hands, appeared at the head of a hundred members of the Lower House. The words, usually of mere form and ceremony, by which a message of the Commons is communicated to the Lords, were spoken by the Lord Chancellor with unusual solemnity of tone and manner amidst breathless silence. The Bill was then read a first time, and was ordered to be read a second time on Monday the 3rd of October. During the five nights of debate in this memorable week, the House of Lords stood before the nation presenting examples of the highest

eloquence that ever characterized a great deliberative assembly. The debate was opened by earl Grey. There was a calmness and solemnity in his words and manner which well befitted the statesman who now, in his sixty-eighth year, stood prominently forward as the advocate of a measure which he had proposed in the House of Commons forty years before. Earl Grey was followed by lord Wharncliffe, who moved an amendment to the effect that the Bill be rejected altogether. On the second night of debate the duke of Wellington spoke at much greater length than he usually spake. His speech gave a very significant anticipation of the rejection of the Bill by the Lords, and of the probability that, the government being defeated, there would be another ministry who would propose a reform that might not be dreaded as "a bold and decisive measure." On the fifth and last night the great lawyers had almost exclusive possession of the House,—two ex-chancellors, lord Eldon and lord Lyndhurst, and he who now sat on the woolsack. Lord Brougham's speech has been described by his friend and rival lord Lyndhurst, as "a splendid declamation which had never been surpassed on any occassion, even by the noble and learned lord himself." The debate was concluded by a reply of earl Grey to the principal arguments against the Bill which had been adduced during those five nights. He was exhausted, as were nearly all his listeners, but his intellectual vigour was never more signally manifested. When between six and seven o'clock on the morning of Saturday the 8th of October, the House of Lords divided upon the second reading, the majority against the Reform Bill was 41. On Monday, the 9th, lord Ebrington, member for Devonshire, moved in the House of Commons, a resolution of unabated confidence in the ministers, and of firm adherence to the principles of the Reform Bill. The resolution was carried by 329 votes to 198. Sydney Smith, in a speech at Taunton, compared the House of Lords to "Mrs. Partington," a dame who, in the midst of a sublime and terrible storm, defied the Atlantic Ocean with her mop. "The Atlantic Ocean beat Mrs. Partington. She was excellent at a slop, or a puddle, but she should not have meddled with a tempest. Gentlemen, be at your ease—be quiet and steady. You will beat Mrs. Partington." Mrs. Partington became famous throughout the land. The ministry stood firm, and there was no wavering in the king. He went to the House of Peers on the 20th of October; and prorogued the Parliament, stating that its attention must necessarily be called upon at the opening of the ensuing Session to the important question of a constitutional reform in the Commons House of Parliament.

The times were truly alarming. The nation, whether ranged on one side or the other, had never been so much in earnest since the days of the Long Parliament. There were everywhere wrong-headed men in popular assemblies ranting about the unequal distribution of wealth; and showing how easily a change might be made by which the labourers, without any intervention, might till the fields and work the looms. The excessive ignorance of the peasantry—the hateful isolation of their class from their employers—the neglect of the rich—made them apt listeners to the devilish promptings of some village Cade in the beer-shop. The southern labourers knew nothing of the Reform Bill, and cared nothing. They thought only

of the misery and neglect of their own unhappy lot, and they proclaimed their wretchedness and their ignorance, by rick-burning and machine-breaking. In the same state of ignorance, especially of political ignorance, as the southern peasantry, were the dregs of the people who broke open the city jail at Derby and set the prisoners at liberty, and those who burnt down Nottingham Castle. More entirely distinct, even than the agricultural labourers, from those who cherished any over-zealous aspirations for an amended representation of the people, were those who formed the mass of rioters at Bristol in October. The Recorder of Bristol, sir Charles Wetherell, had been amongst the most determined opponents of the Reform Bill during its passage through the House of Commons. Disregarding the warnings which were given him he entered the city, to open the Sessions on the 29th of October, in great state. He reached the Guildhall amidst the hisses of the populace, but with no injury from the few stones that were thrown at his carriage. After the opening of the Commission, the Court was adjourned till Monday morning, and the Recorder took up his residence at the Mansion-house. This, during the whole of the afternoon, was surrounded by a mob, which, as the evening drew on, became more daring, colliers coming in from the neighbouring pits to join the fun. In the darkness of that autumnal night, the windows of the Chief Magistrate's residence were shattered, the doors were forced, and preparations were made to set the Mansion-house on fire. Sir Charles Wetherell during the tumult effected his retreat. The troops arrived, and arrested the conflagration. The Commander of the district, colonel Brereton, exhorted the mob to peace, but he did not effectually clear the streets. On the Sunday morning, all being quiet, the troops retired to their quarters. The churches and chapels were filled as usual, without any apprehension of danger. A crowd was again collected before the Mansion-house. They burst into the hall, and reaching the upper rooms threw the furniture into the street. They penetrated to the wine-cellars, and were soon lying upon the pavement dead with drunkenness. The troops again came out, and fired upon the mob, who assaulted them with brickbats. The soldiers were then for the most part withdrawn from the city. The mob proceeded to beat in the doors of the Bridewell with sledge-hammers, set free the prisoners, and fired the building. Other parties conducted the same operations with equal success at the other two jails. From these three places of confinement the flames were rising at one and the same time. The Mansion-house was set on fire. The bishop's palace was reduced to ashes. The Custom-house followed. Prisons and stately buildings were not the sole objects of this most causeless outbreak. At three o'clock in the morning there were forty-two dwelling-houses and warehouses burning. The intoxication of the ruffians who demanded "drink or blood," quelled the outrages even more effectually than the soldiery, who were now brought back into the city, and hesitated not to fire and charge, as they might have done far more advantageously had force been employed at the commencement of the outbreak. Colonel Brereton, having been brought to trial at a court-martial for neglect of duty, shot himself on the fourth day of the inquiry. Bristol had for many a year to levy a rate of 10,000*l.* for compensation to the losers of property in the riots.

Whilst Bristol was burning, the cholera had come to England. On the 6th of November a form of prayer was appointed to be read in the Churches, for deliverance from this grievous calamity. Religious trust and active benevolence, combined with the good sense of the English people, prevented a natural and wholesome alarm being degraded into a panic. The government took wise precautions. A Central Board of Health was formed, which recommended that every large community should be divided into sections to form distinct Boards of Health. Such Boards were to appoint inspectors, each of whom was daily to visit a hundred houses, and upon their reports to endeavour to remedy such deficiencies as might be found to exist in the primary elements of public health, namely, food, clothing, bedding, ventilation, space, cleanliness, habits of temperance, prevention of panic. Temporary cholera hospitals, detached, insulated, and thoroughly exposed to free and open air, were recommended to be established. The visitation of this calamity, although very fatal in some districts, was by no means extensive, compared with the aggregate number of the population. It had died out after the ensuing summer. There had not been during its continuance any marked interruption in the ordinary intercourse of life, and in the communications between place and place. The cholera left a real blessing behind it in the care of the public health, which from that time became a duty that no ministry could neglect. In the midst of the cholera visitation, Parliament assembled on the 6th of December. On the 12th, lord John Russell introduced a new Bill for Parliamentary Reform. It was in many respects really a new measure. By the results of the Census of April, the Census of 1821 had been found a fallacious guide as to what boroughs ought or ought not to be disfranchised. The disfranchised boroughs were still to be fifty-six. But the number of boroughs to return only one member, was now reduced to thirty, whilst some which had formerly been in this list were to be taken out, and to return two members. These variations from the former scheme were rendered necessary chiefly by the determination of the government not to diminish the number of the House of Commons. On the second reading in the Lower House there was a debate of two nights, terminating on the morning of Sunday the 18th, when the ministerial majority was a hundred and sixty-two. Parliament was now adjourned to the 17th of January, 1832. The Scotch and Irish bills were brought in on the 19th of January. On the 20th, the House went into Committee on the English Bill, which Committee was not ended till the 10th of March, the Report being considered on the 14th. On the 19th, the third reading of the Bill was moved. After a final debate it was passed by a majority of a hundred and sixteen. On Monday, the 26th of March, the Reform Bill was carried up to the House of Lords, and was read a first time on that day. The debate went on for four nights, lord Ellenborough having moved as an amendment that the Bill be read that day six months. At seven o'clock in the morning of the 14th of April, the Bill was read a second time by a majority of nine. Some who had voted against the previous Bill now abstained from voting; seventeen who had voted against the previous Bill now voted for this Bill. The previous strong manifestation of popular opinion had produced alarm in the Court, and it is affirmed that the royal wish had been expressed that the opposition to the Bill in

the House of Lords should be less decided. Although there might be some rejoicing at the majority for the second reading, there was a general opinion that the Bill would not pass unscathed through the Upper House without a large creation of Peers. Sixteen new Peers had been created before the rejection of the previous Bill by the Lords. Parliament was adjourned for the Easter recess till the 7th of May. For three weeks there was incessant agitation. Petitions came from almost every populous place to the King and to the Lords. On the day appointed for the Parliament to meet, the Political Unions of Warwick, Worcester, and Stafford were assembled in Birmingham, in what was considered to be the largest meeting ever held in Great Britain. This vast multitude solemnly affirmed, "With unbroken faith through every peril and privation we here devote ourselves and our children to our country's cause." On that afternoon the House of Lords went into Committee on the Reform Bill. Lord Lyndhurst moved that the disfranchising clauses of the Bill be postponed. The motion was carried against ministers by a majority of thirty-five. The next morning the Cabinet, not without some apprehensions of the ultimate consequences of such a proceeding, resolved upon asking the king to give his sanction to a large creation of Peers. The king without any hesitation refused his assent to the proposition. The resignation of the ministers was at once tendered to the sovereign; the next day was formally accepted by letter; and that evening was announced by lord Grey to the Lords, and by lord Althorp to the Commons. On the 10th lord Ebrington moved, that the House should address the king expressing their deep regret at the change which had taken place in the administration, and imploring his Majesty to call to his Councils such persons only as would carry the Reform Bill into effect, unimpaired in all its essential provisions. The motion was carried by a majority of eighty.

For one week the functions of a government were suspended. That week was not a time of inactivity. In every populous place there were public meetings; and there was scarcely a town or city where resolutions were not entered into that petitions should be presented to the House of Commons, praying that no supplies should be granted till the Bill was passed unimpaired. The danger seemed coming which Mr. Macaulay had dreaded when the first Reform Bill was rejected by the House of Lords. "I fear that we may, before long, see the tribunals defied, the tax-gatherer resisted, public credit shaken, property insecure, the whole frame of society hastening to dissolution." The duke of Wellington had received authority from the king to form a government "on the principle of carrying an extensive Reform in the representation of the people." The duke was always of opinion that reform was unnecessary, and would prove most injurious; but his first impulse was to obey the wishes of his sovereign, not caring for a sacrifice of consistency. Sir Robert Peel took a different course. He saw [illegible] compromise of the principle of reform would now satisfy the people, and he was unwilling to accept office [illegible] introducing an extensive measure. On the 17th [illegible] gave a narrative to the House of Lords [illegible] to give the necessary cohesion to the parliamentary [illegible] drawn out the

Reform Bill. Two days before, it had been announced in both Houses that ministers had resumed their communications with his Majesty. As the news went through the land the people everywhere settled down, in patience to abide the result. Lord Grey and lord Brougham had an audience of the king at Windsor, on the 17th, when they declined to return to office unless his majesty gave permission for the necessary creation of peers. The power was most reluctantly given. It was never called into exercise; the king, through his private secretary, sir Herbert Taylor, employing his personal influence with the opposition peers to induce them to desist from further attempts to arrest the course of the Reform Bill. The duke of Wellington withdrew after his explanation on the 17th, and did not return to the House of Lords till the night after the passing of the Reform Bill. His wise and patriotic example was followed by a sufficient number of Peers to afford a decided majority for the ministers. The pressure of the royal will upon the Peers was unconstitutional, but it overcame the difficulties of an alarming crisis. On the 21st of May the discussion of the Bill was resumed. The business in Committee was finished on the last day of May. On the 4th of June the Bill was passed by a majority of eighty-four. The Commons next day agreed to the unimportant amendments proposed by the Lords, and on the 7th of June the English Reform Bill received the royal assent. The Reform Act for Scotland and the Reform Act for Ireland were also quickly passed—the Scotch Bill on the 13th of July; the Irish on the 18th. The Bill for Ireland was a much milder change of system than either the English or the Scotch Bills. There were no disfranchising clauses in the Act. The number of members was increased from one hundred to one hundred and five. The franchise, however, was comparatively very restricted.

Parliament, having been prorogued on the 16th of August, was dissolved by proclamation on the 3rd of December. A new Parliament was then summoned. In the preparations for a general election new and strange formalities were now to be gone through. All persons entitled to vote were to send the particulars of their claims to the overseers, who were to prepare a list to be affixed on the door of every church and chapel. Objectors to the names in the lists were to send their objections to certain authorities. The revising-barrister was to separate the wheat from the chaff, and then the object was accomplished which is set forth in the Act —"it is expedient to form a Register." The result of this preliminary investigation would be "no inquiry at the time of election, except as to the identity of the voter, the continuance of his qualification, and whether he has voted before at the same election." There was much real business to be done in committee-rooms, and zealous partizans hurried to and fro, and whispered magical words of encouragement to voters whose consciences were too scrupulous for a sudden resolve. But eight-and-forty hours saw the end of all this. The elections were over before the close of the year. It has been estimated that there were two hundred and ...en gentlemen who occupied seats for England in the last Parlia... who were not returned to the new one. Of these, one hundred ...rty-eight were anti-reformers. In Scotland, eighteen who were ... in Parliament were also not returned. In Ireland, forty-two of

the old members ceased to sit: the greater number of these were driven out by Repealers.

On the 29th of January, 1833, the Reform Parliament was opened by Commission. The Act for abolishing the oaths to be taken before the Lord Steward had come into operation; and a House of Commons was at once formed. The attendance of members was very large. Daniel O'Connell led his three sons and two sons-in-law down to the House. The Radical party boldly ranged themselves upon the front bench, as if to awe the Ministerial Whigs. According to Mr. John O'Connell's "Recollections," William Cobbett was amongst the most conspicuous of those who took this post, and was just above lord Althorp. The first business of the Lower House was the election of a Speaker. Mr. Manners Sutton was again chosen, after a debate in which Mr. Cobbett used language as strange to the House of Commons as was his garb, in fashion something between that of a quaker and of a comfortable farmer. On the 5th of February the king opened the Parliament, of which Jeffrey very frankly and truly wrote, after the House of Commons had risen for the Easter holidays:—"The friction in the working of the machine, and the consequent obstruction of its movements, has been much greater than was ever known." The debates upon the Address occupied five nights. It certainly was a national benefit that much of the eloquence of the Irish Agitator and of the English Demagogue, which had been expended for the excitement of popular assemblies, now harmlessly exploded in a place where extravagant statements received an immediate contradiction. In the Upper House on the fifteenth of February lord Grey introduced a Bill for the more effectual suppression of local disturbances and dangerous Associations in Ireland. The proposition of the government was, to give the Lord Lieutenant power to forbid objectionable public meetings, and to introduce martial law into districts proclaimed to be in a state of disturbance. The Bill was read a third time in the House of Lords and passed on the 22nd of February. It was not till the 27th that the subject was introduced to the House of Commons by lord Althorp. His speech was a temperate statement of facts, concluding with a forcible and almost eloquent inference from those facts. Very different in tone was the speech of Mr. Stanley on the same night. The terrific outrages which he detailed supplied the strongest arguments for the measure advocated by the government. But the Secretary for Ireland was also bent upon putting down, if possible, the "political domination" which prevented the free expression of public opinion in Ireland. In his hands the great Agitator experienced no mercy. Henceforth it was "war to the knife" between these two parliamentary orators. During this conflict the mutual hostility between the agitators and Mr. Stanley became so personal that he removed to the office of Secretary for the Colonies (vacated by viscount Goderich, who became Lord Privy Seal, by the title of earl Ripon), and was succeeded by sir John Cam Hobhouse. The debate on the first reading of the Coercion Bill was carried on during five sittings. The Bill was read a first time by a majority of three hundred and seventy-seven. It was read a second time by a majority of two hundred and seventy-nine. It was read a third time on the 29th of March, and, being quickly passed, received the royal assent on the 2nd of April.

During the first session of the Reformed Parliament, the financial measures of the government were not very strong; they were compromises, for the most part, of large demands for the abolition of taxes, made by the independent members of the Reform party. Within a week after the meeting of Parliament, the Chancellor of the Exchequer obtained leave to bring in a Bill for the reform of the Church Establishment in Ireland. It was proposed, after abolishing first-fruits, to impose a tax upon the total revenues of the Irish Church, varying according to the value of livings and bishoprics, exempting, however, all livings under 200*l.* per annum. The sum thus obtained was to be applied under Commissioners to the abolition of church-cess, the augmentation of poor livings, and the building of glebe-houses. Deans and chapters were to be abolished wherever they were unconnected with the cure of souls, and ten bishoprics were to be merged in those that were to be preserved. If by the Act to be introduced any new value not properly belonging to the Church should be obtained, that value was to be appropriated to the exigences of the State. In the passage of the Bill through the House, Mr. Stanley resisted this appropriation, as an alienation of Church property, and proposed that it should be paid into the hands of Ecclesiastical Commissioners appointed under the Act. The alteration was carried by a large majority. The Bill, with some amendments, finally passed on the 30th of July.

On the 14th of May, Mr. Stanley proposed five resolutions in a Committee of the House of Commons, of which the first declared—"that it is the opinion of the Committee that immediate and effectual measures be taken for the entire abolition of Slavery throughout the Colonies." The subsequent four resolutions were in substance as follows: 2, any children who should be under six years of age at the time of passing an Act for the abolition of slavery, were to be declared free: 3, all persons now slaves were to be entitled to be registered as apprenticed labourers, to acquire thereby all rights of freedom, under the restriction of labouring for their present owners for a time to be fixed by Parliament: 4, to afford compensation to proprietors against a risk of loss by the abolition of slavery: 5, to defray any expense in establishing an efficient stipendiary magistracy, for the purpose of assisting the local legislatures in providing for the religious and moral education of the negro population. The resolutions of the Committee were subsequently modified in one or two points of importance. The term of apprenticeship for the field slaves was fixed at seven years; for the house slaves at five years. The term for the expiration of slavery was subsequently further reduced. The acquiescence of the Colonial proprietors was secured by a positive gift of twenty millions, the interest of which was to be defrayed by an additional tax upon sugar. The Bill was read a second time in the House of Commons on Monday the 22nd of July without a division. This was equivalent to the measure being substantially passed. William Wilberforce died on Monday, July the 29th, a week before the Emancipation Bill was read a third time in the House of Commons. It was read a third time in the House of Lords on the 20th of August. The freedom of the negro slaves was to commence under the system of apprenticeship on the 1st of August, 1834. "The 1st of August came on Friday, and a release was proclaimed from all work until the next Monday." In

Antigua "the day was chiefly spent by the great mass of the negroes in the churches and chapels," where the clergy and missionaries were engaged in enlightening them "on all the duties and responsibilities of their new situation, and above all urging them to the attainment of that higher liberty with which Christ maketh his children free." The planters "went to the chapels where their own people were assembled, greeted them, shook hands with them, and exchanged most hearty good wishes."* The slave-owners of the United States have constantly alleged that the British government, by converting seven hundred thousand slaves into free labourers, destroyed the prosperity of their West India Colonies. The emancipated negro, they affirm, will not work. Such a consequence was indeed foretold during the debates on the Abolition Bill. In too many cases the negro did refuse to work at the especial business of sugar cultivation, to which he had formerly been driven by the fear of the whip. Upon the growers of sugar-canes the Emancipation Act, especially in Jamaica, came like a destroying blight, producing insolvency, forced sales of estates, amazing reduction in the value of all property. Mr. Trollope in 1859 described the negro in Jamaica "lying at his ease under his cotton-tree, and declining to work after ten o'clock in the morning. 'No, tankee, Massa, me tired now. Me no want more money.'" The traveller through Jamaica, where there are eleven acres of land to one man, may ride on for days and only see a "cane-piece" here and there; but very frequently on the road side are to be seen the pleasant gardens or provision grounds of the negroes. In these are scores of food-producing plants. But there are also "patches of coffee, and arrow-root, and occasionally also patches of sugar-cane," proving that the black man is not altogether idle. In Barbadoes, where there is no unoccupied land, every negro works as a free labourer in the cane-fields or the mills, without hesitating to work after ten o'clock in the morning. The exportation of sugar from that island has been more than doubled since the Emancipation. In some islands immigration of coolies had supplied the labour which the negro reluctantly performs. The changes in the political circumstances of the world hold out to the West India proprietors some cultivation of equal importance with that of the sugar-cane. It is stoutly maintained that the colonies generally are flourishing. It is universally maintained that the negro is prospering. The condition of things, after a quarter of a century's experience, is perhaps as satisfactory as could reasonably be expected. It is far more satisfactory than a persistence in the sin of slavery would have been.

On the day when Mr. Stanley introduced his Bill for the abolition of Negro Slavery, lord Ashley moved that the House should go into a Committee on the Factories Bill,—a Bill not only to prevent the overworking of children in factories; but to limit the hours of adult labour. Whilst the Bill was in Committee, lord Ashley surrendered it into the hands of lord Althorp, who had defeated him on one of the clauses. The Bill, whose operations were to commence on the 1st of January, 1834, provided regulations for the employment of children which were to come into gradual operation. School attendance was to be cared for, and medical superinten-

* Thorne and Kimball—"Emancipation in the West Indies."

dence was directed. Four Factory Commissioners were appointed to watch over the operation of the Act.

Another great question before the Parliament of 1833 was the renewal for ten years of the Bank Charter, which would expire upon a year's notice after the 1st of August. All other banks having more than six partners were restricted from issuing notes or bills within sixty-five miles of London. The notes of the Bank and of its branches were to be a legal tender, except at the Bank and its branches. Weekly returns of bullion, and of notes in circulation, were to be sent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in order to publication in the London Gazette. The Charter of the East India Company was also renewed in 1833 for twenty years. The territorial government of India was to remain in the hands of the Company. Its existence as a commercial body was to be wound up after the 22nd of April, 1834. All the regulations which interfered with the free admission of Europeans to India, and their free residence there, were to cease. A Law Commission was to be appointed to inquire into the jurisdiction of existing courts of justice and the operation of the laws. No native, nor any natural-born subject of the King resident in India, should be disabled from holding office on account of his religion, place of birth, descent, or colour. Slavery was to be mitigated, and abolished as soon as practicable. This busy Session, in which the House of Commons sat on an average nine hours daily, terminated on the 29th of August.

The Session of Parliament for 1834 was opened on the 4th of February, and concluded on the 15th of August. On the 17th of April, a Bill was brought in by lord Althorp for "the Amendment and better Administration of the Laws relating to the Poor in England and Wales." This Bill almost from the commencement to the close of the session occupied the unwearied attention of the Commons. Preliminary steps towards these parliamentary proceedings had been taken by a Commission which was appointed in 1832, "to make a full inquiry into the practical operation of the Poor Laws, and into the manner in which those Laws are administered." Since the close of the American War in 1783 the poor-rate levy had increased 300 per cent.; whilst the population had only increased about 75 per cent. There had been several successful experiments of a parochial struggle against the mischievous system which was rapidly sinking all labourers, agricultural labourers especially, into paupers. Two or three remarkable men had been able to produce in their respective localities important reforms which carried into active operation the great principles upon which the new Poor Law Amendment Bill was founded. The destruction of the allowance system in aid of wages was the foremost of these principles. Not less important was the refusal of out-door relief to the able-bodied poor, and offering the workhouse as a test of destitution. This insured the non-acceptance of parish relief unless under circumstances of actual want; such want being, at the same time, always certain of finding the relief of which it stood in need. The workhouse was to be a place in which the aged and impotent should be maintained in comfort, and the able-bodied supported, but under such restrictions as not to induce them to prefer it to a life of independent labour. Under the old system in many parishes the great ambition of the managers of the poor

was to make the condition of the pauper infinitely superior to that of the independent labourer. Imposture and crime were bountifully rewarded, whilst industry and frugality met either with neglect or with persecution. The Bill introduced by lord Althorp was founded upon the recommendations of the Commissioners of Inquiry. It had remained a month under the consideration of the Cabinet, two of the Commissioners occasionally attending to afford explanations. The proposition of this great measure was very favourably received by the House of Commons. The second reading was carried by a large majority; ayes, 299; noes, 20. Between the second reading on the 9th of May, and the third reading on the 1st of July, a most powerful opposition had been got up against the measure. The metropolitan parishes, whose select vestries had long enjoyed a fame of the most outrageous jobbery, were amongst the loudest of the opponents. The third reading was, however, carried by a majority of 107. The duration of the measure was then limited to five years. On the 21st, lord Brougham moved the second reading by the Lords. Never were the qualities of the great orator more remarkably displayed than in this speech. Historical research, accurate reasoning, a complete mastery of facts, majestic rhetoric,—all were brought to bear upon a subject which the mere utilitarian would have clothed with the repulsive precision of statistical detail. The majority in favour of the second reading was 63. The Bill finally received the royal assent on the 14th of August. The Central Board of three Commissioners appointed by the Bill—sir Frankland Lewis, Mr. John Lefevre, and Mr. Nicholls—entered upon the functions of their office on the 23rd of August. The vast machinery, comprehending the whole of England and Wales, has been thoroughly applied by Boards of Guardians throughout the country, acting under this Central Board, which was invested with extraordinary power to enable it to accomplish the object proposed.

During the Session of 1834 the House of Commons was forced by the Irish members to endure six nights of debate on the question of the Repeal of the Union with Ireland. The result was an Address to the king expressing the resolution of the House to maintain the legislative Union inviolate, but to persevere in giving its best attention to the removal of all just causes of complaint, and to the promotion of all well-considered measures of improvement. The consequence of this pledge was, that the affairs of Ireland occupied the greater part of the session, split the Whig ministry into fragments, and rendered their future existence altogether precarious. On the 27th of May four members of the Cabinet—Mr. Stanley, sir James Graham, the duke of Richmond, and the earl of Ripon—resigned their offices upon the question of appropriating the temporal possessions of the Church of Ireland. On the 9th of July, earl Grey stated in the House of Lords that, having on the previous day received the resignation of lord Althorp, whom he considered as his right arm, he saw no alternative, but was compelled, by irresistible necessity, to tender his own resignation. The circumstances which immediately led to this decision of earl Grey, as well as to that of lord Althorp, were connected with the proposed renewal for one year of the Irish Coercion Bill, which had been moved by earl Grey. On the 14th of July, viscount Melbourne stated

in the House of Lords that his Majesty had honoured him with his commands to lay before him a plan for the formation of a new Ministry. Three days later lord Althorp stated that lord Melbourne had completed his arrangements, under which he (lord Althorp) would, at the desire of his Majesty, resume his former office. The third reading in the House of Lords of the Coercion Bill was not proposed. In the Commons lord Althorp brought forward a less restrictive measure, which was carried by a majority of a hundred and forty, and was finally passed on the 26th of July. In the financial statement of the government for the year there was an estimated surplus of nearly two millions, and it was proposed to make various reductions in taxation. The repeal of the duty on Almanacs was a concession to the opinion that taxes upon knowledge were amongst the most objectionable. The repeal of the house-tax was an unstatesmanlike deference to popular clamour. The Irish Tithe Bill was carried in the Commons, with an amendment moved by Mr. O'Connell. The Peers wholly threw out the Bill four days before the prorogation of Parliament; and O'Connell went home to his congenial work of exciting the people to violent resistance.

Between six and seven o'clock on the evening of the 16th of October, flames were seen bursting forth from the roof of the House of Lords. By nine o'clock all the apartments of that portion of the Parliament buildings were in flames, and the whole interior was in a few hours destroyed. The fire extended to the House of Commons, first destroying the large offices of the House and next seizing upon the Chapel of St. Stephen, which stood in its strength and beauty like a rock amidst the sea of fire, and arrested the force which had till then gone on conquering and overthrowing. The Speaker's official residence was also partially destroyed. There was one time when the destruction of Westminster Hall seemed almost inevitable. "Save the Hall!" "Save the Hall!" was the universal cry.

On the 14th of November, William the Fourth, without a word of preparation, intimated to lord Melbourne that his ministry was at an end. This act of the king was wholly without precedent. There was no disunion in the Cabinet. The ministry had retained the confidence of Parliament up to the last day of the session. They had pressed no opinions upon his Majesty which could be disagreeable to him. The ostensible ground for the dismissal of lord Melbourne was that lord Althorp, by the death of his father, having been removed to the House of Peers, the general weight and consideration of the government would be so much diminished in the House of Commons as to render it impossible that they should continue to conduct the public affairs. Sir Robert Peel was in Rome when a letter reached him from the king, calling upon him to return without loss of time to England, to put himself at the head of the administration. Till sir Robert's return, the duke of Wellington held the offices of First Lord of the Treasury and Secretary of State for the Home Department, having only one colleague, lord Lyndhurst, who held the Great Seal, at the same time that he sat as Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer. This temporary arrangement was stigmatized as a Dictatorship. Sir Robert Peel had great doubts of the policy of breaking up the government of lord Melbourne, but he was convinced that he had

no alternative but to undertake the office of Prime Minister. He had to make a government as strong as he could with Conservative materials. It was not a popular ministry, but it could not be held to comprise any of that band of violent anti-reformers who would have imperilled everything by resisting the declared opinion of the Prime Minister that he considered the Reform Bill as a final and irrevocable measure. It being certain that a Conservative government could not meet the existing Parliament, the dissolution had taken place before sir Robert Peel returned to England. To the electors of the comparatively unimportant borough of Tamworth, of which he was one of the representatives, the Prime Minister addressed a declaration of the general principles upon which the government proposed to act.

Temporary accommodation having been provided for the business of the two Houses on the site of the buildings destroyed by the fire, the House of Commons proceeded to the election of a Speaker on the 9th of February, when the right hon. James Abercromby was chosen, in opposition to the Government. When, on the 24th of February, the king opened the business of the Session, viscount Melbourne moved an amendment to the Address in the House of Lords, which was negatived without a division. A similar amendment proposed in the House of Commons by lord Morpeth was carried by a majority of seven. Although the eloquence of sir Robert Peel induced a very general desire that a fair chance should be given to the administration for carrying forward their professions into satisfactory results, the frequent defeats sustained by the Government proved that the day of violent collision could not be far off. One of the skirmishes in which the ministry were beaten previous to the grand battle, was on the motion of Mr. Tooke for an "Address to his Majesty, beseeching him to grant his Royal Charter of Incorporation to the University of London, as approved in the year 1831 by the then law officers of the Crown, and containing no other restriction than against conferring degrees in divinity and in medicine." It was objected to this motion that the London University, which was opened in 1828, on the system of providing instruction in the higher branches of education, independent of religious opinions, was in a position of hostility to the Church. Mr. Tooke's motion was carried by a majority of 110. On the 30th of March lord John Russell, after a debate of four nights, carried a resolution for "a Committee of the whole House to consider the temporalities of the Church of Ireland." In that Committee lord John carried a resolution that any surplus of the revenues of the Church of Ireland should be applied to the general education of all classes of the people without religious distinction. On the 7th of April, when the report of the Committee was brought up, a majority of twenty-four was in favour of the resolution agreed to on the previous night. The next day the duke of Wellington, in the House of Lords, said that in consequence of the resolution of the House of Commons, the ministry had tendered their resignations to the king. Sir Robert Peel made a similar explanation to the House of Commons. The immense cheering of the House during sir Robert's brief speech, and at its close, was in many respects a reflection of the general public opinion that no minister during a short term of power had conducted the public

affairs, under the pressure of extraordinary difficulties, with greater temper, honesty of purpose, and strict adherence to constitutional obligations.

On the 18th of April viscount Melbourne stated that the king had been pleased to appoint him First Lord Commissioner of the Treasury, and that he and his friends who had taken office had received from his Majesty the seals of their respective departments. The exclusion of lord Brougham from the ministry, by putting the Great Seal in Commission, was necessarily the subject of popular wonder. This exclusion was not to be explained at the time; it has never been satisfactorily explained at any subsequent period. It was a painful situation for one of such restless activity. He very soon, however, proclaimed to the world that his comparative leisure would not be a season of relaxation. On the 21st of May he submitted to the House of Lords a series of resolutions on the subject of education, in which may be found the germ of many of the principles that have become established axioms.

On the 5th of June lord John Russell asked on behalf of his Majesty's government leave to bring in a bill to provide for the regulation of Municipal Corporations in England and Wales, which it was stated in the report of a Commission appointed by the Crown to inquire into their condition, "neither possess nor deserve the confidence or respect of your Majesty's subjects." The greater number of the governing charters of corporations was granted between the reign of Henry the Eighth and the Revolution. The general characteristic of these documents is to effect the removal of any control upon the governing body by the majority of their townsmen. The charters granted since the Revolution exhibit a total disregard of any consistent plan for the improvement of municipal policy corresponding with the progress of society. In the greater number of cases the corporations had gradually parted with the duty and the responsibility belonging to good municipal government. A very small portion of the funds of the corporation was applied to any public purposes; large revenues were devoted to the support of what was called the dignity of the corporate body, the due sustenance of which dignity was amply provided for by periodical banquets. In some cases the corporation divided the surplus funds amongst themselves. Sometimes charity bequests of which the corporations were trustees were dealt with in the same corrupt manner. The local administration of justice was subject to similar abuses. It was impossible to imagine any more horrible dens of filth than the borough prisons, of which the maintenance and regulation were, of course, confided to the municipal officers. The ancient corporations were elected by a constituency known as freemen. Birth, marriage with the daughter or widow of a freeman, servitude or apprenticeship, being a member of a guild or trading company, gave a claim to the rights of freedom or burgess-ship. In the greater number of cities and boroughs the freemen had ceased to exist as connected with the municipal body. But in nearly all cities and boroughs where freemen were recognized they possessed the pernicious right of exclusive trading within the limits of the municipality. The great object of the Bill proposed by lord John Russell was to place the government of the towns really in the hands of the citizens themselves;

to make them the guardians of their own property and pecuniary interests; to give to them the right of making a selection of qualified persons from whom the magistrates were to be chosen; in a word, to put an end to power without responsibility. The Municipal Reform Bill was in the House of Commons from the 5th of June to the 20th of July; the great battles were fought in Committee after the Bill had been read a second time on the 15th of June. The chief struggle was for the preservation of the existing rights, privileges, and property of freemen. The third reading of the Bill was passed without a division. The opposition to the Bill in the House of Lords was headed by lord Lyndhurst, whose pre-eminent abilities were called forth on this occasion in the most striking manner. It was determined to call in counsel to be heard on behalf of certain corporations, and sir Charles Wetherell addressed the House on the 30th and the 31st of July. His violent invectives were no doubt contributory to the adoption of certain damaging amendments; but they produced through the country an irritation against the obstructive powers of the House of Lords. When the amendments of the peers were sent back to the House of Commons, the quarrel between the two Houses became very serious. Lord John Russell and sir Robert Peel, much to their honour, took the part of moderators in this great dispute. There were free conferences between a Committee of the House of Commons and Managers on the part of the House of Lords. After the last conference, three days before the prorogation of Parliament, lord John Russell recommended that for the sake of peace the House should agree to the Bill as it then stood, reserving the right of introducing whatever improvements the working of it might hereafter show to be necessary. The Bill for Municipal Reform received the royal assent on the 9th of September.

The compromise upon this Bill had averted, in some degree, the apprehension of a perilous conflict between the two branches of the legislature. The question of Corporation Reform in Ireland was disposed of in the Session of 1836 with an absolute indifference to the opinions of the Commons. Just previous to the prorogation in that year Lord Lyndhurst, who had with infinite courage and ability directed the triumphant strategy of the Tory peers, in reviewing the business of the Session, taunted the government with the fact that, "In this House they are utterly powerless; they can effect nothing." Mr. Hume, in his review in the other House of the business of Parliament, asked whether it were possible that the Commons could allow the Lords any longer to continue their opposition to all measures of real reform? Mr. Hume was not alone in the expression of his opinion. The experience of the Session of 1836 produced amongst moderate men a very unwilling conviction of the necessity for remodelling the Upper House. Amidst the rivalries, the jealousies, the political hatreds of the opposing parties of each House, several measures of real utility had struggled into life in these two Sessions. During the administration of sir Robert Peel he had submitted to a Committee of the House of Commons the details of a measure for facilitating the commutation of tithe in parishes in England and Wales. In the Session of 1836, lord John Russell introduced the government plan, which was founded upon the same principle as that of sir Robert Peel, of a money payment instead of a payment in kind,

but differing from it as establishing a compulsory instead of a mere voluntary commutation. The object of the measure which was finally passed was to assimilate tithes as much as possible to a rent-charge upon the land. The Tithe Commutation Act, with subsequent statutory improvements, has worked successfully under the management of three Commissioners. Another important measure of the Session of 1836 was the passing of the Bill for allowing Counsel to prisoners. The Bill was introduced to the House of Lords by lord Lyndhurst, who then made a most honourable declaration that his former opposition to the measure had been converted into a hearty approval of it. In the Session of 1835 an important Act was passed for effecting greater uniformity of practice in the government of prisons in England and Wales, and for appointing Inspectors of Prisons in Great Britain. This most salutary statute was founded upon Reports of a Select Committee of the House of Lords. In the Session of 1836, when the Inspectors appointed under the Act of 1835 had made their first Report, the management of prisons again came under the consideration of Parliament. On this occasion an earnest conviction of the horrors of the gaol-system with regard to juvenile offenders was manifested in a manner which promised at no distant time the establishment of Reformatories. The Act for the Government of Prisons was not as yet extended to Scotland, except as regarded the appointment of Inspectors. From the early Reports of the first Inspector of the Scotch prisons, Mr. Frederic Hill, there is no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that they were absolutely worse than the worst in England. On the 12th of February, 1836, lord John Russell introduced a Bill for the General Registration of Births, Deaths, and Marriages. At the same time he brought forward a Bill for amending the law regulating the Marriages of Dissenters, which regulation was connected with the establishment of a General Civil Registration. In this Session the government rendered a great benefit to journalism and the general commerce of literature, in the reduction of the stamp on newspapers and of the duty on paper.

At the close of the parliamentary session of 1836, it was lamented in the king's speech that Spain was an exception to the general tranquillity of Europe. Ferdinand the Seventh, who died in 1833, had left by his will his infant daughter Isabel as heir to his throne. The brother of Ferdinand, Don Carlos, immediately disputed the title of Isabel, maintaining that by the Salic law females were excluded from the sovereignty of Spain. The civil war which ensued lasted till 1840. Under the treaty of Quadruple Alliance, whose object was the restoration of internal peace in Spain, Great Britain had afforded to the queen of that country the co-operation of a naval force. A British Legion, under the command of lieutenant-general sir De Lacy Evans, accomplished some brilliant exploits, and was generally successful against the Carlist troops; but these triumphs were bought with severe losses. The intervention of our government, and the whole scope of the Quadruple Treaty of 1834, were the objects of severe parliamentary censure.

Belgium had quietly settled down into a Constitutional Monarchy. In 1831 the boundaries of the new kingdom were defined, and prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg was chosen to reign over it, the peaceable possession of

his territory being guaranteed by the five great Powers to this most sagacious and discreet of sovereigns. In 1832, king Leopold married the eldest daughter of the king of the French. Louis Philippe's reign had not been exempted from solicitudes, during the six years that he had been king. The license of the press, and the occasional hostility of the Chambers, produced a counter-disposition on the part of the king to struggle against what he believed to be the evils of the representative system. From October, 1832, to September, 1836, there had been nine changes of ministry. During these changes, and the consequent excitement of parliamentary conflicts, there had been more than one conspiracy of which the great object was to assassinate the king. In 1836, an attempt to overthrow the government was made by a young man of twenty-five, who relied only upon his name, his abilities, and his daring. When, by the death in 1832 of the duke of Reichstadt, the son of the emperor Napoleon, Charles Louis Napoleon, the youngest son of Louis Bonaparte, became, according to a decree of 1804, heir to the throne, the natural course of his ambition was to assert his claim against one whom he regarded as a usurper. Early in the morning of the 30th of October, Louis Napoleon, having the support of a colonel who commanded a battalion at Strasbourg, presented himself at the barrack of a regiment of artillery, and was received with shouts of "Long live the Emperor." At another barrack the attempts of the prince upon the fidelity of the troops was repulsed; and he and his followers were arrested by the colonel and other officers of the forty-sixth regiment of infantry. The affair was over in a few hours without bloodshed. An imperfect telegraphic despatch received in Paris on the 31st, had thrown the Court and the ministers into the most painful suspense, before the real result of this rash enterprise was known. Louis Philippe and his Cabinet came to the resolution of not bringing prince Louis to trial, but of sending him to the United States of America, where he remained till October, 1837, when he encountered the risks of a return to Europe to be with his mother at her death. After that event he took up his abode in England, where he was generally regarded merely as a man of pleasure, not possessing any force of character that would justify a lofty ambition, although he had previously become known in Europe as a writer of diligent research and unquestionable ability.

On Tuesday the 20th of June, 1837, king William the Fourth expired, after several weeks' suffering, from an affection of the chest. The most eminent men of the State bore testimony in parliament to the public virtues of the late king,—to his patriotism, his love of justice, his rare candour, his devotion to business, his amiable disposition, his entire freedom from all vindictive feelings. His abrupt dismissal of the ministry of Lord Melbourne was the only slip in the prudent course of the constitutional government of the sailor-king.

CHAPTER LXIV.

FOUR years after the crown passed from William the Fourth to his niece the entire population of England, Wales, and Scotland, was estimated at nearly nineteen millions, of whom nearly eight millions, male and female, were distinctly classified by their occupations. The wonderful variety of stations and pursuits exhibited in this classification constitutes the distinctive character of modern British civilization. A very large proportion of the three millions of the people who were engaged in commerce, trade, and manufacture were necessarily to be found in the cities and towns. Since the commencement of the Regency, the population of sixy-eight of the principal towns of England and Scotland had increased 100 per cent., the aggregate population having increased only 54 per cent. One of the most curious social problems at the period of the queen's accession was the apparent difficulty of feeding the population of London,—nearly two millions of human beings, collected together in places more or less densely peopled, comprised within a circle whose radius was four miles from St. Paul's. This difficulty vanishes under the self-regulating movements of the present social organization. The distribution of the food of London is accomplished more by the agency of shop-keepers than by the stall-sellers at markets. The costardmonger, who derived his name from the apple which he sold, had in 1837 almost wholly passed away from the busy streets into the suburbs. The orange-woman standing on the pavement with her basket had nearly ceased to traffic. The public places of refreshment were not essentially different from those of the beginning of the century as far as regarded the chop-house and the eating-house. But the institution of Clubs had materially contributed to the luxurious comforts of the higher classes, and two thousand Coffee-houses had sprung up in London, where the artizan could obtain his cup of tea or coffee for three half-pence or twopence and read the newspapers and periodical works. The increase in the means of communication had at this period largely increased the certainty of the supply of food, both as to its abundance and the time occupied in its transit. But valuable to every class of the London population as was the consequent partial cheapening of some of the necessaries of life, the physical and moral condition of the great bulk of the people would have been little improved as long as the public health was utterly neglected. Three years before Victoria became our sovereign, attention was roused, in some degree, to this question by a distinguished architect, Mr. Sydney Smirke. The year after her Majesty's accession a laborious investigation into the health of the metropolis, instituted under the authority of the Poor Law Commissioners, made a startling revelation of the details of the mass of vice, misery, and disease, which existed in close contiguity with the most opulent parts of the great city. There was then no public provision in London, nor as far as we know in any of the provincial towns, for promoting cleanliness amongst the poor by the establishment of Public Baths and Washhouses. In the poorer districts of London, and in nearly every city and town of Great Britain, the

supplies of water were wholly inadequate to preserve the cleanliness and consequent health of the labouring population. The first step in this direction was made by a poor woman named Catherine Wilkinson, in 1832, when the cholera first appeared in England. Her plan was matured in Liverpool in 1846, in a large establishment, to the superintendence of which she and her husband were appointed. A public bath may now be procured in London for twopence. Equally injurious to health as an insufficient supply of pure water was the prevailing custom twenty years ago of burying the dead in towns. In 1832 an Act was passed for the formation of a cemetery at Kensal Green. The cemeteries of Norwood and Highgate were added some eight or ten years later, but all these were for the opulent. The parish graveyards still continued open in their constantly increasing abomination.

Many of the evils of the factory system, which had grown up in the rapid development of the powers of the steam-engine, had begun to be remedied by legislative interference. Independently of the unwholesome dwellings in which many of the factory operatives were compelled to abide, their health was better cared for, during their hours of labour, than in the miserable workshops in which too many artizans then earned their bread. The report of a Commission appointed in 1840 to inquire into the employment of the children of the poorer classes in mines and collieries, exhibited in some mining districts a state of things, with regard not only to children but to women, which could scarcely be paralleled by any of the barbarous practices which have contributed to make negro slavery so abhorrent to the feelings of the people of England. Two years later a Bill, brought in by lord Ashley, for restraining the employment of women and children in mines and collieries was passed, after considerable debate, in both Houses of Parliament. The greatest evil of the early employment of children of both sexes in agricultural labour was to be found in their removal from school before they had acquired the commonest rudiments of knowledge. The employment of women was injurious in their being withdrawn from the proper superintendence of their families. The total number of agricultural labourers in Great Britain in 1841 was a little above one million one hundred and thirty-eight thousand, of which number fifty-six thousand were females. Since 1811 the proportion of the agricultural to the commercial and miscellaneous classes of the people had been gradually diminishing. The amended Poor Law had been in operation for three years, when a Parliamentary Inquiry was instituted upon complaints of its administration. In 1837 the labourers, who in 1834 had manifested a lawless spirit of opposition to the new law, had become aware that its intention was to raise them to a better condition instead of grinding them down. Undoubtedly there was individual suffering in the transition from the allowance system to the stern refusal of aid to the able-bodied labourer, and the time was yet distant when what was wanting in the New Poor Law towards placing the agricultural labourer in his proper relation to the whole social system would be supplied by a feeling of brotherhood between the rich and the poor.

In 1836 a Commission was appointed to inquire as to the best means of establishing an efficient Constabulary Force in the counties of England.

The criminal population of London, and of a few of the larger towns, had been kept within narrower bounds than in the time of George the Fourth, by the establishment of a vigilant Police Force. In the rural districts there was no power but that of the parish constable to prevent the most extensive system of depredation. Crimes of violence were gradually decreasing, though crimes characterized by fraud were increasing in a still greater proportion. The altered character of criminal punishments, as exhibited in the increase of the sentences of minor punishments, and the decrease of those of death and transportation, after the accession of the queen, is very remarkable. The records of summary convictions from 1838 to 1842 exhibited a frightful amount of juvenile delinquency. There was a district lying near Westminster Abbey, which was called "The Devil's Acre" from the universal depravity. A Scotch gardener, Andrew Walker, attempted to weed the Devil's Acre; and in 1839 set up a school, in a stable, for reclaiming and instructing the wretched children who swarmed around him. This was the beginning of "Ragged Schools" in London. Bristol was the first great town in which such an institution was organized.

Up to the period of the accession of queen Victoria the government had scarcely considered it a part of its duty to interfere with the course of private benevolence in rendering assistance to the general education of the people. In 1834 and the three following years, however, grants were made by Parliament for assisting in building schoolhouses. During those four years a sum, double to that contributed by Parliament, had been supplied by the private funds of individuals towards the erection of schools. In February, 1839, the government first constituted a Board of Education, consisting of five Privy Councillors, with the President of the Council as the head of the Board, which was especially charged with the formation of Normal Schools. The government persevered in its plan, despite all opposition. However little encouraged by the State, popular education had been making progress in England. It was found in 1833 that during fifteen years the day-scholars had more than doubled, and the Sunday scholars were three times as many. In thirty years, ending with 1841, there had been above thirteen thousand schools established, of which five thousand four hundred were Public Schools, and eight thousand seven hundred Private Schools. The increase of Public Schools in the last ten of these years had been equal to the total increase in the three decennial periods from 1801 to 1831. This increase of schools had produced very little visible effect upon those growing into young men and women. In 1838, the conclusion was come to that, speaking roughly, it might be safely asserted that less than one-half of the adult population of England could write, and that less than three-fourths could read. In 1825 Constable's Miscellany led the way in the combination of superior literature with comparative cheapness. The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge originated with Mr. Brougham in 1826. The modern epoch of Cheap Literature was commencing. During the Reform period of 1832, two unexciting miscellanies sprang up—Chambers's Edinburgh Journal in Scotland, and the Penny Magazine in England. The sale of these two little instruments for calming political agitation offered a proof of the vast increase of the desire for knowledge. It has been expressively said, "All Literature is more or less both an effect

and a cause, both a product and a power. It both follows and leads. It takes an impulse from its age, and it also gives an impulse to its age."* After the outburst of fiery writing produced by the French Revolution, English literature became for the most part Conservative. After the agitation of Parliamentary Reform had come to an end, writers as well as statesmen became tolerant and compromising. One principal cause of this approach towards forbearance, if not to union, was the general spread of intelligence. M. Guizot, who came as ambassador to England in 1840, says, "Take it all in all, civilization and liberty have in England, during the course of the nineteenth century, turned to the profit of good rather than of evil. Religious faith, Christian charity, philanthropic benevolence, the intelligent and indefatigable activity of the higher classes, and good sense spread amongst all classes, have battled and now battle effectually, against the vices of society and the evil inclinations of human nature." The rapid increase in the number of readers may be estimated from the fact that, even with a general reduction of price, the annual returns of publishing were certainly doubled in 1850, as compared with 1825. The severe moralist might say then, as he may say now, that in proportion as the number of readers had increased, the desire of the mass of the population had been rather for passing amusement than solid instruction. The people of this country were labouring harder than any other people, and it could not, therefore, be expected that much of the reading of all classes should have been other than for amusement. But the prose fiction of our age has accomplished higher ends than the supply of mere amusement. About the beginning of the reign of William the Fourth an endeavour was made to teach political economy through fiction. Miss Martineau's little tales, entitled "Illustrations of Political Economy," met with complete success, and they have, in a considerable degree, led the way in the growing tendency of novel-writing to bring all classes nearer to each other in the exposition of a common humanity prescribing a common brotherhood. This is the great benefit to our age which has been accomplished by Charles Dickens; by illustrious females such as Elizabeth Gaskell; by a band of manly thinkers, of whom Charles Kingsley is the type. Whether with or without a high purpose, never were novelists so numerous; never were the works of the enduring ones so voluminous. We can do no more than indicate even such enduring names as Bulwer Lytton, Dickens, Thackeray, or such voluminous writers as James, Marryat, Ainsworth. Amongst female writers who have taken rank are Charlotte Brontë, who first awakened the world to an appreciation of her remarkable genius in 1847, and the authoress of Adam Bede, who has succeeded to the elevated seat from which Miss Brontë was so prematurely removed.

Of the Poets, equally with the novelists, of the Victorian age, it may be said that their name is legion. The two great poets who came early in the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, to fill up the void when Byron, and Keats, and Shelley had passed away, were Alfred Tennyson and Robert Browning. To the name of Browning a double immortality was given by his marriage with as true a poet as himself—Elizabeth Barrett. Of lesser

* G. L. Craik, "English Literature and Language."

poets of this period we may name Bowles and James Montgomery; Allan Cunningham and Bryan Waller Procter; Winthrop Mackworth Praed, Sidney Walker, John Moultrie, Derwent Coleridge, Ebenezer Elliott, John Clare, Richard Monckton Milnes, and Thomas Hood. Hood was the first to exhibit that mixed quality of the ludicrous and the reflective, of which the remarkable publication known as "Punch" has been one of the most vital emanations. Of this school was Douglas Jerrold, and it was here that Thackeray first won his spurs. Dramatic Poetry had nearly reached its culminating point when Victoria came to the throne. Sheridan Knowles, Bulwer Lytton, Leigh Hunt, Thomas Noon Talfourd, James White, had attained a well-merited popularity, before the time when the scene-painter and the property-man usurped the functions of a poet; and we have dramas not for the stage, such as those of Henry Taylor and of Robert Browning.

Of the Historians of this period those who have exercised the greatest influence upon their age have been Henry Hallam, Thomas Babington Macaulay, and Thomas Carlyle. Each of these writers was also essayist and critic. Other writers who have done good service to the history of our own country are Dr. Lingard, Patrick Fraser Tytler, sir Francis Palgrave, John Mitchell Kemble, John Forster, lord Mahon, lord Brougham, sir William Napier, sir Archibald Alison, and Miss Martineau. The first twenty years of the Victorian era produced "two English works on the history of Greece such as no other nation can boast of,"—those of bishop Thirlwall and Mr. Grote. Dr. Arnold's "History of Rome" was left unfinished at his death in 1842. This man of the purest virtue and the highest ability was the leader of that school of theologians who have more enforced that Religion of Love which is all-comprehensive, than the Worship which rests upon ceremonial, and the Faith which assumes to be most Christian when it is most exclusive. In the Theology of this epoch the Butlers and Barrows have had few rivals in logical profundity; the Lardners and Paleys have scarcely had adequate successors as historical or textual commentators. But amidst the controversies between the two great sections of the English Church, the spirit of the age has made its Religion more practically beneficent; and out of division has compelled union.

The essential dependence of all social improvements upon accurate Statistics has been signally manifested in the period about which we are writing. The Political Economists—John Stuart Mill, Macculloch and Porter, Graham and Farr—have more than ever built their science upon statistics. Of the Scientific writers of this era, of the great Geologists—Buckland, Sedgwick, Lyell, De la Beche, Hugh Miller; of the interpreters of primeval ages—Owen, Murchison, Forbes; of those who have made science lovely in the eyes of the uninitiated—Brewster, the younger Herschel, Sabine, Airy, Babbage, Arnott, Whewell, Faraday; of the great Discoverers and Inventors—Wheatstone, Talbot;—of all these the honours are inscribed on the imperishable column which records our Victories over Matter, compelling its unwilling obedience to the service of man.

The interests of Literature were greatly advanced in the Session of 1842, by the passing of "An Act to amend the Law of Copyright," after a struggle that had endured five years, Mr. Serjeant Talfourd having first

drawn the attention of the House of Commons to the subject in 1837. This Act gave to the author of a book the sole liberty of reprinting such book for the term of forty-two years from the date of publication, and it also gave to his family the right of reprinting such book for seven years after his death.

On the death of William the Fourth, Hanover became wholly separated from Great Britain, the law of that country not allowing a female to reign, except in default of heirs male in the royal family. In addition to the great advantage of separating the policy of England wholly from the intrigues and complications of a petty German state, it was an immediate happiness that the most hated and in some respects the most dangerous man in these islands was removed to another sphere. The duke of Cumberland, now become Ernest Augustus, king of Hanover, left London on the 24th of June. He soon succeeded in depriving Hanover of the forms of freedom under which she had begun to live, and reached the height of his ambition in becoming the representative of whatever in sovereign power was most repugnant to the spirit of the age.

The demeanour of the youthful princess Victoria on that eventful morning when she became queen of one of the greatest amongst the nations, impressed every one who witnessed it, not only with profound admiration, but with confident hope of a glorious future. On the 17th of *July* the Queen went in state to Parliament. Then for the first time was heard from the throne that exquisitely modulated voice which for more than a quarter of a century has lent a charm to the formal periods of a royal speech. "It will be my care," said the young queen, "to strengthen our institutions, civil and ecclesiastical, by discreet improvement wherever improvement is required, and to do all in my power to compose and allay animosity and discord." These words were the key-note of that harmony which has superseded in a great degree the harsh discords that had too long distinguished the contests of parties and of principles. The Parliament was prorogued, and was dissolved the same evening. Never was there a more enthusiastic demonstration of popular feeling than when, on the 9th of November, the queen went in state to the city to dine with the Lord Mayor at Guildhall.

On the 15th of November the new Parliament met. Mr. Abercromby was re-elected Speaker without opposition. When, on the 20th, the Queen in person opened Parliament, the most important paragraph in her Majesty's speech was—"I recommend to your serious consideration the state of the province of Lower Canada." On the 6th of March, 1837, lord John Russell had brought forward a series of resolutions on this subject. The House of Assembly had declined to discharge by a vote of supply the expenses of the administration of justice, and the support of the civil government within the province, which for four years had been in arrear. The Assembly at the same time declared, amongst other things, that it persisted in the demand of an elective legislative council, and a free exercise of its control over all the branches of the executive government. The British Legislature refused to accede to these demands, although it was held expedient to adopt certain improvements in the

legislative council and in the executive council. The determination of the British Government was a signal for an open insurrection and rebellion in Lower Canada. On the 14th of December the rebels were defeated at St. Eustace, their leaders saving themselves by flight. On the 29th of December an United States' steamboat, laden with arms and ammunition for the insurgents, was attacked and burnt on the territories of the United States, by the orders of the governor, sir Francis Head. This act produced a long controversy between the two governments. The President of the United States subsequently forbade the attacks of the citizens of the republic on neighbouring states. On the 5th of January, 1838, the insurgents surrounded Toronto, but were repulsed by sir Francis Head. On the 22nd of January, in the House of Commons, lord John Russell moved for leave to bring in a Bill by which authority might be given to meet the present emergency, and to provide for the future government of the province. He proposed that a high functionary should be sent out, one who should be known to be favourable to popular feelings and popular rights; and announced that the earl of Durham had accepted the office.

The new High Commissioner landed at Quebec on the 29th of May, 1838. The history of his administration furnishes a remarkable proof of how many and salutary changes may be effected in the government of a great dependency, by the union of firmness and conciliation, and by the application of liberal political principles in the place of a continued system of coercion and tutelage. A general amnesty was published, and measures were taken for inquiring into the feasibility of a plan for constituting a Federal Union of the British North American provinces. By an ordinance of the 28th of June it was declared that eight rebel leaders who had acknowledged their guilt should be transported to Bermuda; that sixteen others had fled, and that if any of either class should return without permission and be found in the province, they should suffer death. This measure was obnoxious to many of influence in the legislature of Great Britain. The eloquence of lord Brougham in denouncing it as an illegal act of despotic authority met with supporters amongst those who hated lord Durham's liberal policy. On the 10th of August lord Melbourne announced that her Majesty's government had counselled the disallowance of the ordinance. Lord Durham immediately resolved to resign his great office; and on the 9th of October he issued a proclamation which was a humiliating abrogation of the ordinance of the 28th of June. He did not wait to obtain leave for his return, but came home a broken-hearted man, and his career, which might otherwise have been so glorious, terminated in his death in 1840, but not without the noble satisfaction he derived from establishing his policy in his counsels to his successor, Mr. Poulett Thompson. After a series of defeats in November, especially one on the 17th near Prescott in Upper Canada, the insurrection was wholly suppressed. In 1840 an Act was passed for the union of the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada as one province, under one Legislative Council and one Assembly.

The Coronation of the Queen at Westminster Abbey took place on the 28th of June. Her Majesty went from Buckingham Palace through the line of streets from Hyde Park Corner, amidst deafening cheers from an

enormous multitude. The day was observed throughout the kingdom as a general holiday; with public dinners, feasts to the poor, and brilliant illuminations. Parliament was prorogued by the queen in person on the 16th of August. In his review of the measures of the Session the Speaker emphatically dwelt upon the provision made for the destitute in Ireland. The Irish Poor-Law Statute was in great degree founded upon three comprehensive Reports of Mr. Nicholls, who the Government had determined should proceed to Ireland for the purpose of carrying the new law into operation. Amongst the other important measures of the Session were a mitigation of the law of imprisonment for debt; the abridgment of the power of holding benefices in plurality; and the abolition of compositions for tithes in Ireland, substituting rent-charges payable by those who had a perpetual interest in the land. In his Address to her Majesty the Speaker adverted to "the improving opinions and increasing knowledge of the educated classes of the community."

During this Session a circumstance had occurred which furnished a sufficient proof of the absolute necessity of a comprehensive system of education for the people. After the passing of the Reform Bill some of the Conservative electors of Canterbury put forward as their candidate a man calling himself sir William Courtenay. This adventurer, who was manifestly an impostor or a madman, actually obtained three hundred and seventy-eight votes. Defeated in the object of his ambition he retired to Herne Bay, where, coming forward as a witness in some affray between the coastguard and a band of smugglers, he subjected himself to an indictment for perjury; and having been convicted under his proper name of John Nichells Thom was sentenced to a term of imprisonment. His extravagances soon rendered it necessary to transfer his safe keeping from the County Prison to the County Lunatic Asylum. In the fourth year of Thom's confinement, his relatives petitioned lord John Russell for his release, and he was discharged. During the winter of 1837, and the spring of 1838, the unfortunate man was living in farmhouses and cottages in a rural district between Canterbury and Faversham, and there acquired a most extraordinary influence over the deluded people amongst whom he dwelt, by his pretensions to superior sanctity, and by his promises of material advantages. Deluding some and terrifying others, by threatening to shoot them if they hung back, this frantic impostor assembled a large troop of followers, about a hundred in number, with whom he sallied forth from Boughton, a village about six miles from Canterbury, on the morning of the 28th of May. Sometimes praying with the fanatics on their knees,—occasionally performing some piece of imposture, such as firing at a star to bring it down,—he led them into Bosenden wood, where supper was given them at a farmhouse, and they slept in the barns. With dawn the next morning, they were on their march to Sittingbourne, ten miles along the high road. From Sittingbourne they marched during two days through a circle of villages—gathering more and more in numbers—till they once more entered Bosenden wood, and lay down in barns or under the leafy canopies of that spring-time. The next morning three men appeared in the camp. One of these was a constable who bore a warrant to arrest a farmer's labourer, who had been seduced from his employment. Courtenay in-

stantly shot the constable. A messenger was then sent to Canterbury for military aid. A party of a hundred men immediately marched in two divisions. One division proceeded into the centre of the thick wood. Here a party of fifty or sixty men made their appearance, led on by Courtenay. Lieutenant Bennett advanced towards these men, one of whom carried a white flag. Courtenay commenced running; jumped over the trunk of a tree; there was a shot; and lieutenant Bennett fell. The frantic rabble made a rush upon the soldiers, and another man was shot by them. The command was then given to the soldiers to fire; Courtenay and eight others of the rioters were killed; several were severely wounded. Those who did not fly in time were apprehended, and were subsequently tried. Three were sentenced to death, which was commuted to transportation; and six others were imprisoned for twelve months. Years passed over before the peasants ceased to visit Courtenay's grave, firmly believing that he would come to life again. The followers of this unhappy man were not all ignorant labourers. There were small farmers amongst them. But they all not only had confidence in the divine mission of their leader, but were assured that every man should have an estate in land, and should enjoy plenty, as well as eternal happiness. Theirs was the ignorance that had no foundation of religious belief or secular knowledge. At Dunkirk, with a large population, there was then no church and no clergyman. There were no National Schools in any of the villages. After the outbreak the Clergy and Dissenters bestirred themselves, and church, chapel, and schools in a few years rose up and flourished.

When the Parliament was opened by the queen on the 5th of February, 1839, a passage in the Royal Speech alluded to "the persevering efforts which have been made in some parts of the country to excite my subjects to disobedience and resistance to the law, and to recommend dangerous and illegal practices." Chartism, which for ten subsequent years occasionally agitated the country, had then begun to take root. Meetings were held by torchlight, which were attended by persons armed with guns and pikes, whom demagogues, such as Feargus O'Connor and the Rev. Mr. Stephens at Bury, addressed in the most inflammatory language. The document called "The People's Charter," which was embodied in the form of a Bill in 1838, comprised six points—universal suffrage, excluding, however, women; division of the United Kingdom into equal electoral districts; vote by ballot; annual parliaments; no property qualification for members; and a payment to every member for his legislative services. These principles so quickly recommended themselves to the working classes that in the session of 1839 the number of signatures to a petition presented to Parliament was upwards of a million and a quarter. This large section of the working population very soon became divided into what were called physical-force Chartists and moral-force Chartists. Many sound-hearted and right-thinking artizans who deeply felt their exclusion from the rights of citizenship by the Reform Bill of 1832, resented it the more when they were confounded with the physical-force slaves of brutal demagogues.

At the opening of Parliament it was stated in the Queen's Speech that in the West Indies the period fixed by law for the final and complete eman-

cipation of the negroes had been anticipated by Acts of the Colonial legislatures; and that the transition from the temporary system of apprenticeship to entire freedom had taken place without any disturbance of public order and tranquillity. The planters in Jamaica, however, were in a state of moody discontent at the altered relations between the capitalist and the labourer, and they testified their displeasure by opposition which brought local legislation to a stand. Under these circumstances the government brought forward a measure for the suspension of the Constitution of Jamaica for five years, during which period the affairs of the colony would be administered by a provisional government. This was a great occasion for a trial of the strength of parties. The slender majority in favour of the motion showed upon how frail a foundation rested the tenure of office by the Melbourne ministry. On the 7th of May lord John Russell announced the resignation of ministers upon the ground of not having such support and such confidence in the House of Commons as would enable them efficiently to carry on the public business. Sir Robert Peel attempted to form a new Administration, but failed, and lord Melbourne and his colleagues returned to power in a week. Sir Robert had declared his inability to form an Administration unless the Ladies of the Bedchamber were removed. The queen, having consulted her ministers, decided that she could not "consent to adopt a course which she conceives to be contrary to usage, and which is repugnant to her feelings." Upon the abstract constitutional question it is now generally felt that sir Robert Peel was right; but the view taken by the Cabinet was supported by precedent in the case of queen Anne, and in that of every queen consort. The discussions in and out of Parliament which arose upon this question were protracted and violent. The people generally were inclined to think that an attempt had been made to treat the queen with harshness by removing from her presence ladies who had become her personal friends. Meetings were held in various parts of the country to express approbation of her Majesty's conduct. But from this period was manifested, on the part of some who clung to the extremest Tory opinions, a virulence that did not even exempt from their personal attacks the conduct and character of the Sovereign. The madness and folly of these Tory agitators very naturally induced the physical-force Chartists to believe that their time of action was at hand. The first serious demonstration of this revolutionary spirit was made at Birmingham in a series of outbreaks and contests between the police, the military, and the mob, which lasted from the 4th to the 15th of July. There were the same demonstrations at Sheffield, with the disposition too common in that place to think lightly of secret murder. At Newport, in Monmouthshire, there was a magistrate of the borough named John Frost, who in the previous February had used violent language at a public meeting at Pontypool. During the summer and autumn he was organizing an insurrection in the country near Newport. It was arranged by the insurgents that on the night of Sunday the 3rd of November three divisions from various points were to march upon Newport and take possession of the town while the inhabitants were asleep. The weather was such as to prevent two of the divisions joining their leader at the time appointed. It was about ten o'clock when he marched into the town with five or six

thousand followers, five abreast, armed with guns, bludgeons, pikes, and pickaxes. The mayor, Mr. Phillips, with his party of special constables and about thirty soldiers, had taken his position in the West Gate Inn, which stands in the market-place. The insurgents moved up to the door of the inn, and called upon those within to surrender. The demand was of course refused. A volley from the street was then discharged against the bow-window of the room. Almost at the instant of the first street firing, the rioters broke open the door of the inn and poured into the house. The officer in command gave orders to fire, and a volley soon put to flight the terrified assailants. The mob fled in all directions as soon as the military began to fire from the window. The soldiers then made a sortie and effectually cleared the streets. Frost and two other of the leaders, Zephaniah Williams and William Jones, were quickly apprehended. On the 1st of January, 1840, they were tried at Newport, were each found guilty of high treason, and received the capital sentence, which was finally commuted to transportation for life. Mr. Phillips, who had distinguished himself by the gallantry which befits an English gentleman, was knighted by her Majesty, and was received at Court with signal honour.

In 1837 Mr. Rowland Hill had published his plan of a cheap and uniform postage. A Committee of the House of Commons was appointed in 1837, which continued its inquiries throughout the session of 1838, and arrived at the conviction that the plan was feasible, and deserving of a trial under legislative sanction. After much discussion, and the experiment of a varying charge, the uniform rate for a letter not weighing more than half an ounce became, by order of the Treasury, one penny. This great reform came into operation on the 10th of January, 1840. Its final accomplishment is mainly due to the sagacity and perseverance of the man who first conceived the scheme. In 1840 the number of letters sent through the post had more than doubled, and the legislature had little hesitation in making the Act of 1839 permanent, instead of its duration being limited, as was at first proposed, to the year which would expire in October.

When, on the 16th of January, Parliament was opened by the queen in person, the first paragraph of her Majesty's speech contained an announcement of her intended marriage with the Prince Albert of Saxe Coburg and Gotha. The ministerial proposition of an annuity to the prince of 50,000*l.* was reduced by the decision of the majority to one of 30,000*l.* The good sense of the queen and of prince Albert prevented the slightest expression of discontent at the vote of the House of Commons, which was carried by the union of the Conservative party with those generally classed amongst Radicals. The marriage took place on the 10th of February, and it was welcomed with general festivities throughout the country. The people rejoiced in this union because it was understood to be one of affection, and which gave that earnest of domestic happiness which offered a solid foundation for the discharge of public duty. Those who knew something of the character and acquirements of the young prince felt that there was still more cause for rejoicing.

In 1837 the privilege of the House of Commons came into conflict with the jurisdiction of the Law Courts, in the case of an action for libel against

the printer of the House of Commons, when Lord Chief Justice Denman decided against the privileges of the House. The opinions of great lawyers were by no means settled as to the powers of Courts of Law in matters of privilege. A Committee of Parliament was appointed to inquire into this question, which was finally settled by the passing of an Act, in 1840, by which proceedings, criminal or civil, against persons for publication of papers printed by order of either House of Parliament, were to be stayed by the Courts upon delivery of a certificate and affidavit to the effect that such publication was by order of Parliament.

A circumstance occurred during this Session, which produced great alarm and indignation throughout the kingdom. This was an attempt on the life of the queen, by the discharge of a pistol, as she, with prince Albert, was riding up Constitution Hill in an open carriage. Neither of the royal couple were injured, and they both preserved remarkable presence of mind. The youth, named Oxford, who had committed this atrocious crime, was a barman at a public-house. He was tried at the Old Bailey on the 9th of July, and acquitted upon the ground of moral insanity.

When Parliament was prorogued by the queen on the 11th of August, the Royal Speech, amongst other important points in the foreign relations of the country, touched upon a Treaty of Alliance between four of the European powers with a view to "effect the permanent pacification of the Levant, to maintain the integrity and independence of the Ottoman empire, and thereby to afford additional security for the peace of Europe." In 1832 the sultan Mahmoud and his powerful viceroy Mehemet Ali, the pasha of Egypt, were at open war. The Turkish government was then saved from utter ruin by the aid of its most powerful enemy, Russia. Peace between the sultan and his viceroy was preserved for six years by the mediation of England, France, and Russia. But in 1839 the sultan could no longer endure the ambition of his great vassal, and he sent an army across the Euphrates to recover Syria from Mehemet Ali. When Mahmoud died, on the 1st of July, 1839, his successor Abd-ul-Mejid was only in his sixteenth year. The strong will and propitious fortune of Mehemet Ali seeming to threaten the dissolution of the Turkish empire, the European powers tendered their mediation, which the sultan accepted. France had her own policy as to a settlement of the Syrian question, and declined entering into the views of the other four powers. Lord Palmerston had therefore resolved to conclude a treaty for the maintenance of the Ottoman empire without the co-operation of France. This exclusion was very nearly precipitating us into a war with the government of Louis Philippe. The policy of lord Palmerston, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was signally triumphant. Although the cry of the Parisians for a few months was, "Guerre aux Anglais," the French government found that their country was not in a condition to go to war, and that the popular cry for hostilities had some association with revolutionary tendencies.

At this time there occurred what was then described as a "wild attempt to excite civil war, made by a maniac of the Bonaparte family."* On the

* "Spectator," August 8.

7th of July, a French frigate, commanded by the prince de Joinville, had sailed for the purpose of receiving at St. Helena, and transporting to France, the remains of the emperor Napoleon, which had been given up at the request of the French government. At this time prince Louis Napoleon was residing in London, and M. Guizot had been required to keep an eye on his movements. On the 4th of August a steam-packet, the City of Edinburgh, which had been hired as for a party of pleasure, left the port of London, bearing prince Louis Napoleon, count Montholon, and about forty officers and attendants. Arms and ammunition, military uniforms, horses and carriages, and a large quantity of specie, had been previously taken on board, with a tame eagle that the prince had taught to feed out of his hand. The steam-packet made for the French coast, where it arrived on the evening of the 5th. At the miserable village of Wimereux, between two and three miles to the north of Boulogne—in the harbour which the army of the great emperor had dug out of the sands, and in view of the column which they had raised to his glory—the nephew landed with his followers at four o'clock on the morning of the 6th. The invading band, who had been joined from Boulogne by a young lieutenant of the 42nd, named Aladenise, and three soldiers, marched towards the town bearing a tri-coloured flag surmounted by an eagle. Upon arriving at the guard-house an attempt to seduce the soldiers failed, and the party marched to the barrack occupied by the 42nd regiment. The officers slept out of the barrack, and had not arrived at five o'clock, when lieutenant Aladenise called up the soldiers, ordering them to take their arms, and march with the nephew of the emperor to Paris; Louis Philippe, he told them, had ceased to reign. The proposed march was, however, interrupted by the arrival of captain Puygelier and two other officers. A scuffle ensued, when a shot was fired from a pistol which Louis Napoleon had in his hand, by which a grenadier was wounded. Immediately after this the barrack-yard was cleared of the intruders, and they marched to the old château, where they fancied they could seize arms, for the purpose of arming the population. Failing in the attempt to force the château, unsupported by any portion of the population, there was nothing left to the adventurers but flight to the place of their debarkation. With a mad movement of defiance they marched on the Calais road, and then stopped at the Napoleon column. The prince and his party surrounded the monument, whilst the eagle-bearer entered the column to plant the standard on its summit. He was left to mount the dark stairs whilst his leader and his companions made a hasty retreat before the large force that was now coming against them. Some fled into the fields. Louis Napoleon and five or six others got down to the sands to the north of the harbour. The prince threw himself into the sea and swam to a little boat. The National Guard fired upon the fugitives, of whom one man was killed and another dangerously wounded. Louis Napoleon swam back and surrendered himself. The trial of the prince and of nineteen other conspirators took place on the 6th of October before the Chamber of Peers. Louis Napoleon was sentenced to imprisonment for life; his companions to various terms of confinement. The prison of Louis Napoleon was the fortress of Ham in the department of Aisne. After six years of solitude, which were not unprofitably employed

in study, he escaped in the dress of a workman, and again found a refuge in England. The Paris press of 1840 teemed with denunciations against the ministers of Queen Victoria, maintaining that they had encouraged the prince in his project, being angry with the government of Louis Philippe. At this period the French navy was raised almost to an equality with our own. The army was also greatly increased. One consequence of the feeling in France that produced these armaments was the interruption of two important treaties with England—a treaty of commerce, and a treaty for the abolition of the slave-trade.

On the 9th of September our Mediterranean fleet, under the command of sir Robert Stopford, was before Beyrout, with a few Turkish and Austrian vessels. On the 10th the bombardment of the town and fortress commenced; which continued till the 16th; when the Egyptian troops abandoned the place. Meanwhile Charles John Napier, the second in command, who had landed with 5000 men, had routed the army of Ibrahim Pasha, and had taken Saida by storm. On the 3rd of November the allied squadron commenced hostilities against the famous fortress of St. Jean d'Acre, which was considered to be almost impregnable. It was bombarded through that day. In the night the Egyptian troops quitted the town, and it was taken possession of by a party of Turks and Austrians. To the rapidity of movement of four English steamers, which enabled them to take the most advantageous positions, it was in some degree owing that so strong a fortress was reduced by the cannon of ships of war in so short a time, and with scarcely any loss to the assailants. This was the first occasion on which war-steamers had been employed in battle. The decided naval successes led to the final submission of Mehemet Ali. On the 2nd of December he accepted the terms proposed by the allies, and at their recommendation was reinstated as Pasha of Egypt, with an hereditary tenure of his pashalic. The French Cabinet had now to bear the consequences of their mistaken policy. Louis Philippe refused his assent to the warlike speech which M. Thiers proposed for the opening of the Chambers. The ministry resigned, and Soult and Guizot were their successors. When the population of Paris had the gratification of a magnificent pageant which recalled the glories and the humiliations of the empire,—the interment of the remains of Napoleon in the Church of the Invalides,—there were demonstrations of popular feeling which showed that the pacific policy of the king and of his new ministry was not so welcome to the populace as M. Thiers and war with Europe.

The Session of Parliament was opened by the queen on the 26th of January, 1841. On the 3rd of May lord Melbourne stated that the time in his opinion had now come when it was found necessary, in order to meet the exigencies of the country, to adopt wide and extensive financial measures. These measures were brought forward in propositions by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his budget, to raise the duty on colonial timber, reducing that on Baltic timber; and to keep the existing duty on colonial sugar, lowering the duty on foreign sugar. The proposal in reference to the sugar duties was brought forward by lord John Russell in a Committee of Ways and Means on the 7th of May. On the same night lord John Russell announced the intention of government to propose a fixed duty on

the importation of foreign corn, instead of the sliding-scale which was then in operation. The debates on the sugar duties lasted during eight nights, the ministers being finally defeated by a majority of 36. On the last night of the debate, lord John Russell emphatically asserted the principle of a free trade in corn. After the ministerial defeat, it was expected that there would have been an immediate resignation. The ministry determined to appeal to the country. On the 22nd the Parliament was prorogued by the queen, and the dissolution was proclaimed the next day.

The popular opinion was decidedly against the abandonment of the principle of protection. The landlords and cultivators believed that a fall in prices would be the ruin of their property, and the bane of their industry. The class of mechanics and factory-workers believed that a fall in the price of food would inevitably produce a lowering of the wages of labour. Since 1839 a most effective agitation had been carried on throughout the country for promoting the principles of Free Trade, and the scattered efforts were finally combined by the formation of the Anti-Corn-Law League. These efforts produced necessarily strong convictions in the minds of many of the thinking part of the community, but in 1841 little effect had been produced upon the great bulk of the people. When the new Parliament met on the 19th of August, 1841, it had been ascertained with tolerable accuracy that the results of the elections were wholly unfavourable to the continued existence of the ministry. With the absolute certainty that a change of administration would very quickly ensue, the recommendations of the Speech from the throne were so framed that, as M. Guizot shrewdly observes, "Retiring with every possible advantage, the Whigs charged sir Robert Peel to repair their faults, and to perform their promises." In the House of Commons an Amendment to the Address, moved by Mr. Stuart Wortley, to the effect that her Majesty's present advisers did not possess the confidence of that House and of the country, was carried, after four nights' debate, by a majority of ninety-one. In the House of Lords, a similar Amendment proposed by the earl of Ripon, was carried by a majority of seventy-two. The resignation of ministers was announced in both Houses on the 30th of August.

At this point of our domestic history it may be convenient to take a rapid view of the events connected with two distant wars in which the country was now engaged—a war with China and a war in Afghanistan. By the new charter of the East India Company, granted in 1833, the Company's monopoly of the China trade was abolished. The Chinese, in spite of their hatred of foreigners, had got accustomed to the East India Company, whose officers could calculate to a nicety the amount of bribery that was necessary to propitiate a Chinese official. The British legislature vested their authority in king's officers instead of mercantile agents; and authorized the executive to employ a superintendent, with instructions to get into direct communication with the Chinese authorities. The number of European ships, merchants, and seamen, rapidly increased. The contraband trade in opium was suddenly augmented. Opium was always an article prohibited by the public acts of the Court of Pekin, but the provincial authorities invariably nullified everything that was done by the superior power to discountenance the illicit trade. In consequence of an

attempt to strangle a Chinese opium-smuggler in front of the Factories at Canton, there was an affray between the Europeans and the Chinese. Captain Elliot, the Superintendent at Canton, issued a notice requiring all British-owned vessels trading in opium to leave the river within three days. But this measure did not conciliate the High Commissioner from the Imperial Court, who in 1839 commanded all opium in British ships to be given up. All the foreign residents being forbidden to leave China, captain Elliot joined his countrymen in the Factories, which were surrounded by Chinese soldiers. More than twenty thousand chests of opium were delivered up and destroyed. War was now imminent. Captain Elliot applied for a naval force, and in October two English frigates were blockading Canton. These were attacked by Chinese war-junks, which were beaten off with great loss. In January, 1840, an Imperial edict directed all trade with Great Britain to cease for ever. A small naval force having been left in the Canton river to maintain a blockade, the British fleet sailed northward along the coast of China. The Chusan, islands, upon the possession of which the maritime intercourse of the eastern coast of China essentially depended, were captured after a slight resistance. Admiral Elliot, who had arrived as plenipotentiary at Chusan, despatched to Ning-po a letter from lord Palmerston to be transmitted to the emperor of China at Pekin. When this letter was at last forwarded, a conference was held between captain Elliot and the emperor's minister Keshen, who was subsequently appointed Imperial Commissioner. In the midst of the negotiations a truce which had been announced by admiral Elliot was violated by an edict that all Englishmen and ships should be destroyed wherever they were met with near China. The forts Chuen-pe and Tae-cok-tow on the Canton river were now stormed and captured, and a Chinese squadron of war-junks was destroyed. Negotiations were then resumed; and a treaty was agreed to by Keshen. But, on the 11th of February, an Imperial edict was received from Pekin by the Commissioner at Canton, disapproving and rejecting the conditions agreed to by him. The war was now resumed with increased vigour. The attempts of captain Elliot to negotiate were repeatedly defeated by the intervention of the Imperial government. General Gough, who arrived in March to take the command of the British land forces, saw that this temporizing policy would only prolong the war, and he therefore determined to attack Canton. The Factories, which had been ceded to the Chinese, were very soon retaken. The heights to the north of Canton were crowned by four strong forts, and the city walls ran over their southern extremity. These walls, of brick on a foundation of red sandstone, were about twenty feet thick, and varied in height from twenty-five to forty feet. At this time there were twenty thousand Tartar troops, famous for their courage and daring, garrisoning the city. On the 24th the two western forts were captured with comparatively small loss, and "in little more than half an hour after the order to advance was given, the British troops looked down on Canton within a hundred paces of its walls." * The assault of the city was prevented by a flag of truce being hoisted on the walls. Captain

* General Gough's Despatch.

Elliot was employed in a settlement of the difficulties, of which the terms were little different to those formerly agreed to. The terror induced by the operations of the fleet and army extorted from the authorities of Canton the payment of six million dollars as a ransom for the city. Trade was resumed in Canton, but peace was still distant. The British government disapproved the arrangements of captain Elliot. Sir Henry Pottinger arrived as Plenipotentiary on the 10th of August, admiral Elliot having resigned soon after the first attempt at negotiation. The new Plenipotentiary took the chief direction of the affairs which had so long been in the hands of the Superintendent, and he immediately announced his intention of pursuing a vigorous policy. On the 6th of July the British fleet advanced up the great river Kiang, and cut off its communication with the Grand Canal, by which Nanking, the ancient capital of China, was supplied with grain. The point where the river intersects the canal is the city of Chin-kiang-foo. On the morning of the 21st this city was stormed by the British, in three brigades. The resistance of the Tartar troops was most desperate. When at last the streets were entered, the houses were found filled with ghastly corpses, many of the Tartar soldiers having destroyed their families, and then committed suicide. On the 9th of August the British fleet, proceeding up the river, had arrived before Nanking, which general Gough had determined to storm. The debarkation was suspended, upon a communication from sir Henry Pottinger that he was negotiating with high officers of the empire who had now the direct authority of the emperor to treat for peace. The most important provisions of the treaty, which was finally signed before Nanking, were as follows: Lasting peace and friendship were to be maintained between the two empires; China was to pay to Great Britain twenty-one millions of dollars within four years; the ports of Canton, Amoy, Foochoo-foo, Ning-po, and Shang-hai, were to be thrown open to British merchants, consular officers were to be allowed to reside at these ports, and just tariffs, as well as inland transit duties, established and published; Hong-Kong island to be ceded in perpetuity to Great Britain; all British subjects to be unconditionally released; an amnesty to be published by the emperor to all Chinese subjects on account of their having held service under the British government or its officers; correspondence between the officers of the two governments to be conducted on terms of perfect equality. The islands of Chusan and Ku-lang-su were to be held till the whole amount of the indemnity was paid, and the ports opened. On the 8th of September the emperor signified his assent to the treaty; which, on the last day of the year, received the ratification of the great seal of England. During what has been called the Opium War, the discussions in the English Parliament exhibited the most contrary views of its moral aspects, and at one time nearly involved the fall of the Ministry.

On the 10th of September, 1838, lord Auckland, then governor-general of India, proclaimed his intention to employ a force beyond the North-West frontier. The troubles and revolutions of Afghanistan having placed the capital and a large part of the country under the sway of Dost Mahomed Khan, Shah Soojah, driven from his dominions, had become a pensioner of the East India Company. In May, 1836, Dost Mahomed

addressed a letter to lord Auckland, which conveyed his desire to secure the friendship of the British government. The Governor-General in 1837 despatched Captain Alexander Burnes as an envoy to Cabul. He was received with great courtesy, but soon after his arrival, a Russian envoy also arrived, and Burnes carried back with him a belief that Russia was meditating an attack upon British India, having established her influence in Persia; that Dost Mahomed was treacherous; and that the true way to raise a barrier against the ambition of Russia, was to place the dethroned Shah Soojah upon the throne of Cabul, as he had numerous friends in the country. The alarm—which had risen to a general panic—of the possible danger of a Russian invasion through Persia and Afghanistan, led to the declaration of war against Dost Mahomed in the autumn of 1838.

On the 14th of February, 1839, the Bengal division of the army under sir Willoughby Cotton crossed the Indus at Bukkur. The passage of eight thousand men with a vast camp-train and sixteen thousand camels, over a river nearly five hundred yards in breadth, was effected without a single casualty. The Bengal army was preceded by a small body of troops under the orders of Shah Soojah, and it was followed by the Bombay division under the command of sir John Keane. Into an almost unknown and untrodden country the troops had to enter by the formidable Bolan Pass, nearly sixty miles in length, with precipitous and sterile mountains on every side. There being no sustenance for the camels, unless it were carried for their support, along the whole route their putrefying carcases added to the obstacles to the advance of the army. The Bombay army sustained considerable loss from freebooters in their passage through the Bolan Pass, but the two columns were enabled to unite at Candahar, and to proceed under the command of sir John Keane to the siege of Ghuznee, the stronghold of Mohammedanism, where the tomb of sultan Mahmoud, the conqueror of Hindustan, was still preserved. Ghuznee was regarded by the Afghan nation as impregnable. It had a garrison of three thousand five hundred Afghan soldiers, with a commanding number of guns, and abundance of ammunition and other stores. The Cabul gate was blown open by a terrific explosion; the storming party entered the gate; and in two hours from the commencement of the attack Ghuznee was in the hands of the British forces. There were great doubts, almost universal doubts, at home as to the policy of this Afghan war. There could be no doubt as to the brilliancy of this exploit, nor as to the general conduct of the war. The British army entered Cabul in triumph on the 7th of August. Shah Soojah was restored to his sovereignty. Dost Mahomed had fled beyond the Indian Caucasus. The country appeared not only subjected to the new government, but tranquil and satisfied. The first division of Bengal infantry with the 13th queen's regiment remained in Cabul and Candahar, and Ghuznee and Jellalabad were occupied by native regiments. As the spring and summer advanced insurrections began to break out in the surrounding country. Dost Mahomed had again made his appearance, and had fought a gallant battle with the British cavalry, in which he obtained a partial victory. Despairing, however, of his power effectually to resist the British arms, he delivered himself up to the envoy at Cabul. He was sent to India, where a place of

residence was assigned to him on the North-West frontier, with three lacs of rupees (about 30,000*l.*) as a revenue.

In September and October, 1841, the direction of affairs at Cabul was almost wholly in the hands of sir William MacNaghten, the envoy. Sir Alexander Burnes was also there, but without any official appointment. The chief command of the army was committed to major-general Elphinstone, an almost superannuated Peninsular officer. The army was in cantonments, extensive, ill-defended, overawed on every side. Within these indefensible cantonments English ladies, amongst whom were lady MacNaghten and lady Sale, were domesticated in comfortable houses. On the night of the 1st of November there was a meeting of Afghan chiefs, who were banded together to make common cause against the Feringhees (foreigners). One of these, Abdoollah Khan, proposed that at the contemplated rising the next day the first overt act should be an attack on the house of Burnes, with whom he had an especial quarrel. Burnes was warned by a friendly Afghan, but in vain. Early in the morning his house was surrounded by an infuriated multitude, and he, his brother, and his secretary were murdered. From that day the position of the British at Cabul became more and more perilous. There were four thousand five hundred good troops in the cantonments, but there was no one effectually to lead them against the rebels in the city. There were about six hundred British troops in Shah Soojah's palace. General Sale and general Nott were expected with reinforcements, but they were themselves hemmed in by enemies. In the first week of December the troops in cantonments were threatened by the near approach of starvation. Negotiations were going on with the Afghan chiefs for the safe retreat of the army, and for a supply of provisions. The Afghans requiring as a first condition that the forts in the neighbourhood of the cantonments should be given up, they were evacuated; and then the enemy looked down with triumphant derision upon those who, within their defenceless walls, were perishing, whilst the supplies which had been promised them were intercepted by a rabble from the city. Every day added to the expected difficulties of the retreat. MacNaghten, wearied and almost desperate amidst the bad faith and insulting demands of the chiefs, consented to go out, with three friends, about six hundred yards from the cantonment, to a conference with Akbar Khan, the son of Dost Mahomed. The envoy and one of his companions were murdered. The other two, who had suspected treachery, contrived to escape. At a Council of War on the 26th a treaty was ratified, which contained the humiliating conditions that all the guns should be left behind except six; that all the treasure should be given up, and forty thousand rupees paid in bills, to be negotiated upon the spot; and that four officers as hostages should be detained to ensure the evacuation of Jellalabad by general Sale. On the 6th of January, 1842, on a morning of intense cold, the army, consisting of four thousand five hundred fighting men and twelve thousand followers, began to move out of the cantonments in a confused mass. Akbar Khan came up with a body of six hundred horsemen to demand other hostages, and Pottinger, Lawrence, and Mackenzie were placed in his hands. Akbar Khan's authority appears to have been exerted with all sincerity to protect the British and Hindoos from the attacks of the

Ghilzyes, one of the most fanatic of the Mussulman tribes of Afghanistan, but it was exerted in vain. In the Pass of Khoord-Cabul, which for five miles is shut in by precipitous mountains, the unrelenting Ghilzyes shot down the fugitives without a chance of their being resisted or restrained. In this Pass three thousand men are stated to have fallen. Akbar Khan then proposed "that all the married men, with their families, should come over and put themselves under his protection, he guaranteeing them honourable treatment, and safe escort to Peshawur.* There were ten women, and thirteen or more children; six married men went with them, with two wounded officers. The small remnant of the force that had left Cabul continued its march towards Jellalabad. There was now not a single Sepoy left. The European officers and soldiers scarcely numbered five hundred. On the 11th, Akbar Khan invited general Elphinstone and two English officers to a conference, and detained them as hostages for the evacuation of Jellalabad. On the evening of the 12th the march was resumed. At the summit of the Jugdulluck Pass the relentless enemy was in waiting, behind a barricade of bushes and branches of trees. A general massacre ensued. Only twenty officers and forty-five European soldiers were able to clear the barricade. The next morning they were surrounded by an infuriated multitude. They all perished, except one captain and a few privates, who were taken prisoners. Out of some who had been in advance of the column in the Pass, six reached Futtehabad, within sixteen miles of Jellalabad. Five of them were slain before the sixteen miles were traversed. On the 13th of January a sentry on the ramparts of Jellalabad saw a solitary horseman struggling on towards the fort. He was brought in, wounded and exhausted. The one man who was left to tell the frightful tale of the retreat from Cabul was doctor Brydon.

General Sale's brigade had held possession of Jellalabad from the 13th of November, when they took the place from the Afghans by surprise. A letter had arrived from Elphinstone and Pottinger, stating that an agreement had taken place for the evacuation of Cabul. The Afghan chief who bore the letter had been appointed governor of Jellalabad. Sale, and the political agent, MacGregor, refused to surrender the fort which they had made secure against the attack of an army without cannon. An earthquake to a great extent rendered the labour vain which had been so long employed in the repairs of the works; but by the end of the month the parapets were restored, the breaches built up, and every battery re-established. Akbar Khan with a large body of horse was hovering around to prevent the admission of supplies. At the close of March, being at the last extremity for provisions, the garrison made a sortie, and carried off five hundred sheep and goats. It was known to sir Robert Sale that general Pollock was advancing to his relief. On the morning of the 7th of April three columns of infantry, with some field artillery and a small cavalry force, issued from the walls of Jellalabad to attack Akbar Khan, who with six thousand men was strongly posted in the adjacent plain. Every point attacked was carried, and the victory was completed by a general assault upon the Afghan camp. Two days before, general Pollock

* Lady Sale's "Journal."

had forced the Khyber Pass, and on the 16th, his advanced guard was in sight of Jellalabad. The successes of Sale and Pollock had interrupted the hopes of those native Powers who believed that the rule of the Feringhees was coming to an end. Shah Soojah had been for some time able to maintain himself in the citadel of Cabul after he had been left to his own resources. He finally perished by assassination. Early in May, general England had joined his forces to those of general Nott at Candahar. Ghuznee, which was in the possession of the Afghans, was recaptured by him on the 6th of September. At the end of August, general Pollock fought his way through the Passes, and was joined by general Nott. On the 15th of September the British standard was flying on the royal palace of Cabul. The English ladies, children, and officers had been hurried towards Turkistan. General Elphinstone had died at Tezeen on the 23rd of April. The khan who had charge of the prisoners agreed that for the future payment of a sum of rupees and an annuity, he would assist them to regain their freedom. They had quitted the forts of the friendly khan, and were proceeding towards Cabul, when, on the 17th of September, they were met by a party of six hundred mounted Kuzzilbashes, under the command of sir Richmond Shakespear, who had been sent by general Pollock to rescue them from their perils. General Sale was close at hand with a brigade. The soldiers cheered; a royal salute from mountain-train guns welcomed them to the camp; the joy was proportioned to the terrible dangers that were overpast. On the 1st of October a proclamation was issued by the Governor-General which stated that the disasters in Afghanistan having been avenged upon every scene of past misfortune, the British army would be withdrawn to the Sutlej. On the 12th of October the army began its march back to India. Dost Mahomed was released, and returned to his sovereignty at Cabul.

Lord Ellenborough had arrived at Calcutta as Governor-General on the 25th of February. Lord Auckland's policy had been proved to be a mistake, and the close of his rule in India was clouded with misfortunes, which fell heavily upon a proud and sensitive man. The new Governor-General, appointed by a new Administration, had been amongst the most vehement denouncers of the Afghan war. Soon after the close of that war, lord Ellenborough committed an act which exposed him to the bitterest denunciations of his political enemies. He issued a proclamation, announcing that he had caused the sandal-wood gates of the tomb of Mahmoud at Ghuznee to be removed to the Hindoo temple of Somnauth, from whence they had been carried in 1805. To despoil the tomb of a worshipper of Mahomed, that honour might be done the worshipper of Vishnu, was to offer an outrage to those sensibilities which more than any other cause made and still make the British rule in India so like treading on beds of lava.

CHAPTER LXV.

When the ministerial arrangements of sir Robert Peel were completed, he asked for the confidence of the House, whilst he considered the mode in which the great financial evil of the previous seven years could be removed. During the three weeks of continued debate till the prorogation on the 7th of October, from all the manufacturing districts came the most afflicting statements of the depression of trade and of the sufferings of the operative classes. But not a syllable could be extracted in either house of parliament from any member of the government, as to the course to be pursued, by which hope might be afforded to those who suffered. When the queen opened the Session of Parliament on the 3rd of February, 1842, after an acknowledgment of "gratitude to Almighty God on account of the birth of the prince, my son; an event which has completed the measure of my domestic happiness," her Majesty recommended to the immediate attention of Parliament the state of the finances and of the expenditure of the country. So also was recommended "the state of the laws which affect the importation of corn and of other articles the produce of foreign countries." Sir Robert Peel announced that on the 9th he should move for a Committee of the whole House for the purpose of considering the Corn-Laws. When the day arrived great was the excitement in and around the House of Commons. Six hundred Anti-Corn-Law delegates had gone in procession to Palace Yard and had there taken their station, crying out from time to time as members passed them, "Total Repeal," "Fixed Duty," "No Sliding Scale." Sir Robert Peel's plan was to maintain the existing principle of the sliding scale of duties on the importation of foreign corn, but to lower the protection afforded, and to introduce a more liberal method of fixing the averages. To no party was the minister's scheme satisfactory. Like most compromises, it required something like a tone of apology both to his friends and his opponents. The debates upon each and all of the principles involved were carried on without intermission till the Bill passed the House of Commons on the 7th of April. The minister was on far safer ground when he came forward with his great financial measure. This was a tax upon all incomes above 150*l.* a year, not to exceed sevenpence in the pound, for the limited period of three years. Its object was to justify a large reduction of commercial taxation. Out of a tariff of twelve hundred articles sir Robert proposed to reduce the duty on seven hundred and fifty. "We have sought," he declared, "to remove all absolute prohibitions upon the import of foreign articles, and we have endeavoured to reduce duties which are so high as to be prohibitory, to such a scale as may admit of fair competition with domestic produce. . . . With respect to raw materials, which constitute the elements of our manufactures, our object, speaking generally, has been to reduce the duties on them to almost a nominal amount." The necessity for some bold measures for putting the [illegible]ntry upon a solid foundation, bore down all opposition [illegible]me-tax. The new tariff could not be otherwise than

satisfactory to the commercial and manufacturing interests, but it threw the agriculturists into a fearful state of alarm. After many debates in both Houses, the financial propositions of sir Robert Peel were carried with little alteration.

On the 2nd of May whilst the House of Commons was in Committee on the Income Tax Bill, a long procession of working men entered the lobby of the House, escorting sixteen of their number, who bore a heavy burden. This was a petition, signed, it was alleged, by three millions of people. The petitioners complained of many evils, and they demanded that the House of Commons "do immediately without alteration, deduction, or addition, pass into a law the document entitled 'The People's Charter.'" The motion of Mr. Thomas Duncombe, that the petitioners should be heard at the bar of the House of Commons in support of their allegations, was rejected by a large majority, after an interesting debate.

In this Session important amendments, introduced by the Chancellor, lord Lyndhurst, were made in the constitution of Courts of Bankruptcy. The Court of Review was formed of one judge instead of three judges; and District Courts of Bankruptcy were established. Two infamous assaults having been made upon the person of the Sovereign whilst Parliament was sitting, on the 12th of July sir Robert Peel brought in a bill for the better protection of the Queen's person. He proposed that any party not actually designing to take away the Queen's life, but intending to hurt or alarm her, should be subject to transportation for a term not exceeding seven years; but that there should also be a discretionary power of imprisonment with authority to inflict personal chastisement. The Bill was rapidly passed through all its stages in both Houses. It was completely successful in putting an end to attempts which were the results of a distempered imagination producing a morbid desire for notoriety. On the 12th of August her Majesty prorogued Parliament in person.

When the Houses met again on the 2nd of February, 1843, amongst the favourable topics of the Royal Speech delivered by commission, was a treaty with the United States, concluded by lord Ashburton in August, 1842, which settled the question as to the boundary between Canada and the state of Maine. This, and the other subjects of congratulation—the conclusion of the war with China, and the final success of military operations in Afghanistan, — were more than counterbalanced by the diminished receipt from some of the ordinary sources of revenue—a most significant index of the continuance of that depression of the manufacturing industry of the country, which a few months before had produced serious violations of the public peace. Sir James Graham, the Home Secretary, had encountered the crisis with decision and firmness. Some of the more dangerous Chartists, amongst whom was Feargus O'Connor, were held to bail, and during the first fortnight of October, Special Commissions sat at Stafford, at Chester, and at Liverpool, for the trial of persons accused of riots and of political offences, a great number of whom were convicted and sentenced either to transportation or to various terms of imprisonment. Very little time was suffered to elapse after the opening of the Session before the one great cause assigned for all these evils was rung into the ears of the prime minister in parliament. The general subject was directly and indirectly

brought forward again and again; but on each occasion a large majority asserted the principle of protection. The Canadian Corn Bill, proposed by lord Stanley, which imposed a duty of only three shillings per quarter upon wheat imported from Canada, was the one practical move towards a great change of policy.

At the beginning of May the duke of Wellington in the House of Lords, and sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons, made a declaration of the intention of the government "to maintain unimpaired and undisturbed the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland." It was certainly time that ministers should speak out. Mr. O'Connell was abstaining from attendance in Parliament to devote himself to his system of political agitation. The organization for Repeal which he had accomplished was to be supported and extended by the means of a universal subscription. This great sinew of war thus compelled from a starving population was known as the "Rent." Through the summer vast assemblies, exultingly called by the great demagogue "Monster Meetings," were held in various parts of Ireland. On the 15th of August, half a million of people, according to the lowest estimate of their number, assembled on the Hill of Tara, where the ancient kings of Ireland had been elected. There the Liberator put on a sort of crown, and declared to his people that the day was come when they should no longer be slaves,—when the land should overflow with plenty, and every one should hold his half-acre with fixity of tenure, and out of its produce maintain his portion of a constantly increasing population. A meeting had been announced for the 8th of October at Clontarf, near Dublin. On the 7th a proclamation was agreed to by the Privy Council at Dublin, which declared the proposed assembly to be illegal. The Repeal Association agreed that no meeting should take place. On the 14th Mr. O'Connell and his principal associates were arrested on charges of conspiracy, sedition, and unlawful assembling. The accused were admitted to bail; and it was finally determined that their trial should take place on the 15th of January, 1844.

At the prorogation of Parliament on the 24th of August, the Speaker in his Address to her Majesty alluded to "the unhappy divisions which have occurred in the Church of Scotland." These "unhappy divisions" had been maturing for nine years. In 1834 the differences which had existed for more than a century between the supporters and the opposers of lay-patronage, assumed a more important character by the anti-patronage party obtaining a majority in the General Assembly, and passing a measure known as the Veto Act. The object of this Act was to make it a law of the Church that no presentee to a benefice was to be held fit to be ordained as minister of a parish unless he were acceptable to a majority of the parishioners. In 1839 the decision of the Presbytery against the presentation to a parish was confirmed in the ecclesiastical courts, but was finally decided on appeal in the House of Lords against the Presbytery. There was another case in which this important question was agitated under somewhat different circumstances, but in which the decisions of the ecclesiastical and civil courts were also at variance. At the meeting of the General Assembly on the 18th of May, 1843, before the roll of members was made up, Dr. Welsh, who had been Moderator

of the preceding Assembly, read a protest against the constitution of the Assembly signed by 120 ministers and 73 lay elders. Those who had signed the protest and their adherents then left the Assembly in a body, and constituted in another place "The General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland." Of this Assembly Dr. Chalmers was chosen as Moderator. The disruption was completed by "An Act of Separation and Deed of Demission," which completely cut the seceders off from the benefits as well as burdens of the Establishment. The intervention of the legislature was quite unsuccessful in restoring unity. There was a secession from the Church of Scotland a century before the great difference which resulted in the Veto of 1834. There was a smaller body of seceders in the middle of the last century. In 1847 these two bodies coalesced and became the "United Presbyterian Church," which now constitutes a most extensive organization, comprising nearly a fourth of the congregations of Scotland. An important statute affecting the Church of England was passed in the session of 1843. It was an Act for increasing the means of spiritual instruction in populous parishes, by making a portion of the revenues of the Church available for the endowment of additional ministers. The vast extension of church-building in this country may to a considerable extent be attributed to this enactment.

At the beginning of 1843 remarkable riots broke out in Wales for the removal of turnpike gates. In the counties of Pembroke and Caermarthen, there suddenly appeared at nightfall a body of horsemen under the command of a leader who wore a female dress, and who was generally surrounded with a body-guard in similar costume. These were Rebecca and her daughters, and their commission was derived from the following verse in the twenty-fourth chapter of Genesis: "And they blessed Rebecca, and said unto her, Thou art our sister, be thou the mother of thousands of millions, and let thy seed possess the *gate* of those which hate them." This remarkable combination soon extended to all the South Welsh counties, with the exception of Brecknockshire. There was one indiscriminate onslaught upon the turnpike system, and so successful were these operations during the spring and summer that nearly all the roads in the autumn were practically toll free. The local magistrates were unable to contend with Rebecca; and Rebecca was very soon set up as an authority to provide summary redress against Poor Laws, and Tithes, and heavy rents. The whole province was gradually falling into the condition of the worst parts of Ireland. The government at last sent down a large body of troops into Wales, and they also sent a detachment of that active and intelligent body, the London police, who were everywhere engaged in tracing the secret agencies by which this extraordinary conspiracy had been conducted. A Special Commission was appointed for the trial of the offenders, and three of the leaders were sentenced to transportation. A Government Commission of Inquiry was appointed to examine into the operation of the Turnpike Acts, which were in many instances oppressive and unequal, and, in the next Session, an Act was passed for the Consolidation and Amendment of the Laws relating to Turnpike Trusts in South Wales.

During the war with Afghanistan the British troops had to pass through Scinde. This country, capable of an almost boundless increase of agricultural and commercial wealth, was, in 1842, under the rule of a body of despotic nobles, the Ameers, who about seventy years before had dispossessed the legitimate sovereigns. The original inhabitants groaned beneath the yoke of these conquerors, whose idea of government was simply that of exacting tribute by their fierce military retainers, the Beloochees. The British authorities in India had repeatedly entered into treaties with the Ameers, but after we had withdrawn from Ghuznee, they began to manifest hostile designs. Sir Charles Napier "had permission," he has said, "from the Governor-General to assemble an immense force to impose his final treaty;" he told the Governor-General it could be done with the troops he, Napier, already commanded. He resolved to attack Emaun-Ghur, a stronghold in the desert of Beloochistan, where the mercenaries of the Ameers could gather together, safe from pursuit. On the night of the 5th of January, 1843, with three hundred and sixty of the 22nd Queen's regiment on camels, with two hundred of the irregular cavalry, with ten camels laden with provisions, and with eighty carrying water, Napier set forth to traverse the arid waste, defying the armed bands on every side. After a few days the camels which drew the howitzers were unable to drag them over the sand-hills, and the unshrinking Irish soldiers took their place. When the fortress was reached, it was found deserted. The governor had fled with his treasure, but he had left immense stores of ammunition behind. Napier destroyed Emaun-Ghur, and he and his hardy companions, after undergoing great privations on their march back by a different route, rejoined the main army on the 23rd near Hyderabad. On the 12th of February, the Ameers, with one exception, the Ameer of Khyrpore, signed the "final treaty," which in the previous December they had evaded signing. The day after the signature Major Outram, the British Resident at Hyderabad, was attacked in the Residency by eight thousand Beloochees. He had only a hundred foot soldiers with him. The gallant officer effected his retreat to two war steamers in the river, and, with the loss only of three men killed and two wounded, joined the force which Napier commanded. With this force, consisting of four hundred British of the 22nd, and two thousand two hundred Sepoys and other native troops, the battle of Meanee was fought on the 17th of February. The Beloochees, numbering twenty-two thousand, were posted on a slope behind the bed of the river Fulailee, which was for the most part dry. Upon this slope went on the deadly conflict for three hours, the assailants rushing upwards against an enemy who resolutely held his ground, the gaps in his ranks being closed up as fast as they were made. The result was at one time uncertain. The greater number of the European officers were killed or wounded. Napier, who was in the thick of the fight, ordered a charge of cavalry. Defying the guns on the top of the ridge, the chosen band of horsemen charged right into the enemy's camp. The 22nd and the Sepoys gained the ridge, and drove the Beloochees over. Sir Charles Napier followed up his victory the next day by a message sent into Hyderabad that he would storm the city unless it surrendered. Six of the Ameers came out, and laid their swords at his feet. He returned their jewelled

weapons to the humbled chiefs. He refused to intrude upon their privacy by occupying their splendid palaces, heroically abiding in his humble tent. On the 24th of March, Napier, who had been reinforced, and had now five thousand troops, attacked Shere Mahomed of Meerpoor, who had come with twenty thousand Beloochees before the walls of Hyderabad to recover the city. It was a hard-earned victory, which was followed up by the British occupation of Meerpoor. The spirit of the Beloochees was so broken that after two slight actions in June, when Shere Mahomed was routed and fled into the desert, the war was at an end. Scinde was annexed to the British possessions, and sir Charles Napier was appointed its Governor. The "Conqueror of Scinde" now became the beneficent and wise administrator. During his rule of four years, he led the way in rendering her great natural resources available for commercial purposes by costly public works. He made the revenue of the province sufficient to support the expenditure for its civil and political administration. But above all, he made the native population prosperous and contented under the British rule.

The state of Gwalior had, in 1804, been placed under the protection of the British government. In 1843, the Regent was expelled by the Mahrattas, and the British Resident was insulted. Lord Ellenborough immediately sent sir Hugh Gough from Agra with fourteen thousand troops; and on the 29th of December he fought the battle of Maharajpoor, when the Mahrattas were defeated with great loss. On the same day Major-General Grey also defeated the Mahrattas at Punniar. The usurping government immediately submitted, and the strong fortress of Gwalior was occupied by a British governor. These warlike proceedings, however brilliant and successful, were not acceptable to the majority in the direction of the East India Company, and the Court of Directors exercised their power to recall the Governor-General, without the concurrence of the Government.

On the 12th of February, 1844, after a trial in the Court of Queen's Bench, in Dublin, which had lasted twenty-four days, O'Connell and four others were found guilty of conspiracy. On the 13th of February the question of the state of Ireland was raised in both Houses, and debated warmly night after night, O'Connell himself taking part in the debate in the Commons. The sentence against the Agitator was not pronounced till the 30th of May, when he was adjudged to be imprisoned for twelve months; to be fined 2000*l.*; and to be bound in his own recognizances, and by two sureties, to keep the peace for seven years. The other persons convicted, with the exception of one not brought up for judgment, were sentenced to nine months' imprisonment, and to a fine of 50*l.*, with smaller sums for their own recognizances, with sureties, to keep the peace for the like term of seven years.

When sir Robert Peel met the House of Commons in the Session of 1844, he was enabled with justice to take a favourable view of the condition of the country as the best justification of his financial policy of 1842. There was a material improvement in some branches of manufacture. He was enabled also to state that the revenue of the current year would be amply sufficient to meet the existing charges. He explicitly declared that

he had not contemplated, and did not contemplate, an alteration in the present Corn-Laws. During the Session there were two formal discussions on the subject of Protection to Agriculture. In the last of these, sir Robert Peel again maintained his determination to stand by the existing law. When dealing with the question of Free Trade, Peel must be viewed as the minister of expediency, holding a party together by deference to the opinions of the majority that placed him in power. Essentially different was his course when some great policy could be safely treated without reference to the chances of a Division. Such an occasion arose with regard to the renewal of the Bank Charter. On the 6th of May, the First Lord of the Treasury submitted to the Commons a series of Resolutions which were in fact the complement of the measures which he had carried in 1819. The Bank Act founded on these Resolutions was carried, with very slight opposition, through both Houses. This measure has acted as a wholesome check upon improvident speculation, but it has undoubtedly also increased the difficulties of a season of commercial collapse.

In the Session of 1843 the Ministry had brought forward a measure for the Regulation of Labour in Factories, which embraced a comprehensive plan for the education of the children employed. These education clauses produced such an outcry throughout the kingdom that sir James Graham, who had introduced the Bill, was compelled to announce that he would not press them. Early in the Session of 1844, he again introduced a Bill for the Regulation of Labour in Factories; but the education clauses of the former Bill were now dropped; and, without any provision whatever for education, the sole object aimed at was a proper limitation of the hours of employment for women and children. In various and complicated shapes this question continued to be discussed for two months, till on the 18th of May, sir Robert Peel declared that he would resist the wishes of the factory operatives in order to promote their welfare, which, he considered, would not be promoted by reducing the working-hours, as was proposed, from twelve to ten. He then plainly intimated that if the Ten Hours' clause were allowed to stand, he must resign. The House rejected this clause by a majority of one hundred and thirty-eight, and the government Bill was passed. The Ten Hours' Factory Bill was carried in the Session of 1847.

The question of the Sugar Duties was warmly debated on moral and religious as well as on commercial grounds. With the West India interest, which resisted the admission of any other than colonial sugar, went the formidable Anti-Slavery party. The Free-Traders, on the other hand, constantly protested against the preference of colonial over foreign sugar. The government in 1844 still held to the principle of a differential duty; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the 3rd of June, proposed an abatement of the duty on foreign sugar, provided it was the produce of free labour. Upon a proposition of a conservative member for reducing the duty both upon British plantation sugar, and foreign free-grown sugar, the government were defeated by a majority of twenty. This took place on a Saturday morning. On the Sunday a Cabinet Council was held, and on the Monday sir Robert Peel, amidst intense excitement, called the House to reconsider its decision, of which important conse-

quences might be the result. The House did reconsider, and reversed its decision.

On the 14th of June, Mr. Thomas Duncombe presented a petition to the House of Commons from Joseph Mazzini, and three others, complaining that their letters had been opened at the Post Office. Sir James Graham stated that under the power which had been exercised, with the sanction of the law, from the very first formation of the Post Office, he had given a warrant to open the letters of one of the petitioners. It was understood that Mazzini was the one petitioner whose intrigues the Secretary of State had thus endeavoured to trace. This ministerial act startled the nation into violent agitation. The ministers wisely resolved that the disclosure of all the facts in a full inquiry was the best mode of setting themselves right in public opinion. A Secret Committee was appointed, consisting of nine persons, none of whom were connected with office; and five of whom were selected from the Opposition. In August the Committee made their Report, and the people were effectually tranquillized.

In this Session a measure of justice was promoted and carried through by the government, in an Act to confirm in the full possession of their establishments any society of Protestant dissenters which had held them for twenty-five years. This Bill also gave Unitarians as firm a possession of property they had acquired before the statute of 1813, as of that which they had acquired since that statute, by which the exceptions to the Act of Toleration had been repealed. This measure provoked great opposition, but it was passed by large majorities in both Houses.

Mr. O'Connell and the other prisoners having appealed for a reversal of their sentence upon a Writ of Error, the judges of the English courts were referred to by the Lords for their opinions. Six of the eleven counts were decided by all of nine judges to be bad or informal; seven of the judges held that the judgment must stand, as the Irish judges alone could know upon how much of the verdict they had grounded their sentence. The peers were now to decide. It was a question of legal constitution which could only be properly settled by the Law Lords, to whom the ministry left its decision. It was voted by lord Denman, lord Cottenham, and lord Campbell, that the judgment of the Court below should be reversed; lord Brougham voted that it should be maintained. O'Connell on the 6th of September left his prison in a triumphal car, wearing the green and gold repeal cap; and escorted by thousands of people paraded the streets of Dublin for four hours. His triumph was celebrated throughout Ireland by the most enthusiastic demonstrations. But his power was gone. He was extinguished by the impartial justice of the English peers. The great Agitator died at Genoa on the 15th of May, 1847.

During the month of August the governments of Great Britain and France had been nearly on the point of a serious rupture. In September, 1843, the queen of Tahiti (Otaheite), named Pomaré, who was a follower of the English missionaries, was induced to place herself under the protection of France. The natives being angry at this, and showing marked hostility to the French among them, in November, admiral Dupetit Thouars landed troops on the island; set up the French flag, removing queen Pomaré's ensign; and issued a proclamation that Tahiti belonged to France. The

British Consul at Tahiti, a missionary named Pritchard, immediately hauled down his flag, declaring that he was not accredited as consul to a French colony. Four months afterwards the French authorities seized him, and required as a condition of his release from imprisonment that he should immediately leave the Pacific. When Mr. Pritchard arrived in England there was an outburst of national indignation which the government did not attempt to repress. Negotiations between lord Aberdeen and M. Guizot "ended in results," says the French ambassador, "just in themselves, honourable to the two cabinets, and salutary to the two countries." To confirm the *entente cordiale* the king of the French paid a visit to queen Victoria. In this year, however, Louis Philippe's son, the prince de Joinville, published a "Note on the State of the Naval Forces of France," which the duke of Wellington characterized as "an invitation and provocative to war, to be carried on in a manner such as had been disclaimed by the civilized portions of mankind."

Sir Robert Peel's partial experiment on Free Trade had prepared him to make a bolder experiment in the Session of Parliament which was opened by the Queen on the 4th of February, 1845. At this period the Income Tax was about to expire. The object of imposing this tax in 1842,—to repair the financial disorder of the country,—had been accomplished. But it was thought expedient to continue its operation for a further period to obtain the means of making a reduction in other taxation. The minister now proposed to abolish all duties on exports, including the duty on coal; he would abolish the import duties on four hundred and thirty raw materials used in manufactures; he would altogether remove the duties on cotton-wool; effect a great reduction in the sugar-duties, and repeal the duty on glass. There was great discussion upon these financial measures, the jealousy of free-trade principles occasionally breaking out in objections almost ludicrous. Mr. Disraeli pronounced unmistakeably a sentence of open war against sir Robert Peel, whom he described as one who, by skilful parliamentary manœuvres, had tampered with the generous confidence of a great people. In allusion to sir Robert's former desertion of the principles of ultra-Toryism, he said, "Protection appears to be in about the same condition that Protestantism was in 1828. The country will draw its moral." Protestantism was now to have a new cause of offence. On the 3rd of April sir Robert Peel brought forward the plans of the government respecting the improvement of the College of Maynooth, proposing a grant of 30,000*l.* a-year, to be secured by act of parliament. It was the object of the government "by a more liberal provision, to improve the system of education, and to elevate the tone and character of that institution." On the 11th, when the Bill was to be read a second time, the table of the House was covered with petitions. During six nights of debate in the Commons there was not a shaft in the quiver of bigotry, still replenished however scantily, which was not then discharged against the government, and especially against sir Robert Peel. In spite of the unmitigated opposition in both Houses the Maynooth Bill was carried by considerable [illegible]. So also was the ministerial measure introduced by sir James [illegible] establishing three purely secular colleges in Ireland, wholly [illegible] religious tests or creeds, for the education of the middle

classes. There was another measure carried in the spirit of religious liberality—that of the admission of Jews to municipal offices. This Session of Parliament, which terminated on the 9th of August, had been rendered unusually laborious by the legislation requisite for the regulation of the rapidly extending railway communications of the kingdom. The condition of the destitute poor of Scotland was another subject of general legislation in which the Commons had been engaged.

From the 12th of August to the 15th of October, sir Robert Peel and sir James Graham were corresponding on the subject of information received as to the probable failure of the potato-crop. The official reports having assumed a very serious aspect, the prime minister dispatched to Ireland two men eminent in their respective departments of science—Professor Lindley and Dr. Lyon Playfair. The reports of the Botanist and the Chemist were not calculated to mitigate the apprehensions of official and other observers in Ireland. The alarm in Scotland was also great and rapidly increasing. On the 31st of October sir Robert Peel, having summoned the Cabinet to a meeting at his house, laid before them a memorandum of the information he had received, and his suggestions on it. The prime minister found few inclined to deal boldly with the danger. The Cabinet separated, fixing another meeting for the 6th of November. At that meeting, sir Robert Peel proposed to issue immediately an Order in Council, remitting the duty on grain in bond to one shilling; opening the ports to the temporary admission of all grain at a smaller rate of duty. He further proposed to call parliament together on the 27th to ask for indemnity, and to declare an intention of submitting immediately after the recess a modification of the existing Corn-Laws. Three only of his colleagues gave their support to the First Lord of the Treasury—the earl of Aberdeen, sir James Graham, and Mr. Sidney Herbert. On the 22nd of November lord John Russell addressed a public letter to the electors of the city of London, calling upon them to "unite to put an end to a system which has been proved to be the blight of commerce, the bane of agriculture, the source of bitter division among classes, the cause of penury, fever, mortality, and crime among the people." On the 25th and 26th of November the Cabinet was occupied in the discussion of instructions to be given to the Commission which had been appointed, for the consideration and adoption of such measures as might tend to mitigate the evil consequences of the apprehended scarcity. These instructions were unanimously approved of by the Cabinet. Before they were finally assented to, sir Robert Peel declared "I cannot consent to the issue of these instructions, and undertake at the same time to maintain the existing Corn-Laws." On the 29th of November he put in circulation amongst his colleagues a memorandum containing his reasons for advising the suspension of the Corn-Laws for a limited period. The discussions in the Cabinet continued till the 2nd of December, when sir Robert Peel brought before his colleagues a specific measure for the proposal of a new law which would be "founded upon the principle of the present law, while it continues in operation, but will in the course of that operation ensure the ultimate and not remote extinction of protective duties." Lord Stanley and the duke of Buccleugh having each signified his inability to support this measure, sir Robert Peel solicited the

Queen to relieve him from duties which he could no longer discharge with advantage to her Majesty's service. Lord John Russell was then summoned to attend the Queen. Peel having offered to give his assistance in a private capacity, towards the settlement of the Corn-Law question, Lord John consented to undertake the formation of a government. He found, however, that the task was hopeless, and sir Robert Peel decided, at the desire of the Queen, on the resumption of his office. Lord Stanley declared that he must persevere in resigning. The duke of Buccleugh would not at once decide. The other members of the Cabinet expressed their determination to support sir Robert Peel in the course he had announced to them. The new Cabinet enlisted an able coadjutor in lord Dalhousie; and Mr. Gladstone, who had retired from office some time previous, succeeded lord Stanley as Secretary of State for the Colonial Department. Lord Wharncliffe, the President of the Council, had died, during this great crisis, on the 19th of December.

When the Queen opened Parliament on the 22nd of January, 1846, her Majesty announced that she had had great satisfaction in giving her consent to the measures for the repeal of prohibitory and the relaxation of protective duties. She farther said, "I recommend you to take into your early consideration, whether the principles on which you have acted may not with advantage be yet more extensively applied." The ministerial explanations of sir Robert Peel and of lord John Russell left no doubt whatever that a free trade in corn, however gradually to be accomplished, was now the great object of the government. On the 27th of January, his whole plan of financial and commercial policy was developed by sir Robert Peel in a speech of four hours. He said, in the onset, that he was not about to apply the principle of relaxation of protective duties to any one particular class: "In the confidence that the principle for which I contend is a just and a wise one, I ask all protected interests to make the sacrifice, which the application of that principle will render necessary." The duties were to be extensively reduced on tallow and timber, the only raw materials still subject to duty. The duties on foreign manufactured goods were to be abolished or reduced. There was to be a further reduction in the silk duties. On cotton and woollen fabrics duties were to be removed or lessened by one-half. Articles of food were relieved from taxation either wholly or partially. It was proposed to admit buck-wheat and Indian corn duty free; to submit colonial grain to a merely nominal duty; and altogether to remove protection from every other species of grain on the 1st of February, 1849; after which day a duty upon grain of one shilling per quarter, and of fourpence-halfpenny per cwt. upon flour and meal, was to be levied, for purely statistical purposes. Some relief of the burthens upon agriculture, involved in an alteration of the law of settlement, a consolidation of highway boards, the removal of the cost of prisoners from the county rates—these and other minor concessions, which were real benefits, were [illegible] ridicule, in the face of the startling fact that the staff of [illegible] long been leant upon, would be utterly brok[illegible] 8th of Febru[illegible] the motion for a Committee [illegible] reported [illegible] was proposed [illegible] will [illegible] months.

resolve itself into the said Committee." The debate continued twelve nights, forty-eight members speaking in favour of Free-Trade and fifty-five on the side of Protection. On the fifth night of the discussion, sir Robert Peel reviewed every species of objection, warming, towards the conclusion of his speech, into an eloquence such as had been rarely equalled since the days of the great orators of former generations. Upon a division on the 27th the government had a majority of 97. The House of Commons went into Committee on the 2nd of March. The various clauses of the proposed Bill were debated with the same earnestness for four nights; when the second reading was carried by a majority of 88. On the third reading there was a debate of three nights, ending in a majority for the government of 98. In the House of Lords the Bill was passed with less difficulty than might have been anticipated. The second reading of the Corn Bill was carried by a majority of 47. The second reading of the Customs Duties Bill was carried without a division. On the 25th of June both Bills were read a third time and passed; to which on the 26th the royal assent was given by Commission. A revolution, scarcely second in importance to the Reform Bill, was thus accomplished.

During the progress through the House of Commons of the measures of commercial freedom, a Bill entitled, "For the Protection of Life in Ireland," which had passed in the House of Lords, was brought under discussion in the House of Commons. After six nights of vehement debate, the government were defeated by a majority of 73. On the 29th of June, the resignation of ministers was announced by sir Robert Peel, who had previously conveyed to his colleagues his opinion that it was not desirable for them to continue in office, not having the support of their own party. In speaking of the measures which he had succeeded in carrying, sir Robert said that the name which ought to be, and which would be, associated with those measures was the name of Richard Cobden. He concluded his speech with the emphatic words, "It may be that I shall leave a name sometimes remembered with expressions of good will in the abodes of those whose lot it is to labour and to earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brow, when they shall recruit their exhausted strength with abundant and untaxed food, the sweeter because it is no longer leavened with a sense of injustice." The House of Commons adjourned to the 3rd of July. On the 6th lord John Russell, as First Lord of the Treasury, and the other members of the Administration, were sworn into office.

On the same day that the dissolution of sir Robert Peel's administration was announced, the news arrived of the settlement of the Oregon question, which relieved the British nation and the government from a long-continued cause of anxiety. The value of the Oregon territory was so little understood when the treaty of peace with America was concluded in 1783, that no provision whatever was made for its occupation. Forty years later the claims of the British government and of that of the United States to this region had become so opposed, that there was great apprehension of hostilities. Time strengthened the American claims by the rapid advance of the population of the United States towards the disputed territory. In 1845 the President, Mr. Polk, sent his message to the Senate announcing the refusal of the repeated proposals of the British Government

to submit the whole question to arbitration. The Senate and House of Representatives, however, adopted resolutions of a conciliatory and friendly description, and lord Aberdeen at once sent over to the British minister the draft of a convention to be proposed for the acceptance of the United States' Government. The conditions offered were agreed to "without the addition or alteration of a single word." The territory in dispute has now become the rising colony of British Columbia.

On the 28th of August, when Parliament was prorogued by Commission, the royal speech alluded to the victorious course and happy conclusion of the war in India. In December, 1845, the government of the Sikhs being in weak hands, their army began to cross the Sutlej, for the purpose of making an attack on the British frontier, and took up an intrenched position at the village of Ferozeshah. In this camp the Sikhs had a force of more than 50,000 men, with 108 pieces of cannon. Up to the time of the Sikhs crossing the Sutlej, sir Henry Hardinge, the Governor-General who had succeeded lord Ellenborough, had carefully avoided every demonstration which could be construed into an act of hostility. It was now his clear duty to repel aggression, and he put into the performance of that duty all the energy of a chivalrous nature. The British force, consisting of 16,700 men, and 69 guns, under the commander-in-chief, sir Hugh Gough, was advancing to Umballah in order to relieve Ferozepoor, which had been partially invested. Waiving the claims of his rank, the Governor-General offered to sir Hugh Gough to serve under him as second-in-command. On the 18th of December the British army reached Moodkee, and that evening repulsed an attack of the Sikhs. On the 21st and 22nd was fought the great battle of Ferozeshah. The resistance of the Sikhs was most obstinate. Night closed on the 21st before the British had become masters of the intrenched quadrangle. On the morning of the 22nd the line was again formed, and advanced, relying upon the unfailing British weapon, the bayonet. The two commanders rode in front. The inner works were carried; the troops entered the village. The Sikh army of reserve had marched from the camp above Ferozepoor early in the morning, and their advanced guard became engaged with our cavalry. They drew off, to appear again in tremendous force. The British cavalry, however, with jaded horses and exhausted men, decided the struggle. A panic seized the Sikhs, who believed the British were going to fall on their flank in force. They abandoned their guns, and retreated across the Sutlej. The British in that terrible struggle, almost unmatched in Indian warfare, lost 2415 men, with many distinguished officers. The European regiments were fearfully thinned. Of these the 62nd left half its numbers on the field.

Having crossed the Sutlej the Sikhs entrenched themselves near the village of Alliwall to prevent sir Harry Smith's communication with the main army. With 12,000 men and thirty-two guns he attacked them, carried their camp by storm, captured the whole of their cannon and munitions of war, and drove the entire force precipitately across the Sutlej. This victory enabled sir Harry Smith to unite with the main army. A siege train had arrived from Delhi. The Sikhs had entrenched themselves on the southern bank of the Sutlej, at Sobraon, having constructed a bridge of boats across the river. On Feb. 10, 1846, sir Hugh Gough waited for

a fall of rain to render the ford impracticable, and then attacked the Sikhs. Dislodged from their entrenchments, they retreated across the bridge, which broke down with the weight of the masses. The Sikhs lost 18,000 men and sixty-seven guns. The British loss was about two thousand killed and wounded. On the 20th of February Lahore, the capital, was occupied; Dhuleep Sing, the young Maharajah, was reinstated in the city; and a treaty was signed by which he was continued in the relation of a friendly sovereign with the British government.

Before he quitted office, sir Robert Peel, upon his own responsibility, gave a commission to a great mercantile house to purchase a hundred thousand pounds' worth of Indian corn in the American markets. That supply was intrusted to Irish commissariat officers in the spring of 1846, to sell from various depôts at a moderate price, wherever the ordinary supplies of food were found to be deficient. The disease in the potato-crop of 1845 was not so universal as to prevent a considerable portion being saved, but in the autumn of 1846 it was found that the crop had, with very few local exceptions, universally and entirely failed. The experience of the partial failure of the previous year had not taught the people that it was dangerous to depend upon one species of food alone, and the great proportion of the early culture of 1846 had been that of potatoes. On the 28th of August, 1846, the royal assent was given to three Acts especially directed to meet the inevitable failure of the great Irish esculent. They were Acts for the employment of the poor in the distressed districts for a limited period; for providing additional funds for provisional loans and grants for public works; and for authorising a further issue of money in aid of public works. The system of affording relief through public works utterly broke down. An immense staff of servants, upwards of eleven thousand, had been employed to furnish labour to half a million of adults, representing two millions of souls, at an expense estimated for January of 800,000*l.* Relief Committees were then formed, which were empowered to receive subscriptions and levy rates, and to be intrusted with donations from the State. The payment of money was evidently liable to gross abuse. Rations of cooked food offered the most effectual mode of relieving the helpless and prostrate people. Then began that beneficial system by which "upwards of three millions of persons were fed every day in the neighbourhood of their own homes, by administrative arrangements emanating from and controlled by one central office."* The Government in 1846 and 1847 advanced more than seven millions of money. The British Association for the Relief of the Distress in Ireland and Scotland applied to Ireland half a million sterling of the subscriptions raised. The Society of Friends collected in addition 168,000*l.*, and many persons in England contributed largely, independently of any association. In 1849, an Act was passed by which a Commission for the sale of Incumbered Estates in Ireland was established. From the beneficial operations of this Commission, and through a better spirit infused into the proprietors of unincumbered estates, much of the land has come into the hands of skilful cultivators; and that race of cottier tenantry, of whose family one or more of its members was supported by beggary, has in great

* "Edinburgh Review."

part vanished. It was during the eventful years from 1846 to 1850 that the vast amount of Emigration took place which has been called the Irish Exodus. "It is to Ireland that we must chiefly ascribe the departure during those five years, of a million and a quarter of emigrants from the ports of the United Kingdom, three-fourths of whom went to the United States."* The question of a probable scarcity of food in the kingdom generally, was very early in the session brought before parliament; upon a proposal of the government for the total suspension of all import duties upon corn, and of the Navigation Laws through which importation was restricted. There was very little opposition to this measure, although there was scarcely a debate during the session in which the Repeal of the Corn-Laws, and the abolition or reduction of Protective Duties, were not denounced as causes of present injury and of future mischief.

In September and October of this year there was such a pressure upon the merchants and traders as had not been experienced since the great panic of 1825. Mercantile houses in London of the highest eminence suspended their payments. In the country, not only mercantile firms but banks were failing; the funds fell rapidly; exchequer bills were at a high rate of discount. On the 25th of October, a letter, signed by lord John Russell and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was addressed to the Governor and Deputy-Governor of the Bank of England, recommending them to enlarge the amount of their discounts and advances upon approved security, charging a high rate of interest. The recommendation was immediately acceded to. When the new Parliament was opened on the 18th of November, the royal speech announced that the pressure on the banking and commercial interests had been mitigated; and that the abundant harvest with which the country had been blessed had alleviated the evils which always accompany a want of employment in the manufacturing districts. In this Session a law was passed for the prevention of crime and outrage in Ireland; and a Bill, brought in by lord John Russell, to remove the Civil Disabilities of the Jews, was read a first time, the second reading being deferred to the 7th of February. On the 20th of December it was moved and carried in both Houses that Parliament should be adjourned to the 3rd of February, 1847.

When the Houses met after the Recess, there was existing in the country an unusual excitement on the subject of our national defences. From the 10th of October, 1846, when the king of the French, and M. Guizot, his minister, had secretly prepared and hastily accomplished the double marriage of the Queen of Spain with the Infante of Spain, the duke of Cadiz, and of the Infanta with the duke de Montpensier, the son of Louis Philippe, it was evident that whether the apprehension of the mischief especially provided against by the Allied Powers in 1814 were well-founded or unreasonable, there would no longer be friendship between the two Courts of France and England. When lord John Russell, in making his financial statement for the year, confessed that the duke of Wellington had communicated to the government what he considered to be a deficiency in our defences, it was clear that France was the country from which danger was

* Report of the Emigration Commissioners.

apprehended. The proposition of the government was to increase the Military, Naval, and Ordnance estimates by 358,000*l.*; and to lay the foundation of a Militia by a grant of 150,000*l.* The probable excess of expenditure beyond revenue, occasioned by the Irish famine and by the commercial panic, was to be met by increasing the Income Tax to 5 per cent. The House of Commons was debating these subjects, when the news arrived of the abdication and flight of Louis Philippe, and of the proclamation of a Republic.

The legislative session in Paris had opened on the 28th of December, 1847. The king's Speech contained an allusion to the agitation for "electoral and parliamentary reform,"—which words had become a toast at several provincial banquets. In France the employers of labour and the receivers of wages regarded each other as natural enemies—the one accustomed to view their almost exclusive possession of political power as their exclusive and inalienable right; the other, debarred from civil privileges, hating the government much, but hating the middle class more, upon whose affections the government was founded. The Opposition in the Chambers were ready to excite this uneasiness in the masses, and whilst striving to accomplish an electoral reform, they did not hesitate to ally themselves with the assertors of equality. On the 22nd of February, 1848, there was to have been a reform banquet in the twelfth *arrondissement* of Paris—a quarter where the materials for disorder were abundant. The Minister of the Interior forbad the meeting, and the principal leaders of the parliamentary Opposition announced that it was adjourned. This postponement was loudly murmured at by the democratic journalists. On the morning of the 22nd the streets were crowded at an early hour. About noon a crowd surrounded the Chamber of Deputies; and a cry was raised of "Down with Guizot;" but in the evening the city was quiet. During the night the government was collecting troops, and the people were raising barricades. The *rappel* was again heard calling out the National Guard at seven in the morning of the 23rd. Some firing soon took place between the populace and the Municipal Guards. The National Guards had come to an agreement amongst themselves to act the part of conciliators rather than that of the opposers of the people. Soon the cry of *Vive la Réforme* was heard amongst groups of the citizen soldiers. M. Guizot, finding that the Cabinet could not rely upon the firmness of the king, announced his resignation to the Chamber of Deputies. There was joy that night in Paris, for it was thought that the cause of Reform had gained a victory. But a band of republicans gathering together before the Hotel of Foreign Affairs, occupied by M. Guizot, where a battalion of infantry was stationed, a shot fired from the mob was answered by a volley from the soldiery, and fifty fell, killed or wounded. The bodies of the dead were carried by torchlight through the streets, amidst the frantic cries of excited crowds demanding vengeance. During the night the king had sent for M. Thiers, and offered him the formation of a ministry. M. Thiers stipulated that M. Odillon Barrot should be a member of the Cabinet. This was entirely to yield upon the question of Reform, and wholly to change the policy of the government. The change of administration was announced by placards in the morning. The command of

the troops, which had been given to marshal Bugeaud during the night, was superseded by the new ministers, who judged that the danger of insurrection was passed. They were deceived. About noon the populace attacked the Palais Royal, and sacked the apartments. The Tuileries was next to be assailed. The king left the palace with his queen. The mob broke in. The throne was carried along the Boulevards, and was burnt at the foot of the column of July. The Chamber of Deputies met at half-past twelve, when M. Dupin announced the abdication of Louis Philippe, in favour of his grandson, the comte de Paris, the duchess of Orleans being appointed regent. The duchess, leading her two sons by the hand, entered the Chamber, accompanied by the duke de Nemours. A stormy discussion then began. It was soon interrupted by the rush of a crowd that filled all the passages of the Chambers and swarmed into the Hall. The mother and her children were surrounded by armed men. Amidst clamours and threats she was forced by her attendants out of the Hall. With the applauses or the hisses of the fierce Republicans who were now in command of the situation, the members of a Provisional Government were nominated. They were Lamartine, Marie, Ledru-Rollin, Crémieux, Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, and Garnier Pagès. In the meantime another Provisional Government had been formed at the Hotel de Ville, consisting of Marrast, Flocon, Louis Blanc, and Albert. The Seven proceeded to the Hotel de Ville, and there, after violent altercation, came to a compromise with the Four. There was to be a Republic; but a Republic in which the principles of Socialism should be the paramount element. The Chamber of Deputies was to be dissolved; a National Assembly was to be convoked, the members of the "ex-Chamber of Peers" being forbidden to assemble. The Provisional Government of Eleven undertook to secure the existence of the workmen by labour; to guarantee labour to all citizens. The prospect of universal suffrage was made still more agreeable by the announcement of the opening of National Workshops for the unemployed workmen.

The principles of Socialism, which had been diligently propagated in France during the ten years which preceded the Revolution of 1848, gradually made their way to a small extent in this country. Mr. Feargus O'Connor, one of the members for Nottingham, not without an eye to his own profit, had contrived to induce many hard-working people to subscribe their money to his schemes for establishing "The National Land Company." In the meantime, the great business of the Chartists was to get up a petition to Parliament for their five points, which being completed, and alleged to have received 5,706,000 signatures, was to be presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Feargus O'Connor on the 10th of April. To meet the avowed designs of the physical-force Chartists, the ministry took the advice of the duke of Wellington, who so judiciously arranged a plan for the presence of the military power at every point where a contest might by possibility occur, that, without the display of a single soldier, effectual resistance was impossible. But, more than all the combinations of military science, was an organization which proclaimed to the Chartists that they alone were not the People. On that morning, a hundred and seventy thousand special constables of all ranks stood

shoulder to shoulder in the streets of London, each armed only with a staff representing the strength of the law. The proposed meeting of the Chartists on Kennington Common was not prevented, but their return over either of the bridges in procession was steadily opposed. The great Petition was ignobly carried to the House of Commons in a cart, to be presented by Mr. Feargus O'Connor without his legions. Physical-force Chartism was really at an end, although its revival was several times attempted, to be put down by the same firmness.

The French Revolution gave a new impulse to the exertions of an association called the "Irish Confederation," which was in 1847 formed in Dublin. The uttering of seditious speeches was, up to April, an offence which the law regarded as a misdemeanour; but an Act was then passed which rendered it felony to compass or imagine the deposition of the Queen, or to give expression to any such intention. Under this Act, Mr. Mitchell was tried and convicted; and Mr. Duffy was about to be prosecuted. It was determined by the Confederation to rescue Mr. Mitchell, and to prevent the trial of Mr. Duffy. A War Directory was appointed and a mighty warrior, Mr. Smith O'Brien, was to take the field in person and lead his forces to the overthrow of the despotic government. On the 28th of July the great rebel engaged the Police in a pitched battle near Ballingarry, where he had seven of his army killed and several wounded. On the 5th of August he was arrested at Thurles. The government, after a few years, permitted his return to Ireland, to warn political fanaticism of the probable danger of that public contempt which awaits the anarchist who is too silly to be mischievous. The insurrection had soon come to an end. There were trials for high treason; in which the capital sentence passed, was the next year, after the demand of a writ of error, commuted to transportation.

Within four months after the proclamation of the Republic, sixteen thousand persons were killed or wounded in the streets of Paris. The short career of the Provisional Government was upheld by military force, amidst the increasing animosities of the Socialists. When the National Assembly was opened and had appointed an Executive Commission of five members, there was an attempt to form another Provisional Government of those who had now come to be designated as Red Republicans. Prince Louis Napoleon was elected to a seat in the National Assembly by the vote of a great majority. Close upon this event came the terrible crisis which, after four days' fighting, ended in the total rout of the insurgents; the appointment of general Cavaignac as Dictator; and the declaration that Paris was in a state of siege, that is, under martial law. This state endured from the 24th of June till the 20th of October. On the 21st of December prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte took the oath as President of the French Republic, to continue in office till May, 1852.

The Session of the English Parliament came to a close on the 5th of September. It was in no boastful spirit that the Queen said, that, surrounded by convulsions and wars between neighbouring States, she had had the satisfaction of being able to preserve peace for her own dominions, and to maintain our domestic tranquillity. In these troublous times the social improvement of the country steadily went forward. No one was more strenuous in proclaiming how individual energy was to make legisla-

tive provisions effectual than prince Albert, who, to use his own words, considered that, "to show how man can help man notwithstanding the complicated state of civilized society, ought to be the aim of every philanthropic person; but it is more peculiarly the duty of those who, under the blessing of Divine Providence, enjoy station, wealth, and education." On the 31st of January, 1849, there was a public banquet in the Free-trade Hall at Manchester, to celebrate the commencement of that 1st of February when the millions who earned their daily bread by the sweat of their brow might at last eat "untaxed food." On the same day which saw the final extinction of the Corn Laws, the Queen opened the Session, and told her assembled Parliament: "It is with pride and thankfulness that I advert to the loyal spirit of my people, and that attachment to our institutions which has animated them during a period of commercial difficulty, deficient production of food, and political revolution. I look to the protection of Almighty God for favour in our continued progress; and I trust you will assist me in upholding the fabric of the Constitution, founded as it is upon the principles of freedom and of justice."

THE END.

LONDON:
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